HISTORY

OF

CIVILIZATION IN ENGLAND.

VOL. I.

LONDON

PRINTED BY SPOTTISWOODE AND CO.

NEW-STREET SQUARE

HISTORY

OF

CIVILIZATION IN ENGLAND.



BY

HENRY THOMAS BUCKLE.

VOLUME I.

THE FOURTH EDITION.

LONDON:
LONGMAN, GREEN, LONGMAN, ROBERTS, & GREEN.
1864.

TO

MY MOTHER

I DEDICATE

THIS

THE FIRST VOLUME

OF

MY FIRST WORK.

ANALYTICAL TABLE OF CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

STATEMENT OF THE RESOURCES FOR INVESTIGATING HISTORY, AND PROOFS OF THE REGULARITY OF HUMAN ACTIONS. THESE ACTIONS ARE GOVERNED BY MENTAL AND PHYSICAL LAWS: THEREFORE BOTH SETS OF LAWS MUST BE STUDIED, AND THERE CAN BE NO HISTORY WITHOUT THE NATURAL SCIENCES.

CHAPTER II.

INFLUENCE EXERCISED BY PHYSICAL LAWS OVER THE ORGANIZATION OF SOCIETY AND OVER THE CHARACTER OF INDIVIDUALS.

CHAPTER III.

EXAMINATION OF THE METHOD EMPLOYED BY METAPHYSICIANS FOR DISCOVERING MENTAL LAWS.

CHAPTER IV.

MENTAL LAWS ARE EITHER MORAL OR INTELLECTUAL. COMPARISON OF MORAL AND INTELLECTUAL LAWS, AND INQUIRY INTO THE EFFECT PRODUCED BY EACH ON THE PROGRESS OF SOCIETY.

CHAPTER V.

INQUIRY INTO THE INFLUENCE EXERCISED BY RELIGION, LITERATURE, AND GOVERNMENT.

CHAPTER VI.

ORIGIN OF HISTORY, AND STATE OF HISTORICAL LITERATURE DURING THE MIDDLE AGES.

CHAPTER VII.

OUTLINE OF THE HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH INTELLECT FROM THE MIDDLE OF THE SIXTEENTH TO THE END OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

CHAPTER VIII.

OUTLINE OF THE HISTORY OF THE FRENCH INTELLECT FROM THE MIDDLE OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY TO THE ACCESSION TO POWER OF LOUIS XIV.

CHAPTER IX.

HISTORY OF THE PROTECTIVE SPIRIT, AND COMPARISON OF IT IN FRANCE AND ENGLAND.

CHAPTER X.

THE ENERGY OF THE PROTECTIVE SPIRIT IN FRANCE EXPLAINS THE FAILURE OF THE FRONDE. COMPARISON BETWEEN THE FRONDE AND THE CONTEMPORARY ENGLISH REBELLION.

CHAPTER XI.

THE PROTECTIVE SPIRIT CARRIED BY LOUIS XIV. INTO LITERATURE. EXAMINATION OF THE CONSEQUENCES OF THIS ALLIANCE BETWEEN THE INTELLECTUAL CLASSES AND THE GOVERNING CLASSES.

CHAPTER XII.

DEATH OF LOUIS XIV. REACTION AGAINST THE PROTECTIVE SPIRIT, AND PREPARATIONS FOR THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

CHAPTER XIII.

STATE OF HISTORICAL LITERATURE IN FRANCE FROM THE END OF THE SIXTEENTH TO THE END OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

CHAPTER XIV.

PROXIMATE CAUSES OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION AFTER THE MIDDLE OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

LIST OF AUTHORS QUOTED.



In order to assist those who wish to verify my references, and also with the view of indicating the nature and extent of the materials which I have used, I have drawn up the following list of the principal works quoted in the present volume. When no edition is mentioned, the size is 8vo *et infra.*

Abd-Allatif, Relation de l'Egypte, traduite par Silvéstre de Sacy. Paris, 1810. 4to.
Adolphus (J.) History of England from the accession of George III. Lond. 1840-1845. 7 vols.
Aguesseau (Chancelier d') Lettres inédites. Paris, 1823. 2 vols.
Aikin (L.) Life of Addison. Lond. 1843. 2 vols.
Albemarle (Earl of) Memoirs of the Marquis of Rockingham. Lond. 1852. 2 vols.
Alison (Sir A.) History of Europe, from the commencement of the French Revolution to 1815. Edinb. 1849, 1850. 14 vols.
Allen (J.) Rise and Growth of the Royal Prerogative in England. Lond. 1849.
Arnold (Dr.) Lectures on Modern History. Lond. 1843.
Asiatic Researches. Lond. and Calcutta, 1799–1836. 20 vols. 4to.
Aubrey (J.) Letters and Lives of Eminent Men. Lond. 1813. 2 vols.
Audigier (M.) L'Origine des François. Paris, 1676. 2 vols.
Azara (F.) Voyages dans l'Amérique Méridionale. Paris, 1809. 4 vols.

Bakewell (R.) Introduction to Geology. Lond. 1838.
Balfour (J. H.) A Manual of Botany. Lond. 1849.
Bancroft (G.) History of the American Revolution. Lond. 1852–1854. 3 vols.
Barante (M.) Tableau de la Littérature Française au XVIII^e Siècle. Paris, 1847.
Barrington (D.) Observations on the Statutes. 5th edit. Lond. 1796. 4to.
Barruel (L'Abbé) Mémoires pour l'Histoire du Jacobinisme. Hambourg, 1803. 5 vols.
Barry (G.) History of the Orkney Islands. Edinb. 1805. 4to.
Bassompierre (Maréchal de) Mémoires. Paris, 1822, 1823. 3 vols.
Bates (G.) Account of the late Troubles in England. Lond. 1685. 2 vols.
Baxter (R.) Life and Times, by himself. Published by M. Sylvester. Lond. 1696. Folio. 3 parts.
Bazin (M. A.) Histoire de France sous Louis XIII. Paris, 1838. 4 vols.
Beausobre (M.) Histoire Critique de Manichée et du Manichéisme. Amsterdam, 1734-9. 4to, 2 vols.
Béclard (P. A.) Eléments d'Anatomie Générale. Paris, 1852.
Bedford Correspondence, edited by Lord J. Russell. 1842–1846. 3 vols.
Beechey (F. W.) Voyage to the Pacific. Lond. 1831. 2 vols.
Belsham (W.) History of Great Britain, from 1688 to 1802. Lond. 1805. 12 vols. [Of this work I have used only the last seven volumes, which refer to a period for which Belsham was a contemporary authority. The earlier volumes are worthless.]

(Benoist), Histoire de l'Edit de Nantes. Delft, 1693-1695. 4to. 5 vols.
Berkeley (Bishop of Cloyne) Works. Lond. 1843. 2 vols.
Bichat (X.) Traité des Membranes. Paris, 1802.
Bichat (X.) Anatomie Générale. Paris, 1821. 4 vols.
Bichat (X.) Recherches sur la Vie et la Mort, edit. Magendie. Paris, 1829.
Biographie Universelle. Paris, 1811-1828. 52 vols.
Birch (T.) Life of Tillotson, Archbishop of Canterbury. Lond. 1753.
Bisset (R.) Life of Edmund Burke 2nd edit. Lond. 1800. 2 vols.
Blackstone's Commentaries on the Laws of England. Lond. 1809. 4 vols.
Blainville (D.) Physiologie Générale et Comparée. Paris, 1833. 3 vols.
Blanqui (M.) Histoire de l'Economie Politique en Europe. Paris, 1845. 2 vols.
Bogue (D.) and Bennett (J.) History of the Dissenters, from 1688 to 1808. Lond. 1808-1812. 4 vols.
Bohlen (P.) Das alte Indien, mit besonderer Rücksicht auf Ægypten. Königsberg, 1830. 2 vols.
Bordas-Demoulin, Le Cartésianisme. Paris, 1843. 2 vols.
Bossuet (Evêque de Meaux) Discours sur l'Histoire Universelle. Paris, 1844.
Bouillaud (J.) Philosophie Médicale. Paris, 1836.
Bouillé (M. de) Mémoires sur la Révolution Française. Paris, 1801-9. 2 v.
Boulainvilliers (Comte) Histoire de l'Ancien Gouvernement de la France. La Haye, 1727. 3 vols.
Boullier (M.) Histoire des divers Corps de la Maison Militaire des Rois de France. Paris, 1818.
Bowdich (T. E.) Mission to Ashantee. Lond. 1819. 4to.
Bowles (W. L.) Life of Bishop Ken. Lond. 1830, 1831. 2 vols.
Boyle (R.) Works. Lond. 1744. 5 vols. folio.
Brande (W. T.) A Manual of Chemistry. Lond. 1818. 2 vols.
Brewster (Sir D.) Memoirs of Sir Isaac Newton. Edinb. 1855. 2 vols.
Brienne (L. H. de Loménie) Mémoires inédits. Paris, 1828. 2 vols.
Brissot (J. P.) Mémoires. Paris, 1830. 2 vols.
British Association for Advancement of Science, Reports of. Lond. 1833-1853. 21 vols.
Brodie (Sir B.) Lectures on Pathology and Surgery. Lond. 1846.
Brodie (Sir B.) Physiological Researches. Lond. 1851.
Brougham (Lord) Sketches of Statesmen in the time of George III. Lond. 1845. 6 vols.
Brougham (Lord) Lives of Men of Letters and Science in the time of George III. Lond. 1845-1847. 2 vols.
Brougham (Lord) Political Philosophy. 2nd edit. Lond. 1849. 3 vols.
Broussais (F. J. V.) Examen des Doctrines Médicales. Paris, 1829-1834. 4 vols.
Broussais (F. J. V.) Cours de Phrénologie. Paris, 1836.
Brown (T.) Lectures on the Philosophy of the Mind. Edinb. 1838.
Browne (Sir Thomas) Works and Correspondence, by S. Wilkin. Lond. 1836. 4 vols.
Buchanan (F.) Journey through Mysore, Canara, and Malabar. Lond. 1807. 3 vols. 4to.
Buchanan (J.) Sketches of the North-American Indians. Lond. 1824.
Buckingham (Duke of) Memoirs of George III. Lond. 1853. 2 vols.
Bullock (W.) Travels in Mexico. Lond. 1824.
Bulstrode (Sir R.) Memoirs of Charles I. and Charles II. Lond. 1721.
Bunbury (Sir H.) Correspondence of Sir Thomas Hanmer. Lond. 1838.
Bunsen (C. C. J.) Egypt's Place in Universal History. Lond. 1848-1854. 2 vols.
Burckhardt (J. L.) Travels in Arabia. Lond. 1829. 2 vols.

Burdach (C. F.) Traité de Physiologie considérée comme Science d'Observation. Paris, 1837–1841. 9 vols.
Burke (E.) Works, by H. Rogers. Lond. 1841. 2 vols.
Burke (E.) Correspondence with Laurence. Lond. 1827.
Burke (E.) Correspondence between 1744 and 1797. Lond. 1844. 4 vols.
Burnes (Sir A.) Travels into Bokhara. Lond. 1834. 3 vols.
Burnet (Bishop) History of his own Time. Oxford, 1823. 6 vols.
Burnet (Bishop) Lives and Characters, edit. Jebb. Lond. 1833.
Burton (J. H.) Life and Correspondence of D. Hume. Edinb. 1846. 2 vols.
Burton (R. F.) Sindh, and the Races in the Valley of the Indus. Lond. 1851.
Burton (T.) Diary, from 1655 to 1659. Lond. 1828. 4 vols.
Butler (C.) Memoirs of the English, Irish, and Scottish Catholics. Lond. 1822. 4 vols.
Butler (C.) Reminiscences. Lond. 1824–1827. 2 vols.

Cabanis (P. J. G.) Rapports du Physique et du Moral de l'Homme. Paris, 1843.
Calamy (E.) Account of my own Life, 1671–1731. Lond. 1829. 2 vols.
Campan (Madame) Mémoires sur Marie Antoinette. Paris, 1826. 3 vols.
Campbell (Lord) Lives of the Lord Chancellors of England. 3d edit. Lond. 1848–1850. 7 vols.
Campbell (Lord) Lives of the Chief-Justices of England. Lond. 1849. 2 vols.
Campion (H. de) Mémoires. Paris, 1807.
Capefigue (M.) Histoire de la Réforme, de la Ligue, et du Règne de Henri IV. Bruxelles, 1834, 1835. 8 vols.
Capefigue (M.) Richelieu, Mazarin, et la Fronde. Paris, 1844. 2 vols.
Capefigue (M.) Louis XIV. Paris, 1844. 2 vols.
Cappe (C.) Memoirs, written by herself. Lond. 1822.
Carlyle (T.) Letters and Speeches of Cromwell. 2d edit. Lond. 1846. 3 vols.
Carpenter (W. B.) Principles of Human Physiology. 3d edit. Lond. 1846.
Cartwright (Major) Life and Correspondence. Lond. 1826. 2 vols.
Carus (C. G.) Comparative Anatomy of Animals. Lond. 1827. 2 vols.
Carwithen (J. B. S.) History of the Church of England. Oxford, 1849. 2 vols.
Cassagnac (M. A. G. de) Causes de la Révolution Française. Paris, 1850. 3 vols.
Catlin (G.) Letters on the North-American Indians. Lond. 1841. 2 vols.
Charron (P.) De la Sagesse. Amsterdam, 1782. 2 vols.
Chatham (Earl of) Correspondence. Lond. 1838–1840. 4 vols.
Chillingworth (W.) The Religion of Protestants. Lond. 1846.
Clapperton (H.) Second Expedition into the Interior of Africa. Lond. 1829. 4to.
Clarendon's History of the Rebellion; and Life, by himself. Oxford, 1843.
Clarendon Correspondence and Diary, by S. W. Singer. Lond. 1828. 2 vols. 4to.
Cloncurry (Lord) Recollections and Correspondence. Dublin, 1849.
Clot-Bey (A. B.) De la Peste observée en Egypte. Paris, 1840.
Colebrooke (H. T.) A Digest of Hindu Law. Calcutta, 1801. 3 vols.
Coleman (C.) Mythology of the Hindus. Lond. 1832. 4to.
Coleridge (S. T.) Literary Remains. Lond. 1836–1839. 4 vols.
Coleridge (S. T.) The Friend. Lond. 1844. 3 vols.
Combe (G.) Notes on the United States of North America. Edinb. 1841. 3 vols.
Comines (P. de) Mémoires, edit. Petitot. 1826. 3 vols.

Comte (A.) Cours de Philosophie Positive. Paris, 1830–1842. 6 vols.
Comte (C.) Traité de Législation. Paris, 1835. 4 vols.
Condillac (E. B.) Traité des Sensations. Paris, 1798.
Condorcet (Marquis de) Vie de Turgot. Londres, 1786.
Condorcet (Marquis de) Vie de Voltaire, in vol. i. of Œuvres de Voltaire. Paris, 1820.
Conrart (V.) Mémoires. Paris, 1825.
Cook (J.) Three Voyages round the World. Lond. 1821. 7 vols.
Cooke (G. W.) History of Party. Lond. 1836, 1837. 3 vols.
Copleston (E.) Inquiry into the Doctrines of Necessity and Predestination. Lond. 1821.
Cousin (V.) Cours de l'Histoire de la Philosophie moderne, I. série. Paris, 1846. 5 vols.
Cousin (V.) Idem. idem. II. série. Paris, 1847. 3 vols.
Crantz (D.) History of Greenland. Lond. 1767. 2 vols.
Crawfurd (J.) History of the Indian Archipelago. Edinb. 1820. 3 vols.
Cudworth (R.) The True Intellectual System of the Universe. Lond. 1820. 4 vols.
Currie (J.) Life and Correspondence, by his Son. Lond. 1831. 2 vols.
Custine (Marquis de) La Russie en 1839. Paris, 1843. 4 vols.
Cuvier (G.) Recueil des Eloges Historiques. Paris, 1819–1827. 3 vols.
Cuvier (G.) Histoire des Sciences Naturelles depuis leur Origine. Paris, 1831.
Cuvier (G.) Histoire des Progrès des Sciences Naturelles depuis 1789. Bruxelles, 1837, 1838. 2 vols.
Cuvier (G.) Le Règne Animal. Paris, 1829. 5 vols.

Dabistan (The) translated from the Persian, by D. Shea and A. Troyer. Paris, 1843. 3 vols.
Dacier (M.) Rapport sur les Progrès de l'Histoire et de la Littérature depuis 1789. Paris, 1810. 4to.
Dalrymple (J.) History of Feudal Property in Great Britain. Lond. 1758.
Dalrymple (J.) Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland. Lond. 1790. 3 vols.
Daniel (G.) Histoire de la Milice Françoise. Paris, 1721. 2 vols. 4to.
Daniell (J. F.) Meteorological Essays. Lond. 1827.
Darwin (C.) Journal of Researches in Geology and Natural History. Lond. 1840.
Davis (J. F.) The Chinese. Lond. 1844. 3 vols.
De Lisle (Romé) Essai de Cristallographie. Paris, 1772.
De Lisle (Romé) Cristallographie. Paris, 1783. 4 vols. 8vo.
Denham (D.) Travels in Northern and Central Africa. Lond. 1826. 4to.
Descartes (R.) Œuvres, par V. Cousin. Paris, 1824–1826. 11 vols.
De Staël (Madame) Considérations sur la Révolution Françoise. Paris, 1820. 3 vols.
De Thou (J. A.) Histoire Universelle, depuis 1543 jusqu'en 1607. Londres, 1734. 16 vols. 4to.
Des Maizeaux (P.) Life of Chillingworth. Lond. 1725.
Des Réaux (Tallemant) Les Historiettes. Paris, 1840. 10 vols.
Diderot (D.) Mémoires et Correspondance. Paris, 1830, 1831. 4 vols.
Diodori Siculi Bibliotheca Historica; recensione Wesselingii. Bipont. 1793–1807. 11 vols.
Diogenes Laertius, De Vitis Philosophorum, edit. Meibomius. Amstel. 1692. 2 vols. 4to.
Disney (J.) Life of Dr. John Jebb, in vol. i. of Jebb's Works. Lond. 1787.
Dobell (P.) Travels in Kamtchatka and Siberia. Lond. 1830. 2 vols.
Doblado's Letters from Spain (by Rev. B. White). Lond. 1822.

Doddridge (P.) Correspondence and Diary. Lond. 1829-1831. 5 vols.
Doubleday (T.) The True Law of Population. Lond. 1847.
Dowling (J. G.) Introduction to the Study of Ecclesiastical History Lond. 1838.
D'Oyly (G.) Life of Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury. Lond. 1840.
Duclos (M.) Mémoires secrets sur Louis XIV et Louis XV. Paris, 1791. 2 vols.
Du Deffand (Madame) Correspondance inédite. Paris, 1809. 2 vols.
Du Deffand (Madame) Lettres à H. Walpole. Paris, 1827. 4 vols.
Dufau (P. A.) Traité de Statistique. Paris, 1840.
Du Mesnil (M.) Mémoires sur le Prince Le Brun. Paris, 1828.
Dumont (E.) Souvenirs sur Mirabeau. Londres, 1832.
Duplessis Mornay (P.) Mémoires et Correspondance. Paris, 1824, 1825. 12 vols.
Dutens (L.) Mémoires d'un Voyageur qui se repose. Londres, 1806. 3 vols.
Duvernet (J.) Vie de Voltaire. Genève, 1786.
Duvernet (J.) Histoire de la Sorbonne. Paris, 1791. 2 vols.

Eccleston (J.) Introduction to English Antiquities. Lond. 1847.
Edwards (M.) Zoologie. Paris, 1841, 1842. 2 parts.
Elliotson (J.) Human Physiology. Lond. 1840.
Ellis Correspondence (The) 1686-1688, edited by G. A. Ellis. Lond. 1829. 2 vols.
Ellis (Sir H.) Original Letters of Literary Men. Camden Soc. 1843. 4to.
Ellis (W.) A Tour through Hawaii. Lond. 1827.
Ellis (W.) Polynesian Researches. Lond. 1831. 4 vols.
Ellis (W.) History of Madagascar. Lond. 1838. 2 vols.
Elphinstone (M.) The History of India. Lond. 1849.
Encyclopædia of the Medical Sciences. Lond. 1847. 4to.
Epinay (Madame d') Mémoires et Correspondance. Paris, 1818. 3 vols.
Erman (A.) Travels in Siberia. Lond. 1848. 2 vols.
Eschbach (M.) Introduction à l'Etude du Droit. Paris, 1846.
Esquirol (E.) Des Maladies Mentales. Paris, 1838. 2 vols.
Evelyn (J.) Diary and Correspondence. Lond. 1827. 5 vols.

Fairfax Correspondence (The) edited by G. W. Johnson and R. Bell. Lond. 1848, 1849. 4 vols.
Felice (G.) History of the Protestants of France. Lond. 1853.
Feuchtersleben (E.) The Principles of Medical Psychology. Sydenham Soc. 1847.
Flassan (M.) Histoire de la Diplomatie Française. Paris, 1811. 7 vols.
Flourens (P.) Histoire des Travaux de Cuvier. Paris, 1845.
Fontenay-Mareuil (Marquis de) Mémoires. Paris, 1826. 2 vols.
Fontenelle (B. de) Eloges, in vols. v. and vi. of Œuvres. Paris, 1766.
Forbes (J.) Oriental Memoirs. Lond. 1834. 2 vols.
Forry (S.) Climate of the United States, and its Endemic Influences. New York, 1842.
Forster (J.) Life and Times of Goldsmith. 2d edit. Lond. 1854. 2 vols.
Fox (C. J.) History of the Early Part of the Reign of James II. Lond. 1808. 4to.
Franklin (B.) Private Correspondence. Lond. 1817. 2 vols.
Franklin (B.) Life, by himself. Lond. 1818. 2 vols.

Galfridus Monumetensis, Historia Britonum, edit. Giles. Lond. 1844.
Gardner (G.) Travels in the Interior of Brazil. Lond. 1849.

Genlis (Madame de) Mémoires sur le XVIIIe Siècle. Paris, 1825. 10 vols.
Gent (T.) Life, by himself. Lond. 1832.
Geoffroy Saint Hilaire (I.) Histoire des Anomalies de l'Organisation chez l'Homme et les Animaux. Bruxelles, 1837. 3 vols.
Georgel (L'Abbé) Mémoires. Paris, 1817, 1818. 6 vols.
Georget (M.) De la Folie. Paris, 1820.
Giraud (C.) Précis de l'Ancien Droit coutumier Français. Paris, 1852.
Godwin (W.) Of Population; or the Power of Increase in Mankind. Lond. 1820.
Goethe (J. W.) Wahrheit und Dichtung, in vol. ii. of Werke. Stuttgart, 1837.
Grant (R. E.) Comparative Anatomy. Lond. 1841.
Grant (R.) History of Physical Astronomy. Lond. 1852.
Grégoire (M.) Histoire des Confesseurs. Paris, 1824.
Grenville Papers (The) edited by W. J. Smith. Lond. 1852, 1853. 4 vols.
Grieve (J.) The History of Kamtschatka, translated from the Russian. Gloucester, 1764. 4to.
Grimm et Diderot, Correspondance Littéraire. Paris, 1813, 1814. 17 vols. [This important work consists of three parts, besides a supplement; but in quoting it, I have always followed the ordinary lettering, making the supplement vol. xvii.]
Grose (F.) Military Antiquities; a History of the English Army. Lond. 1812. 4to. 2 vols.
Grosley (M.) A Tour to London. Lond. 1772. 2 vols.
Grote (G.) History of Greece. Lond. 1846-1856. 12 vols. 1st edit. of vols. i. ii. iii. iv. ix. x. xi. xii.; 2d edit. of vols. v. vi. vii. viii.
Guizot (M.) Histoire de la Civilisation en France. Paris, 1846. 4 vols.
Guizot (M.) Histoire de la Civilisation en Europe. Paris, 1846.
Guizot (M.) Essais sur l'Histoire de France. Paris, 1847.

Halhed (N. B.) Code of Gentoo Laws. Lond. 1777.
Halkett (J.) Notes respecting the Indians of North America. Lond. 1825.
Hallam (H.) Constitutional History of England. Lond. 1842. 2 vols.
Hallam (H.) Introduction to the Literature of Europe. Lond. 1843. 3 vols.
Hallam (H.) Europe during the Middle Ages. Lond. 1846. 2 vols.
Hallam (H.) Supplemental Notes to Europe during the Middle Ages. Lond. 1848.
Hamilton (W.) Ægyptiaca. Lond. 1809. 4to.
Hamilton (Sir W.) Notes and Dissertations to Reid. Edinb. 1852.
Hamilton (Sir W.) Discussions on Philosophy and Literature. Lond. 1852.
Hare's Guesses at Truth. First and second series. Lond. 1847, 1848. 2 vols.
Harford (J. S.) Life of T. Burgess, Bishop of Salisbury. Lond. 1841.
Harris (G.) Life of Lord Chancellor Hardwicke. Lond. 1847. 3 vols.
Harris (W.) Lives of James I., Charles I., Cromwell, and Charles II. Lond. 1814. 5 vols.
Hausset (Madame du) Mémoires. Paris, 1824.
Haüy (R. J.) Traité de Minéralogie. Paris, 1801. 5 vols.
Hawkins (B.) Elements of Medical Statistics. Lond. 1829.
Heber (Bishop) Life of Jeremy Taylor, in vol. i. of Taylor's Works. Lond. 1828.
Heber (Bishop) Journey through the Upper and Southern Provinces of India. Lond. 1828. 3 vols.
Heeren (A. H. L.) Politics, Intercourse, and Trade of the African Nations. Oxford, 1838. 2 vols.

Heeren (A. H. L.) Politics, Intercourse, and Trade of the Asiatic Nations. Lond. 1846. 2 vols.
Helvétius (C. A.) De l'Esprit. Amsterdam, 1759. 2 vols.
Henderson (J.) History of Brazil. Lond. 1821. 4to.
Henle (J.) Traité d'Anatomie Générale. Paris, 1843. 2 vols.
Henslow (J. S.) Descriptive and Physiological Botany. Lond. 1837.
Herder (J. G.) Ideen zur Geschichte der Menschheit. Stuttgart, 1827, 1828. 4 vols.
Herodoti Musæ, edit. Baehr. Lipsiæ, 1830–1835. 4 vols.
Herschel (Sir J.) Discourse on the Study of Natural Philosophy. Lond. 1831.
Hitchcock (E.) The Religion of Geology. Lond. 1851.
Hodgson (R.) Life of Porteus, Bishop of London. Lond. 1811.
Holcroft (T.) Memoirs, by himself: continued by Hazlitt. Lond. 1816. 3 v.
Holland (Sir H.) Medical Notes. Lond. 1839.
Holland (Lord) Memoirs of the Whig Party. Lond. 1852–1854. 2 vols.
Holles (Lord) Memoirs. Lond. 1699.
Hooker (R.) Ecclesiastical Polity. Lond. 1830. 3 vols.
Howell (J.) Letters. Lond. 1754.
Huetius (P. D.) Commentarius de Rebus ad eum pertinentibus. Amstel. 1718.
Humboldt (A.) Essai sur la Nouvelle Espagne. Paris, 1811. 2 vols. 4to.
Humboldt (A.) Cosmos. Lond. 1848–1852. 4 vols.
Hume (D.) Philosophical Works. Edinb. 1826. 4 vols.
Hume (D.) Letters of Eminent Persons to. Edinb. 1849.
Hunt (F. K.) History of Newspapers. Lond. 1850. 2 vols.
Hutchinson (Colonel) Memoirs of, by his Widow. Lond. 1846.
Hutton (W.) Life of, by himself. Lond. 1816.

James II., The Life of, from Memoirs by his own hand, by J. S. Clarke. Lond. 1816. 2 vols. 4to.
Ibn Batuta, Travels in the Fourteenth Century, translated from Arabic by S. Lee. Lond. 1829. 4to.
Jefferson (T.) Memoirs and Correspondence, by Randolph. Lond. 1829. 4 vols.
Jehanguedr (The Emperor) Memoirs by himself, translated from Persian by D. Price. Lond. 1829. 4to.
Jewel (J.) Apologia Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ. Lond. 1581.
Jobert (A. C. G.) Ideas or Outlines of a New System of Philosophy. Lond. 1848, 1849. 2 vols.
Joly (G.) Mémoires. Paris, 1825.
Jones (C. H.) and Sieveking (E. H.) Pathological Anatomy. Lond. 1854.
Jones (R.) Organization of the Animal Kingdom. Lond. 1855.
Jones (Sir W.) Works. Lond. 1799. 6 vols. 4to.
Jones (W.) Life of G. Horne, Bishop of Norwich. Lond. 1795.
Journal Asiatique. Paris, 1822–1827. 11 vols.
Journal of the Asiatic Society. Lond. 1834–1851. 14 vols.
Journal of the Geographical Society. Lond. 1833 (2d edit. of vol. i.)–1853. 23 vols.
Jussieu's Botany, by J. H. Wilson. Lond. 1849.
Ixtlilxochitl, Histoire des Chichimèques ou des anciens Rois de Tezcuco. Paris, 1840. 2 vols.

Kaemtz (L. F.) Course of Meteorology. Lond. 1845.
Kant (J.) Werke. Leipzig, 1838, 1839. 10 vols.

Kay (J.) Condition and Education of the People in England and Europe. Lond. 1850. 2 vols.
Kemble (J. M.) The Saxons in England. Lond. 1849. 2 vols.
Ken (Bishop of Bath and Wells) Life of, by a Layman. London, 1854. 2 vols.
King (Lord) Life of J. Locke. Lond. 1830. 2 vols.
Klimrath (H.) Travaux sur l'Histoire du Droit Français. Paris, 1843. 2 vols.
Koch (M.) Tableau des Révolutions de l'Europe. Paris, 1823. 3 vols.
Kohl (J. G.) Russia. Lond. 1842.

Lacretelle (C.) Histoire de France pendant le XVIII^e Siècle. Bruxelles, 1819. 3 vols.
Lafayette (Général) Mémoires, Correspondance et Manuscrits. Bruxelles, 1837–1839. 2 vols.
Laing (S.) Sweden in 1838. Lond. 1839.
Laing (S.) Notes on the Social and Political State of Europe. Lond. 1842.
Laing (S.) Second Series of Notes on Europe. Lond. 1850.
Laing (S.) Denmark, being the Third Series of Notes. Lond. 1852.
Lamartine (A. de) Histoire des Girondins. Bruxelles, 1847. 8 vols.
Lankester (E.) Memorials of John Ray. Ray Soc. 1846.
Larenaudière (M. de) Mexique et Guatemala. Paris, 1843.
Lathbury (T.) History of the Convocation of the Church of England. Lond. 1842.
Lathbury (T.) History of the Nonjurors. Lond. 1845.
Lavallée (T.) Histoire des Français. Paris, 1847. 4 vols.
Lawrence (W.) Lectures on Comparative Anatomy, and the Natural History of Man. Lond. 1844.
Le Blanc (L'Abbé) Lettres d'un François. Lyon, 1758, 3 vols.
Ledwich (E.) Antiquities of Ireland. Dublin, 1801. 4to.
Le Long (J.) Bibliothèque Historique de la France. Paris, 1768–1778. 5 vols. folio.
Lémontey (P. E.) L'Etablissement Monarchique de Louis XIV. Paris, 1818.
Lenet (P.) Mémoires. Paris, 1826. 2 vols.
Lepan (M.) Vie de Voltaire. Paris, 1837.
Lepelletier (A.) Physiologie Médicale. Paris, 1831–1833. 4 vols.
Lerminier (E.) Philosophie du Droit. Paris, 1831. 2 vols.
Leslie (Sir J.) Natural and Chemical Philosophy. Edinb. 1838.
Le Vassor (M.) Histoire du Règne de Louis XIII. Amst. 1701–1711. 10 vols.
Liebig (J.) Animal Chemistry. Lond. 1846.
Liebig and Kopp's Reports of the Progress of Chemistry and the allied Sciences. Lond. 1849–1853. 4 vols.
Liebig (J.) Letters on Chemistry in its relation to Physiology. Lond. 1851.
Lindley (J.) The Vegetable Kingdom. Lond. 1847.
Lindley (J.) An Introduction to Botany. Lond. 1848. 2 vols.
Lingard (J.) History of England. Paris, 1840. 8 vols.
Lister (M.) An Account of Paris at the close of the Seventeenth Century. Shaftesbury, *n.d.*
Lister (T. H.) Life and Correspondence of the first Earl of Clarendon. Lond. 1837, 1838. 3 vols.
Llorente (D. J. A.) Histoire critique de l'Inquisition d'Espagne. Paris, 1817, 1818. 4 vols.
Locke (J.) Works. Lond. 1794. 9 vols.
Longchamp et Wagnière, Mémoires sur Voltaire. Paris, 1826. 2 vols.
Loudon (J. C.) An Encyclopædia of Agriculture. Lond. 1844.

Low (H.) Sarawak; its Inhabitants and Productions. Lond. 1835.
Ludlow (E.) Memoirs. Edinb. 1751. 3 vols.
Lyell (Sir C.) Principles of Geology. Lond. 1853.

Mably (L'Abbé) Observations sur l'Histoire de France. Paris, 1823. 3 vols.
Macaulay (T. B.) History of England. Lond. 1849–1855. 1st edit. 4 vols.
Mackay (R. W.) The Progress of the Intellect in the Religious Development of the Greeks and Hebrews. Lond. 1850. 2 vols.
Mackintosh (Sir J.) Memoirs, by his Son. Lond. 1835. 2 vols.
Mackintosh (Sir J.) History of the Revolution in England in 1688. Lond. 1834. 4to.
Mackintosh (Sir J.) Dissertation on the Progress of Ethical Philosophy. Edinb. 1837.
M'Culloch (J. R.) The Principles of Political Economy. Edinb. 1843.
M'Culloh (J. H.) Researches concerning the Aboriginal History of America. Baltimore, 1829.
Macpherson (J.) Original Papers, from the Restoration to the Accession of the House of Hanover. Lond. 1775. 2 vols. 4to.
M'William (J. O.) Medical History of the Expedition to the Niger. Lond. 1843.
Mahon (Lord) History of England, from 1713 to 1783. Lond. 1853, 1854. 7 vols.
Maintenon (Madame de) Lettres inédites avec la Princesse des Ursins. Paris, 1826. 4 vols.
Malcolm (Sir J.) History of Persia. Lond. 1829. 2 vols.
Mallet's Northern Antiquities, edit. Blackwell. Lond. 1847.
Mallet du Pan, Memoirs and Correspondence. London, 1852. 2 vols.
Malthus (T. R.) An Essay on the Principles of Population. Lond. 1826. 2 vols.
Manning (W. O.) Commentaries on the Law of Nations. Lond. 1839.
Marchmont Papers, from 1685 to 1750. Lond. 1831. 3 vols.
Mariner (W.) An Account of the Natives of the Tonga Islands. Lond. 1818. 2 vols.
Marmontel (J. F.) Mémoires. Paris, 1805. 4 vols.
Marsden (W.) History of Sumatra. London, 1783. 4to.
Matter (M.) Histoire du Gnosticisme. Paris, 1828. 2 vols.
Matter (M.) Histoire de l'Ecole d'Alexandrie. Paris, 1840-1844. 2 vols.
Matthæi Paris Historia Major, edit. Wats. Lond. 1684. folio.
Matthæi Westmonasteriensis Flores Historiarum. Lond. 1570. folio, 2 vols.
Maury (L. F. A.) Légendes Pieuses du Moyen Age. Paris, 1843.
May (T.) History of the Long Parliament. Lond. 1647. folio, 3 books.
Mayo (H.) Outlines of Human Physiology. Lond. 1837.
Meadley (G. W.) Memoirs of W. Paley. Edinb. 1810.
Meiners (E.) Betrachtungen über die Fruchtbarkeit &c. der Länder in Asien. Lubeck, 1795, 1796. 2 vols.
Mercier (M.) J. J. Rousseau considéré comme l'un des premiers Auteurs de la Révolution. Paris, 1791. 2 vols.
Meyen (F. J. F.) Outlines of the Geography of Plants. Lond. 1846.
Meyer (J. D.) Esprit, Origine et Progrès des Institutions Judiciaires. Paris, 1823. 5 vols.
Mezeray (F. E.) Histoire de France. Paris, 1643–1651. 3 vols. folio.
Michelet (M.) Origines du Droit Français, in vol. ii. of Œuvres. Bruxelles, 1840.
Mill (J.) Analysis of the Phenomena of the Human Mind. Lond. 1829. 2 vols.

Mill (J.) The History of British India, edited by H. H. Wilson. Lond. 1848 (the first two vols. only).
Mill (J. S.) Principles of Political Economy. Lond. 1849. 2 vols.
Mills (C.) History of Chivalry. Lond. 1825. 2 vols.
Moffat (R.) Southern Africa. Lond. 1842.
Monconys (M. de) Voyages de. Paris, 1695. 5 vols.
Monk (Bishop of Gloucester) Life of R. Bentley. Lond. 1833. 2 vols.
Montaigne (M.) Essais. Paris, 1843.
Montbarey (Prince de) Mémoires. Paris, 1826, 1827. 3 vols.
Monteil (A. A.) Histoire des Français des divers Etats. Bruxelles, 1843. 8 vols.
Montesquieu (C.) Œuvres complètes. Paris, 1835.
Montglat (Marquis de) Mémoires. Paris, 1825, 1826. 3 vols.
Montlosier (Comte de) La Monarchie Française. Paris, 1814. 3 vols.
Montucla (J. F.) Histoire des Mathématiques. Paris, 1799–1802. 4 vols. 4to.
Morellet (L'Abbé) Mémoires. Paris, 1821. 2 vols.
Mosheim (J. L.) Ecclesiastical History. Lond. 1839. 2 vols.
Motteville (Mme.) Mémoires, edit. Petitot. Paris, 1824. 5 vols.
Müller (J.) Elements of Physiology. Lond. 1840–1842. 2 vols.
Murchison (Sir R.) Siluria. Lond. 1854.
Mure (W.) History of the Language and Literature of Ancient Greece. Lond. 1850–1853. 4 vols.
Murray (A.) Life of J. Bruce. Edinb. 1808. 4to.
Musset Pathay (V. D.) Vie de J. J. Rousseau. Paris, 1822. 2 vols.

Neal (D.) History of the Puritans, from 1517 to 1688. Lond. 1822. 5 vols.
Neander (A.) History of the Christian Religion and Church. Lond. 1850–1852. 8 vols.
Newman (F. W.) Natural History of the Soul, as the Basis of Theology. Lond. 1849.
Newman (F. W.) Phases of Faith. Lond. 1850.
Newman (J. H.) Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine. Lond. 1845.
Newton (Bishop of Bristol) Life of, by himself. Lond. 1816.
Nicholls (J.) Recollections. Lond. 1822. 2 vols.
Nichols (J.) Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century. Lond. 1812–1815. 9 vols.
Nichols (J.) Illustrations of Literary History of the Eighteenth Century. Lond. 1817–1848. 7 vols.
Niebuhr (C.) Description de l'Arabie. Amsterdam, 1774. 4to.
Noble (D.) The Brain and its Physiology. Lond. 1846.
Noble (M.) Memoirs of the House of Cromwell. Birmingham, 1784. 2 vols.
Noble (M.) Lives of the English Regicides. Lond. 1798. 2 vols.
North (R.) The Lives of the Norths. Lond. 1826. 3 vols.

Orme (W.) Life of John Owen. Lond. 1820.
Otter (W.) Life of E. D. Clarke. Lond. 1825. 2 vols.
Owen (R.) Lectures on the Anatomy &c. of Invertebrata. London, 1855.

Paget (J.) Lectures on Surgical Pathology. Lond. 1853. 2 vols.
Palgrave (Sir F.) Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth. Lond. 1832. 2 vols. 4to.
Palissot (M.) Mémoires pour l'Histoire de notre Littérature. Paris, 1803. 2 vols.
Pallme (I.) Travels in Kordofan. Lond. 1844.

Palmer (W.) A Treatise on the Church. Lond. 1839. 2 vols.
Park (Mungo) Travels in Africa. Lond. 1817. 2 vols.
Parker (Bishop) History of his own Time. Lond. 1727.
Parliamentary History of England, to 1803. Lond. 36 vols.
Parr (S.) Works. Lond. 1828. 8 vols.
Patin (G.) Lettres. Paris, 1846. 3 vols.
Peignot (G.) Dictionnaire des Livres condamnés au feu. Paris, 1806. 2 vols.
Pellew (G.) Life and Correspondence of Lord Sidmouth. Lond. 1847. 3 vols.
Pepys (S.) Diary, from 1659 to 1669. Lond. 1828. 5 vols.
Percival (R.) Account of the Island of Ceylon. Lond. 1805. 4to.
Petrie (G.) Ecclesiastical Architecture and Round Towers of Ireland. Dublin, 1845.
Phillimore (R.) Memoirs of Lord Lyttelton, from 1734 to 1773. Lond. 1845. 2 vols.
Phillips (B.) Scrofula, its Nature, Causes, and Prevalence. Lond. 1846.
Pinel (P.) Traité sur l'Aliénation Mentale, 2d edit. Paris, 1809.
Pontchartrain (P. de) Mémoires. Paris, 1822. 2 vols.
Porter (G. R.) The Progress of the Nation. Lond. 1836–1843. 3 vols.
Pouillet (M.) Elémens de Physique. Paris, 1832. 2 vols.
Prescott (W. H.) History of Ferdinand and Isabella. Paris, 1842. 3 vols.
Prescott (W. H.) History of the Conquest of Mexico. Lond. 1850. 3 vols.
Prescott (W. H.) History of the Conquest of Peru. Lond. 1850. 3 vols.
Prichard (J. C.) A Treatise on Insanity. Lond. 1835.
Prichard (J. C.) Insanity in relation to Jurisprudence. Lond. 1842.
Prichard (J. C.) Researches into the Physical History of Mankind. Lond. 1841–1847. 5 vols.
Priestley (J.) Memoirs by himself, continued by his Son. Lond. 1806, 1807. 2 vols.
Prior (J.) Life of O. Goldsmith. Lond. 1837. 2 vols.
Prior (J.) Memoir of E. Burke. Lond. 1839.
Prout (W.) Bridgewater Treatise on Chemistry, &c. Lond. 1845.
Pulteney (R.) Historical Sketches of the Progress of Botany in England. Lond. 1790. 2 vols.

Quatremère (E.) Recherches sur la Langue et la Littérature de l'Egypte. Paris, 1808.
Quérard (J. M.) La France Littéraire. Paris, 1827–1839. 10 vols.
Quetelet (A.) Sur l'Homme et le Développement de ses Facultés. Paris, 1835. 2 vols.
Quetelet (A.) La Statistique Morale, in vol. xxi. of Mém. de l'Acad. de Belgique. Bruxelles, 1848. 4to.
Quick (J.) Synodicon in Gallia; the Acts &c. of the Councils of the Reformed Churches in France. Lond. 1692. 2 vols. folio.

Rabelais (F.) Œuvres. Amsterdam, 1725. 5 vols.
Raffles (Sir T. S.) History of Java. Lond. 1830. 2 vols.
Rammohun Roy, Translations from the Veds and works on Brahmunical Theology. Lond. 1832.
Rammohun Roy on the Judicial and Revenue Systems of India. Lond. 1832.
Ranke (L.) Die Römischen Päpste. Berlin, 1838, 1839. 3 vols.
Ranke (L.) Civil Wars and Monarchy in France in 16th and 17th Centuries. Lond. 1852. 2 vols.
Ray (J.) Correspondence, edited by E. Lankester. Ray Soc. 1848.
Reid (T.) Essays on the Powers of the Human Mind. Edinb. 1808. 3 vols.

Relations des Ambassadeurs Vénitiens sur les Affaires de France au XVI[e] Siècle. Paris, 1838. 2 vols. 4to.
Renouard (P. V.) Histoire de la Médecine. Paris, 1846. 2 vols.
Reports on Botany by the Ray Society. Lond. 1846.
Reresby (Sir J.) Travels and Memoirs during the Time of Cromwell, Charles II., and James II. Lond. 1831.
Retz (Cardinal de) Mémoires. Paris, 1844. 2 vols.
Rey (J. A.) Théorie et Pratique de la Science Sociale. Paris, 1842. 3 vols.
Reynier (L.) De l'Economie Publique et Rurale des Arabes et des Juifs. Genève, 1820.
Reynolds (Sir J.) Literary Works. Lond. 1846. 2 vols.
Rhode (J. G.) Religiöse Bildung, Mythologie und Philosophie der Hindus. Leipzig, 1827. 2 vols.
Ricardo (D.) Works. Lond. 1846.
Richard (A.) Nouveaux Eléments de Botanique. Paris, 1846.
Richardson (J.) Travels in the Desert of Sahara. Lond. 1848. 2 vols.
Richardson (J.) A Mission to Central Africa. Lond. 1853. 2 vols.
Richardson (Sir J.) Arctic Searching Expedition. Lond. 1851. 2 vols.
Richelieu (Cardinal) Mémoires sur le Règne de Louis XIII. Paris, 1823. 10 vols.
Rig-Veda-Sanhita, translated from Sanscrit by H. H. Wilson. Lond. 1850–1854. 2 vols.
Ritter (H.) History of Ancient Philosophy. Lond. 1838–1846. 4 vols.
Rivarol (M.) Mémoires. Paris, 1824.
Robertson (W.) Works. Lond. 1831.
Robin (C.) et Verdeil (F.) Traité de Chimie Anatomique. Paris, 1853. 3 vols.
Rochefoucauld (Duc de la) Mémoires. Paris, 1826. 2 vols.
Rohan (H. Duc de) Mémoires. Paris, 1822.
Roland (M[me]) Mémoires. Paris, 1827. 2 vols.
Romilly (Sir S.) Life, written by himself. Lond. 1842. 2 vols.
Roscoe (H.) The Life of W. Roscoe. Lond. 1833. 2 vols.
Russell (Lord J.) Memorials and Correspondence of C. J. Fox. Lond. 1853, 1854. 3 vols.

Sadler (M. T.) The Law of Population. Lond. 1830. 2 vols.
Sainte-Aulaire (Le Comte de) Histoire de la Fronde. Paris, 1843. 2 vols.
Sainte-Palaye (De la Curne) Mémoires sur l'Ancienne Chevalerie. Paris, 1759–1781. 3 vols.
Schlosser (F. C.) History of the Eighteenth Century. Lond. 1843–5. 6 vols.
Scriptores post Bedam Rerum Anglicarum. Lond. 1596. folio.
Ségur (Le Comte de) Mémoires ou Souvenirs. Paris, 1825–1827. 3 vols.
Sevigné (Madame de) Lettres. Paris, 1843. 6 vols.
Sewell (W.) Christian Politics. Lond. 1845.
(Sharp, Sir C.) Memorials of the Rebellion of 1569. Lond. 1840.
Sharp (Archbishop of York) Life, edited by T. Newcome. Lond. 1825. 2 vols.
Sharpe (S.) History of Egypt. Lond. 1852. 2 vols.
Short (Bishop of St. Asaph) History of the Church of England, to 1688. Lond. 1847.
Simon (J.) Lectures on General Pathology. Lond 1850.
Simon (J. F.) Animal Chemistry. Lond. 1845, 1846. 2 vols.
Simpson (T.) Discoveries on the North Coast of America. Lond. 1843.
Sinclair (Sir J.) History of the Public Revenue of the British Empire. Lond. 1803, 1804. 3 vols.

Sinclair (Sir J.) *The Correspondence of. Lond. 1831. 2 vols.*
Sismondi (J. C. L. S. de) Histoire des Français. Paris, 1821–1844. 31 vols.
Smedley (E.) History of the Reformed Religion in France. Lond. 1832–1834. 3 vols. 8vo.
Smith (A.) Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations. Edinb. 1839.
Smith (Sir J. E.) Memoir and Correspondence of. Lond. 1832. 2 vols.
Somers Tracts, edited by Sir W. Scott. Lond. 1809–1815. 13 vols. 4to.
Somerville (M.) Connexion of the Physical Sciences. Lond. 1849.
Somerville (M.) Physical Geography. Lond. 1851. 2 vols.
Sorbière (M.) A Voyage to England. Lond. 1709.
Sorel (M. C.) La Bibliothèque Françoise. Paris, 1667.
Soulavie (J. L.) Mémoires du Règne de Louis XVI. Paris, 1801. 6 vols.
Southey (R.) History of Brazil. Lond. 1819–1822. 3 vols 4to. (2d. edit. of vol. i.)
Southey (R.) The Life of Wesley. Lond. 1846. 2 vols.
Spence (G.) Origin of the Laws and Political Institutions of Europe. Lond. 1826.
Spix (J. B.) and Martius (C. F.) Travels in Brazil. Lond. 1824. 2 vols.
Sprengel (K.) Histoire de la Médecine. Paris, 1815–1820. 9 vols.
Squier (E. G.) Travels in Central America. New York, 1853. 2 vols.
Statistical Society (Journal of). Lond. 1839–1855. 18 vols.
Staudlin (C. F.) Geschichte der theologischen Wissenschaften. Göttingen, 1810, 1811. 2 vols.
Stephens (A.) Memoirs of J. H. Tooke. Lond. 1813. 2 vols.
Stephens (J. L.) Travels in Central America. Lond. 1842, 1843, 4 vols.
Stewart (D.) Elements of the Philosophy of the Human Mind. Lond. 1792–1827. 3 vols.
Story (J.) Commentaries on the Conflict of Laws. Lond. 1841.
Sully (Duc de) Mémoires des Sages et Royales Œconomies, edit. Petitot. Paris, 1820, 1821. 9 vols.
Swainson (W.) Discourse on the Study of Natural History. Lond. 1834.
Swainson (W.) Geography and Classification of Animals. Lond. 1835.
Swinburne (H.) The Courts of Europe at the close of the last Century. Lond. 1841. 2 vols.
Symes (M.) Embassy to the Kingdom of Ava. 2d edit. Lond. 1800. 3 vols.

Talon (Omer) Mémoires. Paris, 1827. 3 vols.
Talvi's Historical View of the Languages and Literature of the Slavic Nations. New York, 1850.
Taylor (A. S.) Manual of Medical Jurisprudence. Lond. 1846.
Temple (Sir W.) Works. Lond. 1814. 4 vols.
Tennemann (W. G.) Geschichte der Philosophie. Leipzig, 1798–1819. 11 vols.
Thirlwall (Bishop of St. David's) History of Greece. Lond. 1835–1850. 8 v.
Thomson (T.) History of the Royal Society. Lond. 1812. 4to.
Thomson (T.) History of Chemistry. 2 vols. *n.d.*
Thomson (T.) Chemistry of Vegetables. Lond. 1838.
Thomson (T.) Chemistry of Animal Bodies. Edinb. 1843.
Thornton (W. T.) Over-Population, and its Remedy. Lond. 1846.
Ticknor (G.) History of Spanish Literature. Lond. 1849. 3 vols.
Timour's Political and Military Institutes, edited by Davy and White. Oxford, 1783, 4to.
Tocqueville (Le Comte de) Histoire Philosophique du Règne de Louis XV. Paris, 1847. 2 vols.
Tocqueville (A. de) De la Démocratie en Amérique. Bruxelles, 1840. 5 vols. in 2 parts.

Tocqueville (A. de) L'Ancien Régime et la Révolution. Paris, 1856.
Tomline (Bishop of Winchester) Life of W. Pitt. Lond. 1821. 2 vols. 4to.
Townsend (J.) Journey through Spain in 1786 and 1787. Lond. 1792. 3 vols.
Trail (W.) Account of the Life and Writings of Robert Simson. Lond. 1812. 4to.
Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay. Lond. 1819–1823. 3 vols. 4to.
Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society. Lond. 1827–1835. 3 vols. 4to.
Trotter (J. B.) Memoirs of the Latter Years of C. J. Fox. Lond. 1811.
Tschudi (J. J.) Travels in Peru. Lond. 1847.
Tucker (G.) The Life of T. Jefferson. Lond. 1837. 2 vols.
Tuckey (J. K.) Expedition to the Zaire, in South Africa. 1818. 4to.
Turgot (M.) Œuvres. Paris, 1811. 9 vols.
Turner (E.) Elements of Chemistry. Lond. 1847. 2 vols.
Turner (Samuel) An Embassy to Tibet. Lond. 1800. 4to.
Turner (Sharon) History of England. Lond. 1839. 12 vols.
Turpinus, De Vita Caroli Magni, edit. S. Ciampi. Florent. 1822.
Twiss (H.) The Life of Lord Chancellor Eldon. Lond. 1846. 2 vols.
Twiss (T.) Progress of Political Economy in Europe. Lond. 1847.

Vattel (M. de) Le Droit des Gens. Paris, 1820. 2 vols.
Vaughan (R.) The Protectorate of Cromwell. Lond. 1839. 2 vols.
Vernon (J.) Letters from 1696 to 1708. Lond. 1841. 3 vols.
Villemain (M.) De la Littérature au XVIII^e Siècle. Paris, 1846. 4 vols.
Villemarqué (T. H.) Chants Populaires de la Bretagne. Paris, 1846. 2 vols. [Introduction only quoted.]
Vishnu Purana; a System of Hindu Mythology, translated from the Sanscrit by H. H. Wilson. Lond. 1840. 4to.
Ulloa (A.) A Voyage to South America. Lond. 1772. 2 vols.
Vogel (J.) The Pathological Anatomy of the Human Body. Lond. 1847.
Volney (C. F.) Voyage en Syrie et en Egypte. Paris, an vii. 2 vols.
Voltaire, Œuvres complètes. Paris, 1820–1826. 70 vols.
Voltaire, Lettres inédites. Paris, 1856. 2 vols
Vyse (H.) Operations at the Pyramids. Lond. 1840–1842. 3 vols.

Wagner (R.) Elements of Physiology. Lond. 1841.
Wakefield (G.) Life of, by himself. Lond. 1804. 2 vols.
Walker (C.) The History of Independency. Lond. 1660, 1661. 4 parts. 4to.
Walpole (H.) Memoirs of George II. Lond. 1847. 3 vols.
Walpole (H.) Memoirs of the Reign of George III. Lond. 1845. 4 vols.
Walpole (H.) Letters, from 1735 to 1797. Lond. 1810. 6 vols.
Walsh (R.) Notices of Brazil. Lond. 1830. 2 vols.
Warburton's Letters to Hurd. Lond. 1809.
Ward (H. G.) Mexico. Lond. 1829. 2 vols.
Ward (W.) A View of the History, Literature, and Religion of the Hindoos. Lond. 1817–1820. 4 vols.
Ward (W. G.) The Ideal of a Christian Church. Lond. 1844.
Warwick (Sir P.) Memoirs of the Reign of Charles I. Lond. 1702.
Watson (R., Bishop of Llandaff) Life, by himself. Lond. 1818. 2 vols.
Watson (R.) Observations on Southey's Life of Wesley. Lond. 1821.
Wellsted (J. R.) Travels in Arabia. Lond. 1838. 2 vols.
Wesley (John) The Journals of. Lond. 1851.
Whately (Archbishop of Dublin) The Errors of Romanism traced to their Origin in Human Nature. Lond. 1830.

Whately (Archbishop of Dublin) Essays on some of the Dangers to Christian Faith. Lond. 1839.

Wheaton (H.) History of the Northmen, to the Conquest of England by William of Normandy. Lond. 1831.

Whewell (W.) History of the Inductive Sciences. Lond. 1847. 3 vols.

Whewell (W.) Philosophy of the Inductive Sciences, founded upon their History. Lond. 1847. 2 vols.

Whewell (W.) Bridgewater Treatise. Lond. 1852.

Whewell (W.) Lectures on the History of Moral Philosophy in England. Lond. 1852.

Whiston (W.) Memoirs, written by himself. Lond. 1749.

White (Blanco) Practical and Internal Evidence against Catholicism. Lond. 1826.

Whitelocke (Commissioner) Journal of the Swedish Embassy in 1653 and 1654. Lond. 1772. 2 vols. 4to.

Wilberforce (W.) Life, by his Sons. Lond. 1838. 5 vols.

Wilkinson (Sir J. G.) Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians. 1st series, edit. 1842; 2d series, edit. 1841. 5 vols.

Williams (C. J. B.) Principles of Medicine. Lond. 1848.

Wilson (H.) Account of the Pelew Islands. 2d edit. Lond. 1788. 4to.

Wilson (H. H.) Specimens of the Theatre of the Hindus, translated from the Sanscrit. Calcutta, 1827. 3 vols.

Wilson (W.) Memoirs of Daniel Defoe. Lond. 1830. 3 vols.

Winckler (E.) Geschichte der Botanik. Frankfurt-am-M. 1854.

Winstanley (W.) The Loyal Martyrology. Lond. 1665.

Wordsworth (C.) Ecclesiastical Biography. Lond. 1839. 4 vols.

Wrangel (F.) Narrative of an Expedition to the Polar Sea. Lond. 1840.

Wright (T.) Biographia Britannica Literaria; Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman Periods. Lond. 1842–1846. 2 vols.

Yonge (W.) Diary, from 1604 to 1628, edited by G. Roberts. Camd. Soc. 1848. 4to.

HISTORY

OF

CIVILIZATION IN ENGLAND.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION.

CHAPTER I.

STATEMENT OF THE RESOURCES FOR INVESTIGATING HISTORY, AND PROOFS OF THE REGULARITY OF HUMAN ACTIONS. THESE ACTIONS ARE GOVERNED BY MENTAL AND PHYSICAL LAWS: THEREFORE BOTH SETS OF LAWS MUST BE STUDIED, AND THERE CAN BE NO HISTORY WITHOUT THE NATURAL SCIENCES.

Of all the great branches of human knowledge, history is that upon which most has been written, and which has always been most popular. And it seems to be the general opinion that the success of historians has, on the whole, been equal to their industry; and that if on this subject much has been studied, much also is understood.

This confidence in the value of history is very widely diffused, as we see in the extent to which it is read, and in the share it occupies in all plans of education. Nor can it be denied that, in a certain point of view, such confidence is perfectly justifiable. It cannot be denied that materials have been collected which, when looked at in the aggregate, have a rich and imposing appearance. The political and military annals of all the great countries in Europe, and of most of those out of Europe, have been carefully compiled, put together in a convenient form, and the evidence on which they rest has been tolerably

well sifted. Great attention has been paid to the history of legislation, also to that of religion: while considerable, though inferior, labour has been employed in tracing the progress of science, of literature, of the fine-arts, of useful inventions, and, latterly, of the manners and comforts of the people. In order to increase our knowledge of the past, antiquities of every kind have been examined; the sites of ancient cities have been laid bare, coins dug up and deciphered, inscriptions copied, alphabets restored, hieroglyphics interpreted, and, in some instances, long-forgotten languages reconstructed and re-arranged. Several of the laws which regulate the changes of human speech have been discovered, and, in the hands of philologists, have been made to elucidate even the most obscure periods in the early migration of nations. Political economy has been raised to a science, and by it much light has been thrown on the causes of that unequal distribution of wealth which is the most fertile source of social disturbance. Statistics have been so sedulously cultivated, that we have the most extensive information, not only respecting the material interests of men, but also respecting their moral peculiarities; such as, the amount of different crimes, the proportion they bear to each other, and the influence exerci. ed over them by age, sex, education, and the like. With this great movement physical geography has kept pace: the phenomena of climate have been registered, mountains measured, rivers surveyed and tracked to their source, natural productions of all kinds carefully studied, and their hidden properties unfolded: while every food which sustains life has been chemically analysed, its constituents numbered and weighed, and the nature of the connexion between them and the human frame has, in many cases, been satisfactoriiy ascertained. At the same time, and that nothing should be left undone which might enlarge our knowledge of the events by which man is affected, there have been instituted circumstantial researches in many other departments; so that in regard to the most civilized people, we are now acquainted with the rate of their mortality, of their marriages, the propor-

tion of their births, the character of their employments, and the fluctuations both in their wages and in the prices of the commodities necessary to their existence. These and similar facts have been collected, methodized, and are ripe for use. Such results, which form, as it were, the anatomy of a nation, are remarkable for their minuteness; and to them there have been joined other results less minute, but more extensive. Not only have the actions and characteristics of the great nations been recorded, but a prodigious number of different tribes in all the parts of the known world have been visited and described by travellers, thus enabling us to compare the condition of mankind in every stage of civilization, and under every variety of circumstance. When we moreover add, that this curiosity respecting our fellow-creatures is apparently insatiable; that it is constantly increasing; that the means of gratifying it are also increasing, and that most of the observations which have been made are still preserved;—when we put all these things together, we may form a faint idea of the immense value of that vast body of facts which we now possess, and by the aid of which the progress of mankind is to be investigated.

But if, on the other hand, we are to describe the use that has been made of these materials, we must draw a very different picture. The unfortunate peculiarity of the history of man is, that although its separate parts have been examined with considerable ability, hardly any one has attempted to combine them into a whole, and ascertain the way in which they are connected with each other. In all the other great fields of inquiry, the necessity of generalization is universally admitted, and noble efforts are being made to rise from particular facts in order to discover the laws by which those facts are governed. So far, however, is this from being the usual course of historians, that among them a strange idea prevails, that their business is merely to relate events, which they may occasionally enliven by such moral and political reflections as seem likely to be useful. According to this scheme, any author who from indolence of thought, or from natural

incapacity, is unfit to deal with the highest branches of knowledge, has only to pass some years in reading a certain number of books, and then he is qualified to be an historian; he is able to write the history of a great people, and his work becomes an authority on the subject which it professes to treat.

The establishment of this narrow standard has led to results very prejudicial to the progress of our knowledge. Owing to it, historians, taken as a body, have never recognized the necessity of such a wide and preliminary study as would enable them to grasp their subject in the whole of its natural relations. Hence the singular spectacle of one historian being ignorant of political economy; another knowing nothing of law; another nothing of ecclesiastical affairs and changes of opinion; another neglecting the philosophy of statistics, and another physical science: although these topics are the most essential of all, inasmuch as they comprise the principal circumstances by which the temper and character of mankind have been affected, and in which they are displayed. These important pursuits being, however, cultivated, some by one man, and some by another, have been isolated rather than united: the aid which might be derived from analogy and from mutual illustration has been lost; and no disposition has been shown to concentrate them upon history, of which they are, properly speaking, the necessary components.

Since the early part of the eighteenth century, a few great thinkers have indeed arisen, who have deplored the backwardness of history, and have done every thing in their power to remedy it. But these instances have been extremely rare: so rare, that in the whole literature of Europe there are not more than three or four really original works which contain a systematic attempt to investigate the history of man according to those exhaustive methods which in other branches of knowledge have proved successful, and by which alone empirical observations can be raised to scientific truths.

Among historians in general, we find, after the six-

teenth century, and especially during the last hundred years, several indications of an increasing comprehensiveness of view, and of a willingness to incorporate into their works subjects which they would formerly have excluded. By this means their assemblage of topics has become more diversified, and the mere collection and relative position of parallel facts has occasionally suggested generalizations no traces of which can be found in the earlier literature of Europe. This has been a great gain, in so far as it has familiarized historians with a wider range of thought, and encouraged those habits of speculation, which, though liable to abuse, are the essential condition of all real knowledge, because without them no science can be constructed.

But, notwithstanding that the prospects of historical literature are certainly more cheering now than in any former age, it must be allowed that, with extremely few exceptions, they are only prospects, and that as yet scarcely any thing has been done towards discovering the principles which govern the character and destiny of nations. What has been actually effected I shall endeavour to estimate in another part of this introduction: at present it is enough to say, that for all the higher purposes of human thought history is still miserably deficient, and presents that confused and anarchical appearance natural to a subject of which the laws are unknown, and even the foundation unsettled.[1]

Our acquaintance with history being so imperfect, while our materials are so numerous, it seems desirable that something should be done on a scale far larger than has hitherto been attempted, and that a strenuous effort should be made to bring up this great department of inquiry to a level with other departments, in order that we may maintain the balance and harmony of our knowledge.

[1] A living writer, who has done more than any other to raise the standard of history, contemptuously notices 'l'incohérente compilation de faits déjà improprement qualifiée *d'histoire*.' *Comte, Philosophie Positive*, vol. v. p. 18. There is much in the method and in the conclusions of this great work with which I cannot agree; but it would be unjust to deny its extraordinary merits.

It is in this spirit that the present work has been conceived. To make the execution of it fully equal to the conception is impossible: still I hope to accomplish for the history of man something equivalent, or at all events analogous, to what has been effected by other inquirers for the different branches of natural science. In regard to nature, events apparently the most irregular and capricious have been explained, and have been shown to be in accordance with certain fixed and universal laws. This has been done because men of ability, and, above all, men of patient, untiring thought, have studied natural events with the view of discovering their regularity: and if human events were subjected to a similar treatment, we have every right to expect similar results. For it is clear that they who affirm that the facts of history are incapable of being generalized, take for granted the very question at issue. Indeed they do more than this. They not only assume what they cannot prove, but they assume what in the present state of knowledge is highly improbable. Whoever is at all acquainted with what has been done during the last two centuries, must be aware that every generation demonstrates some events to be regular and predictable, which the preceding generation had declared to be irregular and unpredictable: so that the marked tendency of advancing civilization is to strengthen our belief in the universality of order, of method, and of law. This being the case, it follows that if any facts, or class of facts, have not yet been reduced to order, we, so far from pronouncing them to be irreducible, should rather be guided by our experience of the past, and should admit the probability that what we now call inexplicable will at some future time be explained. This expectation of discovering regularity in the midst of confusion is so familiar to scientific men, that among the most eminent of them it becomes an article of faith: and if the same expectation is not generally found among historians, it must be ascribed partly to their being of inferior ability to the investigators of nature, and partly to the greater complexity of those social phenomena with which their studies are concerned.

Both these causes have retarded the creation of the science of history. The most celebrated historians are manifestly inferior to the most successful cultivators of physical science: no one having devoted himself to history who in point of intellect is at all to be compared with Kepler, Newton, or many others that might be named.[2] And as to the greater complexity of the phenomena, the philosophic historian is opposed by difficulties far more formidable than is the student of nature; since, while on the one hand, his observations are more liable to those causes of error which arise from prejudice and passion, he, on the other hand, is unable to employ the great physical resource of experiment, by which we can often simplify even the most intricate problems in the external world.

It is not, therefore, surprising that the study of the movements of Man should be still in its infancy, as compared with the advanced state of the study of the movements of Nature. Indeed the difference between the progress of the two pursuits is so great, that while in physics the regularity of events, and the power of predicting them, are often taken for granted even in cases still unproved, a similar regularity is in history not only not taken for granted, but is actually denied. Hence it is that whoever wishes to raise history to a level with other branches of knowledge, is met by a preliminary obstacle; since he is told that in the affairs of men there is something mysterious and providential, which makes them impervious to our investigations, and which will always hide from us their future course. To this it might be sufficient to reply, that such an assertion is gratuitous; that it is by its nature incapable of proof; and that it is moreover opposed by the notorious fact that every where else increasing knowledge is accompanied by an increasing confidence in the uniformity with which, under the same circumstances, the same events must succeed each other. It will, however, be more satisfactory to probe the difficulty deeper, and inquire at once

[2] I speak merely of those who have made history their main pursuit. Bacon wrote on it, but only as a subordinate object; and it evidently cost him nothing like the thought which he devoted to other subjects.

into the foundation of the common opinion that history must always remain in its present empirical state, and can never be raised to the rank of a science. We shall thus be led to one vast question, which indeed lies at the root of the whole subject, and is simply this: Are the actions of men, and therefore of societies, governed by fixed laws, or are they the result either of chance or of supernatural interference? The discussion of these alternatives will suggest some speculations of considerable interest.

For, in reference to this matter, there are two doctrines, which appear to represent different stages of civilization. According to the first doctrine, every event is single and isolated, and is merely considered as the result of a blind chance. This opinion, which is most natural to a perfectly ignorant people, would soon be weakened by that extension of experience which supplies a knowledge of those uniformities of succession and of co-existence that nature constantly presents. If, for example, wandering tribes, without the least tincture of civilization, lived entirely by hunting and fishing, they might well suppose that the appearance of their necessary food was the result of some accident which admitted of no explanation. The irregularity of the supply, and the apparent caprice with which it was sometimes abundant and sometimes scanty, would prevent them from suspecting any thing like method in the arrangements of nature; nor could their minds even conceive the existence of those general principles which govern the order of events, and by a knowledge of which we are often able to predict their future course. But when such tribes advance into the agricultural state, they, for the first time, use a food of which not only the appearance, but the very existence, seems to be the result of their own act. What they sow, that likewise do they reap. The provision necessary for their wants is brought more immediately under their own control, and is more palpably the consequence of their own labour. They perceive a distinct plan, and a regular uniformity of sequence, in the relation which the seed they put into the ground bears to the corn when arrived at maturity. They are now able to look to

the future, not indeed with certainty, but with a confidence infinitely greater than they could have felt in their former and more precarious pursuits.[3] Hence there arises a dim idea of the stability of events; and for the first time there begins to dawn upon the mind a faint conception of what at a later period are called the Laws of Nature. Every step in the great progress will make their view of this more clear. As their observations accumulate, and as their experience extends over a wider surface, they meet with uniformities that they had never suspected to exist, and the discovery of which weakens that doctrine of chance with which they had originally set out. Yet a little further, and a taste for abstract reasoning springs up; and then some among them generalize the observations that have been made, and despising the old popular opinion, believe that every event is linked to its antecedent by an inevitable connexion, that such antecedent is connected with a preceding fact; and that thus the whole world forms a necessary chain, in which indeed each man may play his part, but can by no means determine what that part shall be.

Thus it is that, in the ordinary march of society, an increasing perception of the regularity of nature destroys the doctrine of Chance, and replaces it by that of Necessary Connexion. And it is, I think, highly probable that out of these two doctrines of Chance and Necessity there have respectively arisen the subsequent dogmas of Free Will and Predestination. Nor is it difficult to understand the manner in which, in a more advanced state of society, this metamorphosis would occur. In every country, as soon as the accumulation of wealth has reached a certain point, the produce of each man's labour becomes more than sufficient for his own support: it is therefore no longer necessary that all should work; and there is formed a separate class, the members of which pass their lives for

[3] Some of the moral consequences of thus diminishing the precariousness of food are noticed by M. Charles Comte in his *Traité de Législation*, vol. ii. pp. 273-275. Compare *Mill's History of India*, vol. i. pp. 180-181. But both these able writers have omitted to observe that the change facilitates a perception of the regularity of phenomena.

the most part in the pursuit of pleasure; a very few, however, in the acquisition and diffusion of knowledge. Among these last there are always found some who, neglecting external events, turn their attention to the study of their own minds;[4] and such men, when possessed of great abilities, become the founders of new philosophies and new religions, which often exercise immense influence over the people who receive them. But the authors of these systems are themselves affected by the character of the age in which they live. It is impossible for any man to escape the pressure of surrounding opinions; and what is called a new philosophy or a new religion is generally not so much a creation of fresh ideas, but rather a new direction given to ideas already current among contemporary thinkers.[5]

[4] On the relation between this and the previous creation of wealth, see *Tennemann, Geschichte der Philosophie*, vol. i. p. 30: 'Ein gewisser Grad von Cultur und Wohlstand ist eine nothwendige äussere Bedingung der Entwickelung des philosophischen Geistes. So lange der Mensch noch mit den Mitteln seiner Existenz und der Befriedigung seiner thierischen Bedürfnisse beschäftiget ist, so lange gehet die Entwickelung und Bildung seiner Geisteskräfte nur langsam von statten, und er nahert sich nur Schritt vor Schritt einer freiern Vernunftthatigkeit.' . . . 'Daher finden wir, dass man nur in denen Nationen anfing zu philosophiren, welche sich zu einer beträchtlichen Stufe des Wohlstandes und der Cultur empor gehoben hatten.' Hence, as I shall endeavour to prove in the next chapter, the immense importance of the physical phenomena which precede and often control the metaphysical. In the history of the Greek mind we can distinctly trace the passage from physical to metaphysical inquiries. See *Grote's History of Greece*, vol. iv. p. 519, edit. 1847. That the atomic doctrine, in its relation to chance, was a natural precursor of Platonism, is remarked in *Broussais, Examen des Doctrines Médicales*, vol. i. pp. 53, 54, an able though one-sided work. Compare, respecting the Chance of the atomists, *Ritter's History of Ancient Philosophy*, vol. i. p. 553; an hypothesis, as Ritter says, 'destructive of all inner energy;' consequently antagonistic to the psychological hypothesis which subsequently sprang up and conquered it. That physical researches came first, is moreover attested by Diogenes Laertius: *Μέρη δὲ φιλοσοφίας τρία, φυσικὸν, ἠθικὸν, διαλεκτικόν· φυσικὸν μὲν, τὸ περὶ κόσμου, καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ· ἠθικὸν δὲ, τὸ περὶ βίου καὶ τῶν πρὸς ἡμᾶς· διαλεκτικὸν δὲ, τὸ ἀμφοτέρων τοὺς λόγους πρεσβεῦον· καὶ μέχρι μὲν Ἀρχελάου τὸ φυσικὸν εἶδος ἦν ἀπὸ δὲ Σωκράτους, ὡς προείρηται, τὸ ἠθικόν· ἀπὸ δὲ Ζήνωνος τοῦ Ἐλεάτου, τὸ διαλεκτικόν.* *De Vitis Philosophorum Proœm.* segm. 18, vol. i. p. 12: compare lib. ii. segm. 16, vol. i. p. 89.

[5] Beausobre has some good remarks on this in his learned work *Histoire Critique de Manichée*, vol. i. p. 179, where he says that the great religious heresies have been founded on previous philosophies. Certainly no one acquainted with the history of opinions will admit the sweeping assertion of M. Stahl that 'la philosophie d'un peuple a sa racine dans sa théologie.' *Klimrath, Travaux*, vol. ii. p. 454, Paris, 1843.

Thus, in the case now before us, the doctrine of Chance in the external world corresponds to that of Free Will in the internal: while the other doctrine of Necessary Connexion is equally analogous to that of Predestination; the only difference being that the first is a development by the metaphysician, the second by the theologian. In the first instance, the metaphysician setting out with the doctrine of Chance, carries into the study of the mind this arbitrary and irresponsible principle, which in its new field becomes Free Will; an expression by which all difficulties seem to be removed, since perfect freedom, itself the cause of all actions, is caused by none, but, like the doctrine of Chance, is an ultimate fact admitting of no further explanation.[6] In the second instance, the theologian taking up the doctrine of Necessary Connexion recasts it into a religious shape; and his mind being already full of conceptions of order and of uniformity, he naturally ascribes such undeviating regularity to the prescience of Supreme Power; and thus to the magnificent notion of One God there is added the dogma that by Him all things have from the beginning been absolutely pre-determined and pre-ordained.

These opposite doctrines of free will and predestination[7] do, no doubt, supply a safe and simple solution of the

[6] 'Also ist ein Wille, dem die blose gesetzgebende Form der Maxime allein zum Gesetze dienen kann, ein freier Wille.' *Kritik der praktischen Vernunft* in *Kant's Werke*, vol. iv. p. 128. 'Hat selber für sich eigentlich keinen Bestimmungsgrund.' *Metaphysik der Sitten* in *Werke*, vol. v. p. 12. 'Die unbedingte Causalität der Ursache.' *Kritik der reinen Vernunft* in *Werke*, vol. ii. p. 339. See also *Prolegomena zu jeder künftigen Metaphysik* in vol. iii. p. 268.

[7] That these doctrines, when treated according to the ordinary methods of reasoning, not only oppose but exclude each other, would be universally admitted if it were not for a desire generally felt to save certain parts of each: it being thought dangerous to give up free will on account of weakening moral responsibility, and equally dangerous to give up predestination on account of impugning the power of God. Various attempts have therefore been made to reconcile liberty with necessity, and make the freedom of man harmonize with the foreknowledge of the Deity. Compare on this point a remarkable letter from Locke to Molyneux (*Locke's Works*, vol. viii. p. 305), with the argument in one of Bentley's Sermons (*Monk's Life of Bentley*, vol. ii. pp. 7, 8); also *Ritter's Hist. of Ancient Philosophy*, vol. iv. pp. 143, 144; *Tennemann, Gesch. der Philosophie*, vol. iv. pp. 301-304; *Copleston's Inquiry into the Doctrines of Necessity and Predestination*, pp. 6, 7, 46, 69, 70,

obscurities of our being; and as they are easily understood, they are so suited to the average capacity of the human mind, that even at the present day an immense majority of men are divided between them; and they have not only corrupted the sources of our knowledge, but have given rise to religious sects, whose mutual animosities have disturbed society, and too often embittered the relations of private life. Among the more advanced European thinkers there is, however, a growing opinion that both doctrines are wrong, or, at all events, that we have no sufficient evidence of their truth. And as this is a matter of great moment, it is important, before we proceed further, to clear up as much of it as the difficulties inherent in these subjects will enable us to do.

Whatever doubts may be thrown on the account which I have given of the probable origin of the ideas of free will and predestination, there can, at all events, be no dispute as to the foundation on which those ideas are now actually based. The theory of predestination is founded on a theological hypothesis; that of free will on a metaphysical hypothesis. The advocates of the first proceed on a supposition for which, to say the least of it, they have as yet brought forward no good evidence. They require us to believe that the Author of Creation, whose beneficence they at the same time willingly allow, has, notwithstanding His supreme goodness, made an arbitrary distinction between the elect and the non-elect; that He has from all eternity doomed to perdition millions of creatures yet unborn, and whom His act alone can call into existence: and that He has done this, not in virtue of any principle of justice, but by a mere stretch of despotic power.[8] This doctrine owes its authority among Pro-

85, 92, 108, 136; *Mosheim's Ecclesiastical Hist.*, vol. i. p. 207, vol. ii. p. 96; *Neander's Hist. of the Church*, vol. iv. pp. 294, 389–391; *Bishop of Lincoln on Tertullian*, 1845, p. 323; *Hodgson on Buddhism*, in *Transac. of Asiatic Society*, vol. ii. p. 232.

[8] Even Ambrose, who never went so far as Augustin, states this principle in its repulsive nakedness: 'Deus quos dignat vocat, quos vult religiosos facit.' *Neander*, vol. iv. p. 287. Calvin declares 'that God, in predestinating from all eternity one part of mankind to everlasting happiness, and another to endless misery, was led to make this distinction by no other

testants to the dark though powerful mind of Calvin: but in the early Church it was first systematically methodized by Augustin, who appears to have borrowed it from the Manicheans.[9] At all events, and putting aside its incompatibility with other notions which are supposed to be fundamental,[10] it must, in a scientific investigation, be regarded as a barren hypothesis, because, being beyond the province of our knowledge, we have no means of ascertaining either its truth or its falsehood.

The other doctrine, which has long been celebrated under the name of Free Will, is connected with Arminianism; but it in reality rests on the metaphysical dogma of the supremacy of human consciousness. Every man, it is alleged, feels and knows that he is a free agent: nor can any subtleties of argument do away with our consciousness of possessing a free will.[11] Now the existence of this supreme jurisdiction, which is thus to set at defiance

motive than his own good pleasure and free will.' *Mosheim's Eccles. Hist.*, vol. ii. p. 103, see also p. 100; and *Carwithen's Hist. of the Church of England*, vol. i. p. 552.

[9] On the Manichæan origin of Augustin's opinions, compare *Potter, Esprit de l'Eglise*, vol. ii. p. 171, Paris, 1821; *Tomline's Refutation of Calvinism*, 1817, pp. 571-576; *Southey's Book of the Church*, 1824, vol. i. pp. 301, 302; *Matter, Hist. du Gnosticisme*, 1828, vol. i. p. 325. However, Beausobre (*Histoire de Manichée*, vol. ii. pp. 33-40) seems to have proved a difference between the election of Augustin and that of Basilides.

[10] On the absurdity of 'an omnipotent arbitrary Deity,' and on the incongruity of such a combination with *φύσει καλὸν καὶ δίκαιον*, see *Cudworth's Intellect. Syst.*, vol. i. pp. 45, 419, vol. iii. p. 241, vol. iv. p. 160. See also *Theodicee* in *Kant's Werke*, vol. vi. pp. 141, 142, and *Metaphysik der Sitten* in vol. v. p. 332, upon 'den göttlichen Zweck in Ansehung des menschlichen Geschlechts.'

[11] Johnson said to Boswell, 'Sir, we *know* our will is free, and there's an end on't.' *Boswell's Life of Johnson*, edit. Croker, 1848, p. 203. 'La question: Sommes-nous libres? me paraît au-dessous de la discussion. Elle est résolue par le témoignage de la conscience attestant que dans certains cas nous pourrions faire le contraire de ce que nous faisons.' *Cousin, Hist. de la Philosophie*, I. Série, vol. i. pp. 190, 191. 'Die Freiheit des Menschen, als moralischen Wesens, gründet sich auf das sittliche Bewusstseyn.' *Tennemann, Gesch. der Philosophie*, vol. v. p. 161. That this is the only ground for believing in the freedom of the will is so evident, that we need not notice the mystical proof of Philo (*Ritter's Ancient Philosophy*, vol. iv. p. 447); nor the physical one of the Basilidian monads (*Beausobre, Hist. de Manichée*, vol. ii. p. 23); still less the argument of Bardesanes, who thought to demonstrate freedom by the variety of human customs! *Matter, Hist. du Gnosticisme*, vol. i. p. 323, which should be compared with *Burdach's Physiologie comme Science d'Observation*, vol. v. p. 50, Paris, 1839.

all the ordinary methods of reasoning, involves two assumptions: of which the first, though possibly true, has never been proved; and the other is unquestionably false. These assumptions are, that there is an independent faculty called consciousness, and that the dictates of that faculty are infallible. But, in the first place, it is by no means certain that consciousness is a faculty; and some of the ablest thinkers have been of opinion that it is merely a state or condition of the mind.[12] Should this turn out to be the case, the argument falls to the ground; since, even if we admit that all the faculties of the mind, when completely exercised, are equally accurate, no one will make the same claim for every condition into which the mind itself may be casually thrown. However, waiving this objection, we may, in the second place, reply, that even if consciousness is a faculty, we have the testimony of all history to prove its extreme fallibility.[13] All

[12] Mr. James Mill (*Analysis of the Mind*, vol. i. pp. 171, 172) says that consciousness and belief are the same, and that great error has arisen from calling 'consciousness a feeling distinct from all other feelings.' According to Locke (*Essay concerning Human Understanding*, book ii. chap. i., *Works*, vol. i. p. 89), 'consciousness is the perception of what passes in a man's own mind.' Brown (*Philosophy of the Mind*, pp. 67, 68) denies that consciousness is a faculty: and Sir W. Hamilton complains of 'Reid's degradation of consciousness into a special faculty.' *Notes to Reid's Works*, pp. 223, 297, 373. M. Cousin (*Hist. de la Philosophie*, II. Série, vol. i. p. 131) pronounces consciousness to be 'phénomène complexe;' and at p. 94, 'la *condition* nécessaire de l'intelligence c'est la conscience:' while a still later writer (*Jobert's New System of Philosophy*, vol. i. p. 25) declares that 'we have the consciousness of our consciousness—this is certain.' The statement in Alciphron, Dialogue vii. (*Berkeley's Works*, vol. i. pp. 505, 506) is equally unsatisfactory: and what still further perplexes the question is the existence of what is now recognised as 'double consciousness.' See on this extraordinary phenomenon *Elliotson's Physiology*, pp. 367-369, 1165; *Mayo's Physiology*, pp. 195, 196; *Prichard's Treatise on Insanity*, pp. 450, 451; *Carpenter's Human Physiology*, p. 379.

[13] This requires explanation. Consciousness is infallible as to the *fact* of its testimony; but fallible as to the *truth*. That we are conscious of certain phenomena, is a proof that those phenomena exist in the mind, or are presented to it; but to say that this demonstrates the truth of the phenomena is to go a step further, and not only offer a testimony, but also pass a judgment. The moment we do this, we introduce the element of fallibility: because consciousness and judgment put together cannot be always right, inasmuch as judgment is often wrong.

The late Blanco White, a thinker of considerable subtlety, says: 'The important distinction between *libertas a necessitate* and *libertas a coactione*, is seldom attended to. Nothing whatever can *force* my will: every man is more or less conscious of that fact: but at the same time we are, or may be,

the great stages through which, in the progress of civilization, the human race has successively passed, have been characterized by certain mental peculiarities or convictions, which have left their impress upon the religion, the philosophy, and the morals of the age. Each of these convictions has been to one period a matter of faith, to another a matter for derision;[14] and each of them has, in its own epoch, been as intimately bound up with the minds of men, and become as much a part of their consciousness, as is that opinion which we now term freedom of the will. Yet it is impossible that all these products of consciousness can be true, because many of them contradict each other. Unless, therefore, in different ages there are different standards of truth, it is clear that the testimony of a man's consciousness is no proof of an opinion being true; for if it were so, then two propositions diametrically opposed to each other might both be equally accurate. Besides this, another view may be drawn from the common operations of ordinary life. Are we not in certain circumstances conscious of the existence of spectres and phantoms; and yet is it not generally admitted that such beings have no existence at all? Should it be attempted to refute this argument by saying that such consciousness is apparent and not real, then I ask, What is it that judges between the consciousness which is genuine and that which is spurious?[15] If this boasted

equally conscious that we are never decided without a motive.' *Life of B. White*, by Himself, 1845, vol. iii. p. 90. But how can a man be conscious that 'nothing whatever *can* force his will'? This is not consciousness, but judgment: it is a judgment of what may be, not a consciousness of what is. If there is any meaning in the word 'consciousness,' it must refer solely to the present, and can never include future contingencies as to what *may* be or *can* be.

[14] As Herder says, 'Was diese Nation ihrem Gedankenkreise unentbehrlich hält, daran hat jene nie gedacht oder hält es gar für schädlich.' *Ideen zur Gesch. der Menschheit*, vol. ii. p. 130.

[15] Plato was struck by the extreme difficulty of finding a standard in the human mind whereby we may test the truth or falsehood of spectral phenomena and dreams. And the only conclusion to which this consummate thinker could arrive, was that whatever appears true to the individual mind is true for him: which, however, is an evasion of the problem, not a solution of it. See the Theætetus, where Plato, as usual, puts his own speculations into the mouth of Socrates. He opens the question at the beginning of sec. 39 (*Platonis Opera*, vol. iii. p. 426, edit. Bekker, Lond. 1826), Μὴ

faculty deceives us in some things, what security have we that it will not deceive us in others? If there is no security, the faculty is not trustworthy. If there is a security, then, whatever it may be, its existence shows the necessity for some authority to which consciousness is subordinate, and thus does away with that doctrine of the supremacy of consciousness, on which the advocates of free will are compelled to construct the whole of their theory. Indeed, the uncertainty as to the existence of consciousness as an independent faculty, and the manner in which that faculty, if it exists, has contradicted its own suggestions, are two of the many reasons which have long since convinced me that metaphysics will never be raised to a science by the ordinary method of observing individual minds; but that its study can only be successfully prosecuted by the deductive application of laws which must be discovered historically, that is to say, which must be evolved by an examination of the whole of those vast phenomena which the long course of human affairs presents to our view.

Fortunately, however, for the object of this work, the believer in the possibility of a science of history is not

τοίνυν ἀπολίπωμεν ὅσον ἐλλεῖπον αὐτοῦ. λείπεται δὲ ἐνυπνίων τε πέρι καὶ νόσων, τῶν τε ἄλλων καὶ μανίας, &c. These are the supposed sources of error; but Socrates, after discussing them, and entangling Theætetus in a maze, sums up at the end of sec. 45, p. 434, *ἀληθὴς ἄρα ἐμοὶ ἡ ἐμὴ αἴσθησις*. See further, p. 515, on the formation of erroneous judgments; and respecting the assertions made by many of the Greeks that *πᾶσα φαντασία ἀληθὴς* and *πᾶσα δόξα ἀληθής*, compare *Cudworth*, vol. iii. p. 379, vol. iv. p. 118. For physiological considerations concerning the preservation of consciousness in dreams and in insanity, see *Broussais, Examen des Doctrines Médicales*, vol. i. p. 406; his *Cours de Phrénologie*, p. 49; *Esquirol, Maladies Mentales*, vol. i. p. 97, vol. ii. p. 790; *Simon's Pathology*, p. 204; *Holland's Medical Notes, p.* 434; *Henle, Anatomie Générale*, vol. ii. p. 287; *Burdach, Traité de Physiologie*, vol. v. p. 223. See, too, the passages in Tennemann which connect this difficulty with the theory of representation (*Geschichte der Philosophie*, vol. i. p. 357, vol. ii. pp. 119, 159, vol. iii. p. 406, vol. iv. p. 418); and the attempt of Berkeley (*Works*, vol. i. pp. 93, 101, 176) to turn it into a defence of his own system, on the ground that our belief respecting the external world may be as false when we are awake as when we dream. The solution offered by the Stoics is merely a verbal and unproved distinction: *διαφέρει δὲ φαντασία καὶ φάντασμα. φάντασμα μὲν γάρ ἐστι δόκησις διανοίας οἵα γίνεται κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους· φαντασία δέ ἐστι τύπωσις ἐν ψυχῇ τουτέστιν ἀλλοίωσις, ὡς ὁ Χρύσι-πος ἐν τῇ δωδεκάτῃ περὶ ψυχῆς ὑφίσταται.* *Diog. Laert. de Vitis Philos.* lib. vii. segm. 50, vol. i. p. 395.

called upon to hold either the doctrine of predestined events, or that of freedom of the will;[16] and the only positions which, in this stage of the inquiry, I shall expect him to concede are the following: That when we perform an action, we perform it in consequence of some motive or motives; that those motives are the results of some antecedents; and that, therefore, if we were acquainted with the whole of the antecedents, and with all the laws of their movements, we could with unerring certainty predict the whole of their immediate results. This, unless I am greatly mistaken, is the view which must be held by every man whose mind is unbiased by system, and who forms his opinions according to the evidence actually before him.[17] If, for example, I am intimately acquainted with the character of any person, I can frequently tell how he will act under some given circumstances. Should I fail in this prediction, I must ascribe my error not to the arbitrary and capricious freedom of his will, nor to any supernatural pre-arrangement, for of neither of these things have we the slightest proof; but I must be content to suppose either that I had been misinformed as to some of the circumstances in which he was placed, or else that I had not sufficiently studied the ordinary operations of his mind. If, however, I were capable of correct reasoning, and if, at the same time, I had a complete knowledge both of his disposition and of

[16] Meaning by free will, a cause of action residing in the mind, and exerting itself independently of motives. If any one says that we have this power of acting without motives, but that in the practical exercise of the power we are always guided by motives either conscious or unconscious—if any one says this, he asserts a barren proposition, which does not interfere with my views, and which may or may not be true, but which most assuredly no one has ever yet succeeded in proving.

[17] That is, according to the phenomenal evidence presented to the understanding, and estimated by the ordinary logic with which the understanding is conversant. But Kant has made a most remarkable attempt to avoid the practical consequences of this, by asserting that freedom, being an idea produced by the reason, must be referred to transcendental laws of the reason; that is, to laws which are removed from the domain of experience, and cannot be verified by observation. In regard, however, to the scientific conceptions of the understanding (as distinguished from the Reason) he fully admits the existence of a Necessity destructive of Liberty. In Note A, at the end of this chapter, I shall put together the most important passages in which Kant unfolds this view.

all the events by which he was surrounded, I should be able to foresee the line of conduct which, in consequence of those events, he would adopt.[18]

Rejecting, then, the metaphysical dogma of free will, and the theological dogma of predestined events,[19] we are driven to the conclusion that the actions of men, being determined solely by their antecedents, must have a character of uniformity, that is to say, must, under precisely the same circumstances, always issue in precisely the same results. And as all antecedents are either in the mind or out of it, we clearly see that all the variations in the results, in other words, all the changes of which history is full, all the vicissitudes of the human race, their progress or their decay, their happiness or their misery, must be the fruit of a double action; an action of external phenomena upon the mind, and another action of the mind upon the phenomena.

These are the materials out of which a philosophic history can alone be constructed. On the one hand, we

[18] This is, of course, an hypothetical case, merely given as an illustration. We never can know the whole of any man's antecedents, or even the whole of our own; but it is certain that the nearer we approach to a complete knowledge of the antecedent, the more likely we shall be to predict the consequent.

[19] The doctrine of providential interference is bound up with that of predestination, because the Deity, foreseeing all things, must have foreseen His own intention to interfere. To deny this foresight, is to limit the omniscience of God. Those, therefore, who hold that, in particular cases, a special providence interrupts the ordinary course of events, must also hold that in each case the interruption had been predestined; otherwise they impeach one of the Divine attributes. For, as Thomas Aquinas puts it (*Neander's History of the Church*, vol. viii. p. 176), 'knowledge, as knowledge, does not imply, indeed, causality; but in so far as it is a knowledge belonging to the artist who forms, it stands in the relation of causality to that which is produced by his art'

The same argument is stated by Alciphron. though not quite so conclusively; *Dialogue* vii. sec. 20 in *Berkeley's Works*, vol. i. p. 515: and as to the impossibility of Omniscience having new knowledge or an afterthought, see *Hitchcock's Religion of Geology*, 1851, pp. 267, 328; an ingenious work, but one which leaves all the real difficulties untouched. Compare *Ritter's Hist. of Ancient Philos.* vol. iv. pp. 326, 327, with *Tennemann, Gesch. der Philos.* vol. vi. pp. 151, 342-345, vol. ix. pp. 81-94, vol. xi. p. 178; and in particular, the question raised (vol. viii. p. 242), 'Ob das Vorherwissen Gottes die Ursache der künftigen Dinge sey, oder nicht.' It was to meet all this, that some asserted the eternity of matter, and others the existence of two original principles, one good and one evil. *Beausobre, Histoire de Manichée*, vol. ii. pp. 145, 146, 252, 336.

have the human mind obeying the laws of its own existence, and, when uncontrolled by external agents, developing itself according to the conditions of its organization. On the other hand, we have what is called Nature, obeying likewise its laws; but incessantly coming into contact with the minds of men, exciting their passions, stimulating their intellect, and therefore giving to their actions a direction which they would not have taken without such disturbance. Thus we have man modifying nature, and nature modifying man; while out of this reciprocal modification all events must necessarily spring.

The problem immediately before us, is to ascertain the method of discovering the laws of this double modification: and this, as we shall presently see, leads us into a preliminary inquiry as to which of the two modifications is the more important; that is to say, whether the thoughts and desires of men are more influenced by physical phenomena, or whether the physical phenomena are more influenced by them. For it is evident that whichever class is the more active, should if possible be studied before the other; and this, partly because its results will be more prominent, and therefore more easy to observe; and partly because by first generalizing the laws of the greater power we shall leave a smaller residue of unexplained facts than if we had begun by generalizing the laws of the lesser power. But before entering into this examination, it will be convenient to state some of the most decisive proofs we now possess of the regularity with which mental phenomena succeed each other. By this means the preceding views will be considerably strengthened; and we shall, at the same time, be able to see what those resources are which have been already employed in elucidating this great subject.

That the results actually effected are extremely valuable, is evident not only from the wide surface which the generalizations cover, but also from the extraordinary precautions with which they have been made. For while most moral inquiries have depended on some theological or metaphysical hypothesis, the investigations to which I

allude are exclusively inductive; they are based on collections of almost innumerable facts, extending over many countries, thrown into the clearest of all forms, the form of arithmetical tables; and finally, they have been put together by men who, being for the most part mere government officials,[20] had no particular theory to maintain, and no interest in distorting the truth of the reports they were directed to make.

The most comprehensive inferences respecting the actions of men, which are admitted by all parties as incontestable truths, are derived from this or from analogous sources; they rest on statistical evidence, and are expressed in mathematical language. And whoever is aware of how much has been discovered by this single method, must not only recognize the uniformity with which mental phenomena succeed each other, but must, I think, feel sanguine that still more important discoveries will be made, so soon as there are brought into play those other powerful resources which even the present state of knowledge will abundantly supply. Without, however, anticipating future inquiries, we are, for the moment, only concerned with those proofs of the existence of a uniformity in human affairs which statisticians have been the first to bring forward.

The actions of men are by an easy and obvious division separated into two classes, the virtuous and the vicious; and as these classes are correlative, and when put together compose the total of our moral conduct, it follows that whatever increases the one, will in a relative point of view diminish the other; so that if we can in any period detect a uniformity and a method in the vices of a people, there must be a corresponding regularity in their virtues; or if we could prove a regularity in their virtues, we should necessarily infer an equal regularity in their vices; the two sets of actions being, according to the terms of the division, merely supplementary to each other.[21] Or, to express this proposition in another way,

[20] *Dufau, Traité de Statistique,* pp. 75, 148.

[21] Some moralists have also established a third class of actions, which

it is evident that if it can be demonstrated that the bad actions of men vary in obedience to the changes in the surrounding society, we shall be obliged to infer that their good actions, which are, as it were, the residue of their bad ones, vary in the same manner; and we shall be forced to the further conclusion, that such variations are the result of large and general causes, which, working upon the aggregate of society, must produce certain consequences, without regard to the volition of those particular men of whom the society is composed.

Such is the regularity we expect to find, if the actions of men are governed by the state of the society in which they occur; while, on the other hand, if we can find no such regularity, we may believe that their actions depend on some capricious and personal principle peculiar to each man, as free will or the like. It becomes, therefore, in the highest degree important to ascertain whether or not there exists a regularity in the entire moral conduct of a given society; and this is precisely one of those questions for the decision of which statistics supply us with materials of immense value.

For the main object of legislation being to protect the innocent against the guilty, it naturally followed that European governments, so soon as they became aware of the importance of statistics, should begin to collect evidence respecting the crimes they were expected to punish. This evidence has gone on accumulating, until it now forms of itself a large body of literature, containing, with the commentaries connected with it, an immense array of facts, so carefully compiled, and so well and clearly

they call indifferent, as belonging neither to virtue nor to vice; and hence there arose the famous doctrine of probability, set up by several eminent Romish casuists, and hotly attacked by Pascal. But this, if we put aside its worst feature, namely its practical bearings, is merely a question of definition; inasmuch as every indifferent act must lean on the side either of evil or of good, and may therefore be referred to the category to which it inclines; and certainly every increase of vice diminishes virtue relatively, though not always absolutely. Among the Greek philosophers there was a schism on this point: 'Αρέσκει δὲ αὐτοῖς (i.e. the Stoics) μηδὲν μέσον εἶναι ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας· τῶν περιπατητικῶν μεταξὺ ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας εἶναι λεγόντων τὴν προκοπήν. *Diog. Laert. de Vitis Philosophorum*, lib. vii. segm. 127, vol. i. p. 445.

digested, that more may be learned from it respecting the moral nature of Man than can be gathered from all the accumulated experience of preceding ages.[22] But as it will be impossible in this Introduction to give anything like a complete statement of those inferences which, in the actual state of statistics, we are authorized to draw, I shall content myself with examining two or three of the most important, and pointing out the connexion between them.

Of all offences, it might well be supposed that the crime of murder is one of the most arbitrary and irregular. For when we consider that this, though generally the crowning act of a long career of vice, is often the immediate result of what seems a sudden impulse; that when premeditated, its committal, even with the least chance of impunity, requires a rare combination of favourable circumstances for which the criminal will frequently wait; that he has thus to bide his time, and look for opportunities he cannot control; that when the time has come, his heart may fail him; that the question whether or not he shall commit the crime may depend on a balance of conflicting motives, such as fear of the law, a dread of the penalties held out by religion, the prickings of his own conscience, the apprehension of future remorse, the love of gain, jealousy, revenge, desperation;—when we put all these things together, there arises such a complication of causes, that we might reasonably despair of detecting any order or method in the result of those subtle and shifting agencies by which murder is either caused

[22] I say this advisedly: and whoever has examined these subjects must be aware of the way in which writers on morals repeat the commonplace and hackneyed notions of their predecessors; so that a man, after reading everything that has been written on moral conduct and moral philosophy, will find himself nearly as much in the dark as when his studies first began. The most accurate investigators of the human mind have hitherto been the poets, particularly Homer and Shakespeare; but these extraordinary observers mainly occupied themselves with the concrete phenomena of life; and if they analyzed, as they probably did, they have concealed the steps of the process, so that now we can only verify their conclusions empirically. The great advance made by the statisticians consists in applying to these inquiries the doctrine of averages, which no one thought of doing before the eighteenth century.

or prevented. But now, how stands the fact? The fact is, that murder is committed with as much regularity, and bears as uniform a relation to certain known circumstances, as do the movements of the tides, and the rotations of the seasons. M. Quetelet, who has spent his life in collecting and methodizing the statistics of different countries, states, as the result of his laborious researches, that 'in everything which concerns crime, the same numbers re-occur with a constancy which cannot be mistaken; and that this is the case even with those crimes which seem quite independent of human foresight, such, for instance, as murders, which are generally committed after quarrels arising from circumstances apparently casual. Nevertheless, we know from experience that every year there not only take place nearly the same number of murders, but that even the instruments by which they are committed are employed in the same proportion.'[23] This was the language used in 1835 by confessedly the first statistician in Europe, and every subsequent investigation has confirmed its accuracy. For later inquiries have ascertained the extraordinary fact, that the uniform reproduction of crime is more clearly marked, and more capable of being predicted, than are the physical laws connected with the disease and destruction of our bodies. Thus, for instance, the number of persons accused of crime in France between 1826 and 1844 was, by a singular coincidence, about equal to the male deaths which took place in Paris during the same period, the difference being that the fluctuations in the amount of crime were actually smaller than the fluctuations in the mortality; while a similar regularity was observed in each separate offence,

[23] 'Dans tout ce qui se rapporte aux crimes, les mêmes nombres se reproduisent avec une constance telle, qu'il serait impossible de la méconnaître, même pour ceux des crimes qui sembleraient devoir échapper le plus à toute prévision humaine, tels que les meurtres, puisqu'ils se commettent, en général, à la suite de rixes qui naissent sans motifs, et dans les circonstances, en apparence, les plus fortuites. Cependant l'expérience prouve que non-seulement les meurtres sont annuellement à peu près en même nombre, mais encore que les instrumens qui servent à les commettre sont employés dans les mêmes proportions.' *Quetelet sur l'Homme*, Paris, 1835, vol. i. p. 7; see also vol. ii. pp. 164, 247.

given state of society, a certain number of persons must put an end to their own life. This is the general law; and the special question as to who shall commit the crime depends of course upon special laws; which, however, in their total action, must obey the large social law to which they are all subordinate. And the power of the larger law is so irresistible, that neither the love of life nor the fear of another world can avail anything towards even checking its operation. The causes of this remarkable regularity I shall hereafter examine; but the existence of the regularity is familiar to whoever is conversant with moral statistics. In the different countries for which we have returns, we find year by year the same proportion of persons putting an end to their own existence; so that, after making allowance for the impossibility of collecting complete evidence, we are able to predict, within a very small limit of error, the number of voluntary deaths for each ensuing period; supposing, of course, that the social circumstances do not undergo any marked change. Even in London, notwithstanding the vicissitudes incidental to the largest and most luxurious capital in the world, we find a regularity greater than could be expected by the most sanguine believer in social laws; since political excitement, mercantile excitement, and the misery produced by the dearness of food, are all causes of suicide, and are all constantly varying.[28] Nevertheless, in this vast metropolis, about 240 persons every year make away with themselves; the annual suicides oscillating, from the pressure of temporary causes, between 266, the highest, and 213, the lowest. In 1846, which was the great year of excitement caused by the railway panic, the suicides in London were 266; in 1847 began a slight improvement, and they fell to 256; in 1848 they

ce qui doit arriver dans l'année qui va suivre.' *Quetelet, Statistique Morale*, 1848, p. 35; see also p. 40.

[28] On the causes of suicides, see *Burdach's Traité de Physiologie*, vol. v. pp. 476-478; and *Forry's Climate and its Endemic Influences*, p. 329. The latest researches of M. Casper confirm the statement of earlier statisticians, that suicide is more frequent among Protestants than among Catholics. *Casper, Denkwürdigkeiten zur medicinischen Statistik*, Berlin, 1846, p. 139.

were 247; in 1849 they were 213; and in 1850 they were 229.[29]

Such is some, and only some, of the evidence we now possess respecting the regularity with which, in the same states of society, the same crimes are necessarily reproduced. To appreciate the full force of this evidence, we must remember that it is not an arbitrary selection of particular facts, but that it is generalized from an exhaustive statement of criminal statistics, consisting of many millions of observations, extending over countries in different grades of civilization, with different laws, different opinions, different morals, different habits. If we add to this, that these statistics have been collected by persons specially employed for that purpose, with every means of arriving at the truth, and with no interest to deceive, it surely must be admitted that the existence of crime according to a fixed and uniform scheme, is a fact more clearly attested than any other in the moral history of man. We have here parallel chains of evidence formed with extreme care, under the most different circumstances, and all pointing in the same direction; all of them forcing us to the conclusion, that the offences of men are the result not so much of the vices of the individual offender as of the state of society into which that individual is thrown.[30] This is an inference resting on broad and tangible proofs accessible to all the world; and as such cannot be overturned, or even impeached, by any of those hypotheses with which metaphysicians and theologians have hitherto perplexed the study of past events.

Those readers who are acquainted with the manner

[29] See the tables in the *Assurance Magazine*, no. iv. p. 309, no. v. p. 34, no. viii. p. 350. These are the only complete consecutive returns of London suicides yet published; those issued by the police being imperfect. *Assurance Magazine*, no. v. p. 53. From inquiries made for me at the General Register Office, in January 1856, I learnt that there was an intention of completing the yearly returns, but I do not know if this has since been done.

[30] 'L'expérience démontre en effet, avec toute l'évidence possible, cette opinion, qui pourra sembler paradoxale au premier abord, que *c'est la société qui prépare le crime, et que le coupable n'est que l'instrument qui l'exécute.*' *Quetelet sur l'Homme*, vol. ii. p. 325.

in which in the physical world the operations of the laws of nature are constantly disturbed, will expect to find in the moral world disturbances equally active. Such aberrations proceed, in both instances, from minor laws, which at particular points meet the larger laws, and thus alter their normal action. Of this, the science of mechanics affords a good example in the instance of that beautiful theory called the parallelogram of forces; according to which the forces are to each other in the same proportion as is the diagonal of their respective parallelograms.[31] This is a law pregnant with great results; it is connected with those important mechanical resources, the composition and resolution of forces; and no one acquainted with the evidence on which it stands, ever thought of questioning its truth. But the moment we avail ourselves of it for practical purposes, we find that in its action it is warped by other laws, such as those concerning the friction of air, and the different density of the bodies on which we operate, arising from their chemical composition, or, as some suppose, from their atomic arrangement. Perturbations being thus let in, the pure and simple action of the mechanical law disappears. Still, and although the results of the law are incessantly disturbed, the law itself remains intact.[32] Just in the same way,

[31] The diagonal always giving the resultant when each side represents a force; and if we look on the resultant as a compound force, a comparison of diagonals becomes a comparison of compounds.

[32] A law of nature being merely a generalization of relations, and having no existence except in the mind, is essentially intangible; and therefore, however small the law may be, it can never admit of exceptions, though its operation may admit of innumerable exceptions. Hence, as Dugald Stewart (*Philosophy of the Mind*, vol. ii. p. 211) rightly says, we can only refer to the laws of nature 'by a sort of figure or metaphor.' This is constantly lost sight of even by authors of repute; some of whom speak of laws as if they were causes, and therefore liable to interruption by larger causes; while other writers pronounce them to be 'delegated agencies' from the Deity. Compare *Prout's Bridgewater Treatise*, pp. 318, 435, 495; *Sadler's Law of Population*, vol. ii. p. 67; *Burdach's Physiologie*, vol. i. p. 160. Mr. Paget, in his able work, *Lectures on Pathology*, vol. i. p. 481, vol. ii. p. 542, with much greater accuracy calls such cases 'apparent exceptions' to laws; but it would be better to say, 'exceptions to the operations of laws.' The context clearly proves that Mr. Paget distinctly apprehends the difference; but a slight alteration of this kind would prevent confusion in the minds of ordinary readers.

the great social law, that the moral actions of men are the product not of their volition, but of their antecedents, is itself liable to disturbances which trouble its operation without affecting its truth. And this is quite sufficient to explain those slight variations which we find from year to year in the total amount of crime produced by the same country. Indeed, looking at the fact that the moral world is far more abundant in materials than the physical world, the only ground for astonishment is, that these variations should not be greater; and from the circumstance that the discrepancies are so trifling, we may form some idea of the prodigious energy of those vast social laws, which, though constantly interrupted, seem to triumph over every obstacle, and which, when examined by the aid of large numbers, scarcely undergo any sensible perturbation.[33]

Nor is it merely the crimes of men which are marked by this uniformity of sequence. Even the number of marriages annually contracted, is determined, not by the temper and wishes of individuals, but by large general facts, over which individuals can exercise no authority. It is now known that marriages bear a fixed and definite relation to the price of corn;[34] and in England the expe-

[33] Mr. Rawson, in his *Inquiry into the Statistics of Crime in England and Wales* (published in the *Journal of the Statistical Society*, vol. ii. pp. 316-344), says, p. 327, 'No greater proof can be given of the possibility of arriving at certain constants with regard to crime, than the fact which appears in the following table, that the greatest variation which has taken place during the last three years, in the proportion of any class of criminals at the same period of life, has not exceeded a half per cent.' See also *Report of British Association for* 1839, *Transac. of Sec.*, p. 118. Indeed, all writers who have examined the evidence are forced to admit this regularity, however they may wish to explain it. M. Dufau (*Traité de Statistique*, p. 144) says, 'Les faits de l'ordre moral sont, aussi bien que ceux de l'ordre naturel, le produit de causes constantes et régulières,' &c.; and at p. 367, 'C'est ainsi que le monde moral se présente à nous, de ce point de vue, comme offrant, de même que le monde physique, un ensemble continu d'effets dus à des causes constantes et régulières, dont il appartient surtout à la statistique de constater l'action.' See to the same effect *Moreau-Christophe des Prisons en France*, Paris, 1838, pp. 53, 189.

[34] 'It is curious to observe how intimate a relation exists between the price of food and the number of marriages.' . . . . 'The relation that subsists between the price of food and the number of marriages is not confined to our own country; and it is not improbable that, had we the

rience of a century has proved that, instead of having any connexion with personal feelings, they are simply regulated by the average earnings of the great mass of the people:[35] so that this immense social and religious institution is not only swayed, but is completely controlled, by the price of food and by the rate of wages. In other cases, uniformity has been detected, though the causes of the uniformity are still unknown. Thus, to give a curious instance, we are now able to prove that even the aberrations of memory are marked by this general character of necessary and invariable order. The post-offices of London and of Paris have latterly published returns of the number of letters which the writers, through forgetfulness, omitted to direct; and, making allowance for the difference of circumstances, the returns are year after year copies of each other. Year after year the same proportion of letter-writers forget this simple act; so that for each successive period we can actually foretell the number of persons whose memory will fail them in regard to this trifling and, as it might appear, accidental occurrence.[36]

To those who have a steady conception of the regularity of events, and have firmly seized the great truth that the actions of men, being guided by their antecedents, are in reality never inconsistent, but, however capricious they may appear, only form part of one vast scheme of universal order, of which we in the present state of knowledge can barely see the outline—to those who understand this, which is at once the key and the basis of history, the facts just adduced, so far from being strange, will be precisely what would have been expected

means of ascertaining the facts, we should see the like result in every civilized community. We possess the necessary returns from France; and these fully bear out the view that has been given.' *Porter's Progress of the Nation*, vol. ii. pp. 244, 245, London, 1838.

[35] 'The marriage-returns of 1850 and 1851 exhibit the excess which since 1750 has been invariably observed when the substantial earnings of people are above the average.' *Journal of Statistical Society*, vol. xv. p. 185.

[36] See *Somerville's Physical Geography*, vol. ii. pp. 409-411, which, says this able writer, proves that 'forgetfulness as well as free will is under constant laws.' But this is using the word 'free will' in a sense different from that commonly employed.

and ought long since to have been known. Indeed, the progress of inquiry is becoming so rapid and so earnest, that I entertain little doubt that before another century has elapsed, the chain of evidence will be complete, and it will be as rare to find an historian who denies the undeviating regularity of the moral world, as it now is to find a philosopher who denies the regularity of the material world.

It will be observed, that the preceding proofs of our actions being regulated by law, have been derived from statistics; a branch of knowledge which, though still in its infancy,[37] has already thrown more light on the study of human nature than all the sciences put together. But although the statisticians have been the first to investigate this great subject by treating it according to those methods of reasoning which in other fields have been found successful; and although they have, by the application of numbers, brought to bear upon it a very powerful engine for eliciting truth—we must not, on that account, suppose that there are no other resources remaining by which it may likewise be cultivated: nor should we infer that because the physical sciences have not yet been applied to history, they are therefore inapplicable to it. Indeed, when we consider the incessant contact between man and the external world, it is cer-

[37] Achenwall, in the middle of the eighteenth century, is usually considered to be the first systematic writer on statistics, and is said to have given them their present name. See *Lewis, Methods of Observation and Reasoning in Politics*, 1852, vol. i. p. 72; *Biographie Universelle*, vol. i. p. 140; *Dufau, Traité de Statistique*, pp. 9, 10. Even so late as 1800, the Bishop of Llandaff wrote to Sir John Sinclair, 'I must think the kingdom is highly indebted to you for bringing forward a species of knowledge (statistics) wholly new in this country, though not new in other parts of Europe.' *Sinclair's Correspondence*, vol. i. p. 230. Sinclair, notwithstanding his industry, was a man of slender powers, and did not at all understand the real importance of statistics, of which, indeed, he took a mere practical view. Since then statistics have been applied extensively to medicine; and still more recently, and on a smaller scale, to philology and to jurisprudence. Compare *Bouillaud, Philosophie Médicale*, pp. 96, 186; *Renouard, Hist. de la Médecine*, vol. ii. pp. 474, 475; *Esquirol, Maladies Mentales*, vol. ii. pp. 665-667; *Holland's Medical Notes*, pp. 5, 472; *Vogel's Pathological Anatomy*, pp. 15-17; *Simon's Pathology*, p. 180; *Phillips on Scrofula*, pp. 70, 118, &c.; *Prichard's Physical Hist. of Mankind* vol. iv. p. 414; *Eschbach, Etude du Droit*, pp. 392-394.

tain that there must be an intimate connexion between human actions and physical laws; so that if physical science has not hitherto been brought to bear upon history, the reason is, either that historians have not perceived the connexion, or else that, having perceived it, they have been destitute of the knowledge by which its workings can be traced. Hence there has arisen an unnatural separation of the two great departments of inquiry, the study of the internal and that of the external: and although, in the present state of European literature, there are some unmistakable symptoms of a desire to break down this artificial barrier, still it must be admitted that as yet nothing has been actually accomplished towards effecting so great an end. The moralists, the theologians, and the metaphysicians, continue to prosecute their studies without much respect for what they deem the inferior labours of scientific men; whose inquiries, indeed, they frequently attack, as dangerous to the interests of religion, and as inspiring us with an undue confidence in the resources of the human understanding. On the other hand, the cultivators of physical science, conscious that they are an advancing body, are naturally proud of their own success; and, contrasting their discoveries with the more stationary position of their opponents, are led to despise pursuits the barrenness of which has now become notorious.

It is the business of the historian to mediate between these two parties, and reconcile their hostile pretensions by showing the point at which their respective studies ought to coalesce. To settle the terms of this coalition, will be to fix the basis of all history. For since history deals with the actions of men, and since their actions are merely the product of a collision between internal and external phenomena, it becomes necessary to examine the relative importance of those phenomena; to inquire into the extent to which their laws are known; and to ascertain the resources for future discovery possessed by these two great classes, the students of the mind and the students of nature. This task I shall endeavour to accom-

plish in the next two chapters: and if I do so with any thing approaching to success, the present work will at least have the merit of contributing something towards filling up that wide and dreary chasm, which, to the hindrance of our knowledge, separates subjects that are intimately related, and should never be disunited.

NOTE A.

'Der Begriff der Freiheit ist ein reiner Vernunftbegriff, der eben darum für die theoretische Philosophie transcendent, d. i. ein solcher ist, dem kein angemessenes Beispiel in irgend einer möglichen Erfahrung gegeben werden kann, welcher also keinen Gegenstand einer uns möglichen theoretischen Erkenntniss ausmacht, und schlechterdings nicht für ein constitutives, sondern lediglich als regulatives, und zwar nur blos negatives Princip der speculativen Vernunft gelten kann, im practischen Gebrauche der selben aber seine Realität durch praktische Grundsätze beweist, die, als Gesetze, eine Causalitat der reinen Vernunft, unabhängig von allen empirischen Bedingungen (dem Sinnlichen überhaupt) die Willkühr zu bestimmen, und einen reinen Willen in uns beweisen, in welchem die sittlichen Begriffe und Gesetze ihren Ursprung haben.' *Metaphysik der Sitten* in *Kant's Werke*, vol. v. pp. 20, 21. 'Würden die Gegenstände der Sinnenwelt für Dinge an sich selbst genommen, und die oben angeführten Naturgesetze für Gesetze der Dinge an sich selbst, so wäre der Widerspruch' (*i. e.* between Liberty and Necessity) 'unvermeidlich. Ebenso, wenn das Subject der Freiheit gleich den übrigen Gegenstanden als blose Erscheinung vorgestellt würde, so könnte ebensowohl der Widerspruch nicht vermieden werden; denn es würde ebendasselbe von einerlei Gegenstande in derselben Bedeutung zugleich bejaht und verneint werden. Ist aber Naturnothwendigkeit blos auf Erscheinungen bezogen, und Freiheit blos auf Dinge an sich selbst, so entspringt kein Widerspruch, wenn man gleich beide Arten von Causalität annimmt oder zugibt, so schwer oder unmöglich es auch sein möchte, die von der letzteren Art begreiflich zu machen.' . . . . 'Natur also und Freiheit ebendemselben Dinge, aber in verschiedener Beziehung, einmal als Erscheinung, das andremal als einem Dinge an sich selbst ohne Widerspruch beigelegt werden können.' . . . . 'Nun kann ich ohne Widerspruch sagen: alle Handlungen vernünftiger Wesen, sofern sie Erscheinungen sind, (in irgend einer Erfahrung angetroffen werden) stehen unter der Naturnothwendigkeit; ebendieselben Handlungen aber, blos respective auf das vernünftige Subject und dessen Vermögen, nach bloser Vernunft zu handeln, sind frei.' *Prolegomena zu jeder künftigen Metaphysik*, in *Kant's Werke*, vol. iii. pp. 268-270. 'Denn ein Geschöpf zu sein und als Naturwesen blos dem Willen seines Urhebers zu folgen; dennoch

aber als freihandelndes Wesen, (welches seinen vom äusseten Einfluss unabhängigen Willen hat, der dem ersteren vielfältig zuwider sein kann,) der Zurechnung fähig zu sein, und seine eigene That doch auch zugleich als die Wirkung eines höheren Wesens anzusehen: ist eine Vereinbarung von Begriffen, die wir zwar in der Idee einer Welt, als des höchsten Gutes, zusammen denken müssen; die aber nur der einsehen kann, welcher bis zur Kenntniss der übersinnlichen (intelligiblen) Welt durchdringt und die Art einsieht, wie sie der Sinnenwelt zum Grunde liegt.' *Theodicee*, in *Kant's Werke*, vol. vi. p. 149. 'Nun wollen wir annehmen, die durch unsere Kritik nothwendig gemachte Unterscheidung der Dinge, als Gegenstände der Erfahrung, von eben denselben, als Dingen an sich selbst, wäre gar nicht gemacht, so müsste der Grundsatz der Causalität und mithin der Naturmechanismus in Bestimmung derselben durchaus von allen Dingen überhaupt als wirkenden Ursachen gelten. Von eben demselben Wesen also, z. B. der menschlichen Seele, würde ich nicht sagen können, ihr Wille sei frei, und er sei doch zugleich der Naturnothwendigkeit unterworfen d. i. nicht frei, ohne in einen offenbaren Widerspruch zu gerathen; weil ich die Seele in beiden Sätzen in eben derselben Bedeutung, nämlich als Ding überhaupt (als Sache an sich selbst) genommen habe und, ohne vorhergehende Kritik, auch nicht anders nehmen konnte. Wenn aber die Kritik nicht geirrt hat, da sie das Object in zweierlei Bedeutung nehmen lehrt, nämlich als Erscheinung, oder als Ding an sich selbst; wenn die Deduction ihrer Verstandesbegriffe richtig ist, mithin auch der Grundsatz der Causalität nur auf Dinge im ersten Sinne genommen, nämlich so fern sie Gegenstände der Erfahrung sind, geht, eben dieselben aber nach der zweiten Bedeutung ihm nicht unterworfen sind, so wird eben derselbe Wille in der Erscheinung (den sichtbaren Handlungen) als dem Naturgesetze nothwendig gemäss und so fern nicht frei, und doch andererseits, als einem Dinge an sich selbst angehörig, jenem nicht unterworfen, mithin als frei gedacht, ohne das hiebei ein Widerspruch vorgeht.' *Kritik der reinen Vernunft*, in *Kant's Werke*, vol. ii. p. 24. 'Und hier zeigt die zwar gemeine, aber betrügliche Voraussetzung der absoluten Realität der Erscheinungen sogleich ihren nachtheiligen Einfluss, die Vernunft zu verwirren. Denn sind Erscheinungen Dinge an sich selbst, so ist Freiheit nicht zu retten. Alsdenn ist Natur die vollständige und an sich hinreichend bestimmende Ursache jeder Begebenheit, und die Bendingung derselben ist jederzeit nur in der Reihe der Erscheinungen enthalten, die sammt ihrer Wirkung unter dem Naturgesetze nothwendig sind. Wen dagegen Erscheinungen für Nichts mehr gelten, als sie in der That sind, nämlich nicht für Dinge an sich, sondern blose Vorstellungen, die nach empirischen Gesetzen zusammenhängen, so müssen sie selbst noch Gründe haben, die nicht Erscheinungen sind.' . . . . 'Hier habe ich nur die Anmerkung machen wollen, dass, da der durchgängige Zusammenhang aller Erscheinungen in einem Context der Natur ein unnachlässliches Gesetz ist, dieses alle Freiheit nothwendig umstürzen müsste, wenn man der Realität der Erscheinungen hartnäckig anhängen wollte. Daher auch diejenigen, welche hierin der gemeinen Meinung folgen, niemals dahin haben gelangen können, Natur und Freiheit mit einander zu vereinigen.' *Kritik*, in *Werke*, vol. ii. pp. 419, 420. Finally, at p. 433, 'Man muss wohl bemerken dass wir hiedurch nicht die Wirklichkeit der Freiheit, als eines der Vermögen, welche die Ursache von den Erscheinungen unserer Sinnenwelt enthalten, haben darthun wollen. Denn ausser dass dieses gar keine transcendentale Betrachtung, die blos mit Begriffen zu thun hat, gewesen sein würde, so könnte es auch nicht gelingen, indem wir aus der Erfahrung niemals auf Etwas, was gar nicht nach Erfahrungsgesetzen gedacht werden muss, schliessen können. Ferner haben wir auch gar nicht einmal die Möglichkeit der Freiheit beweisen wollen; denn dieses wäre auch nicht gelungen, weil wir über-

haupt von keinem Realgrunde und keiner Causalität aus blosen Begriffen *a priori* die Möglichkeit erkennen können. Die Freiheit wird hier nur als transcendentale Idee behandelt, wodurch die Vernunft die Reihe der Bedingungen in der Erscheinung durch das sinnlich Unbedingte schlechthin anzuheben denkt, dabei sich aber in eine Antinomie mit ihren eigenen Gesetzen, welche sie dem empirischen Gebrauche des Verstandes vorschreibt, verwickelt. Dass nun diese Antinomie auf einem blosen Scheine beruhe, und dass Natur der Causalität aus Freiheit wenigstens nicht widerstreite, das war das Einzige, was wir leisten konnten und woran es uns auch einzig und allein gelegen war."

These passages prove that Kant saw that the phenomenal reality of Free Will is an indefensible doctrine: and as the present work is an investigation of the laws of phenomena, his transcendental philosophy does not affect my conclusions. According to Kant's view (and with which I am inclined to agree) the ordinary metaphysical and theological treatment of this dark problem is purely empirical, and therefore has no value. The denial of the supremacy of consciousness follows as a natural consequence, and is the result of the Kantian philosophy, and not, as is often said, the base of it.

CHAPTER II.

INFLUENCE EXERCISED BY PHYSICAL LAWS OVER THE ORGANIZATION OF SOCIETY AND OVER THE CHARACTER OF INDIVIDUALS.

If we inquire what those physical agents are by which the human race is most powerfully influenced, we shall find that they may be classed under four heads: namely, Climate, Food, Soil, and the General Aspect of Nature; by which last, I mean those appearances which, though presented chiefly to the sight, have, through the medium of that or other senses, directed the association of ideas, and hence in different countries have given rise to different habits of national thought. To one of these four classes, may be referred all the external phenomena by which Man has been permanently affected. The last of these classes, or what I call the General Aspect of Nature, produces its principal results by exciting the imagination, and by suggesting those innumerable superstitions which are the great obstacles to advancing knowledge. And as, in the infancy of a people, the power of such superstitions is supreme, it has happened that the various Aspects of Nature have caused corresponding varieties in the popular character, and have imparted to the national religion peculiarities which, under certain circumstances, it is impossible to efface. The other three agents, namely, Climate, Food, and Soil, have, so far as we are aware, had no direct influence of this sort; but they have, as I am about to prove, originated the most important consequences in regard to the general organization of society, and from them there have followed many of those large and conspicuous differences between nations, which are often ascribed to some fundamental difference in the various races into which mankind is divided. But while such original

distinctions of race are altogether hypothetical,[1] the discrepancies which are caused by difference of climate, food, and soil, are capable of a satisfactory explanation, and, when understood, will be found to clear up many of the difficulties which still obscure the study of history. I purpose, therefore, in the first place, to examine the laws of these three vast agents in so far as they are connected with Man in his social condition; and having traced the working of those laws with as much precision as the present state of physical knowledge will allow, I shall then examine the remaining agent, namely, the General Aspect of Nature, and shall endeavour to point out the most important divergencies to which its variations have, in different countries, naturally given rise.

Beginning, then, with climate, food, and soil, it is evident that these three physical powers are in no small degree dependent on each other: that is to say, there is a very close connexion between the climate of a country and the food which will ordinarily be grown in that country; while at the same time the food is itself influenced by the soil which produces it, as also by the elevation or depression of the land, by the state of the atmosphere, and, in a word, by all those conditions to the assemblage of which the name of Physical Geography is, in its largest sense, commonly given.[2]

[1] I cordially subscribe to the remark of one of the greatest thinkers of our time, who says of the supposed differences of race, 'of all vulgar modes of escaping from the consideration of the effect of social and moral influences on the human mind, the most vulgar is that of attributing the diversities of conduct and character to inherent natural differences.' *Mill's Principles of Political Economy*, vol. i. p. 390. Ordinary writers are constantly falling into the error of assuming the existence of this difference; which may or may not exist, but which most assuredly has never been proved. Some singular instances of this will be found in *Alison's History of Europe*, vol. ii. p. 336, vol. vi. p. 136, vol. viii. pp. 525, 526, vol. xiii. p. 347; where the historian thinks that by a few strokes of his pen he can settle a question of the greatest difficulty, connected with some of the most intricate problems in physiology. On the supposed relation between race and temperament, see *Comte, Philosophie Positive*, vol. iii. p. 355.

[2] As to the proper limits of physical geography, see *Prichard on Ethnology*, in *Report of the British Association for* 1847, p. 235. The word 'climate' I always use in the narrow and popular sense. Dr. Forry and many previous writers make it nearly coincide with 'physical geography:' 'Climate constitutes the aggregate of all the external physical circumstances

The union between these physical agents being thus intimate, it seems advisable to consider them not under their own separate heads, but rather under the separate heads of the effects produced by their united action. In this way we shall rise at once to a more comprehensive view of the whole question; we shall avoid the confusion that would be caused by artificially separating phenomena which are in themselves inseparable; and we shall be able to see more clearly the extent of that remarkable influence, which, in an early stage of society, the powers of Nature exercise over the fortunes of Man.

Of all the results which are produced among a people by their climate, food, and soil, the accumulation of wealth is the earliest, and in many respects the most important. For although the progress of knowledge eventually accelerates the increase of wealth, it is nevertheless certain that, in the first formation of society, the wealth must accumulate before the knowledge can begin. As long as every man is engaged in collecting the materials necessary for his own subsistence, there will be neither leisure nor taste for higher pursuits; no science can possibly be created, and the utmost that can be effected will be an attempt to economise labour by the contrivance of such rude and imperfect instruments as even the most barbarous people are able to invent.

In a state of society like this, the accumulation of wealth is the first great step that can be taken, because without wealth there can be no leisure, and without leisure there can be no knowledge. If what a people consume is always exactly equal to what they possess, there will be no residue, and therefore, no capital being accumulated, there will be no means by which the unemployed classes may be maintained.[3] But if the produce is greater than

appertaining to each locality in its relation to organic nature.' *Forry's Climate of the United States and its Endemic Influences*, New York, 1842, p. 127.

[3] By unemployed classes, I mean what Adam Smith calls the unproductive classes; and though both expressions are strictly speaking inaccurate, the word 'unemployed' seems to convey more clearly than any other the idea in the text.

the consumption, an overplus arises, which, according to well-known principles, increases itself, and eventually becomes a fund out of which, immediately or remotely, every one is supported who does not create the wealth upon which he lives. And now it is that the existence of an intellectual class first becomes possible, because for the first time there exists a previous accumulation, by means of which men can use what they did not produce, and are thus enabled to devote themselves to subjects for which at an earlier period the pressure of their daily wants would have left them no time.

Thus it is that of all the great social improvements the accumulation of wealth must be the first, because without it there can be neither taste nor leisure for that acquisition of knowledge on which, as I shall hereafter prove, the progress of civilization depends. Now, it is evident that among an entirely ignorant people, the rapidity with which wealth is created will be solely regulated by the physical peculiarities of their country. At a later period, and when the wealth has been capitalized, other causes come into play; but until this occurs, the progress can only depend on two circumstances: first on the energy and regularity with which labour is conducted, and secondly on the returns made to that labour by the bounty of nature. And these two causes are themselves the result of physical antecedents. The returns made to labour are governed by the fertility of the soil, which is itself regulated partly by the admixture of its chemical components, partly by the extent to which, from rivers or from other natural causes, the soil is irrigated, and partly by the heat and humidity of the atmosphere. On the other hand, the energy and regularity with which labour is conducted, will be entirely dependent on the influence of climate. This will display itself in two different ways. The first, which is a very obvious consideration, is, that if the heat is intense, men will be indisposed, and in some degree unfitted, for that active industry which in a milder climate they might willingly have exerted. The other consideration, which has been less noticed, but is equally

important, is, that climate influences labour not only by enervating the labourer or by invigorating him, but also by the effect it produces on the regularity of his habits.[4] Thus we find that no people living in a very northern latitude have ever possessed that steady and unflinching industry for which the inhabitants of temperate regions are remarkable. The reason of this becomes clear, when we remember that in the more northern countries the severity of the weather, and, at some seasons, the deficiency of light, render it impossible for the people to continue their usual out-of-door employments. The result is, that the working-classes being compelled to cease from their ordinary pursuits, are rendered more prone to desultory habits; the chain of their industry is as it were broken, and they lose that impetus which long-continued and uninterrupted practice never fails to give. Hence there arises a national character more fitful and capricious than that possessed by a people whose climate permits the regular exercise of their ordinary industry. Indeed, so powerful is this principle, that we may perceive its operation even under the most opposite circumstances. It would be difficult to conceive a greater difference in government, laws, religion, and manners, than that which distinguishes Sweden and Norway on the one hand, from Spain and Portugal on the other. But these four countries have one great point in common. In all of them, continued agricultural industry is impracticable. In the two southern countries, labour is interrupted by the heat, by the dryness of the weather, and by the consequent state of the soil. In the two northern countries, the same effect is produced by the severity of the winter and the shortness of the days. The consequence is, that these four nations, though so different in other respects, are all remarkable for a certain instability and fickleness of character; presenting a striking contrast to the more regular

[4] This has been entirely neglected by the three most philosophical writers on climate: Montesquieu, Hume, and M. Charles Comte in his *Traité de Législation*. It is also omitted in the remarks of M. Guizot on the influence of climate, *Civilisation en Europe*, p. 97.

and settled habits which are established in countries whose climate subjects the working classes to fewer interruptions, and imposes on them the necessity of a more constant and unremitting employment.[5]

These are the great physical causes by which the creation of wealth is governed. There are, no doubt, other circumstances which operate with considerable force, and which, in a more advanced state of society, possess an equal, and sometimes a superior, influence. But this is at a later period; and looking at the history of wealth in its earliest stage, it will be found to depend entirely on soil and climate: the soil regulating the returns made to any given amount of labour; the climate regulating the energy and constancy of the labour itself. It requires but a hasty glance at past events, to prove the immense power of these two great physical conditions. For there is no instance in history of any country being civilized by its own efforts, unless it has possessed one of these conditions in a very favourable form. In Asia, civilization has always been confined to that vast tract where a rich and alluvial soil has secured to man that wealth without some share of which no intellectual progress can begin. This great region extends, with a few interruptions, from the east of Southern China to the western coasts of Asia Minor, of Phœnicia, and of Palestine. To the north of this immense belt, there is a long line of barren country which has invariably been peopled by rude and wandering tribes, who are kept in poverty by the ungenial nature of the soil, and who, as long as they remained on it, have never emerged from their uncivilized state. How entirely this depends on physical causes, is evident from the fact that these same Mongolian and Tartarian hordes have, at different periods, founded great monarchies in China, in India, and in Persia, and have, on all such oc-

[5] See the admirable remarks in *Laing's Denmark*, 1852, pp. 204, 366, 367; though Norway appears to be a better illustration than Denmark. In *Rey's Science Sociale*, vol. i. pp. 195, 196, there are some calculations respecting the average loss to agricultural industry caused by changes in the weather; but no notice is taken of the connexion between these changes, when abrupt, and the tone of the national character.

casions, attained a civilization nowise inferior to that possessed by the most flourishing of the ancient kingdoms. For in the fertile plains of Southern Asia,[6] nature has supplied all the materials of wealth; and there it was that these barbarous tribes acquired for the first time some degree of refinement, produced a national literature, and organized a national polity; none of which things they, in their native land, had been able to effect.[7] In the same way, the Arabs in their own country have, owing to the extreme aridity of their soil,[8] always been a rude and uncultivated people; for in their case, as in all others, great ignorance is the fruit of great poverty. But in the seventh century they conquered Persia;[9] in the eighth century they conquered the best part of Spain;[10] in the ninth century they conquered the Punjaub, and eventually nearly the whole of India.[11] Scarcely were they

[6] This expression has been used by different geographers in different senses; but I take it in its common acceptation, without reference to the more strictly physical view of Ritter and his followers in regard to Central Asia. See *Prichard's Physical History of Mankind*, vol. iv. p. 278, edit. 1844. At p. 92, Pritchard makes the Himalaya the southern boundary of Central Asia.

[7] There is reason to believe that the Tartars of Thibet received even their alphabet from India. See the interesting Essay on Tartarian Coins in *Journal of Asiatic Society*, vol. iv. pp. 276, 277; and on the Scythian Alphabet, see vol. xii. p. 336.

[8] In *Somerville's Physical Geography*, vol. i. p. 132, it is said that in Arabia there are 'no rivers;' but Mr. Wellsted (*Travels in Arabia*, vol. ii. p. 409) mentions one which empties itself into the sea five miles west of Aden. On the streams in Arabia, see *Meiners über die Fruchtbarkeit der Länder*, vol. i. pp. 149, 150. That the sole deficiency is want of irrigation appears from Burckhardt, who says (*Travels in Arabia*, vol. i. p. 240), 'In Arabia, wherever the ground can be irrigated by wells, the sands may be soon made productive.' And for a striking description of one of the oases of Oman, which shows what Arabia might have been with a good river system, see *Journal of Geographical Society*, vol. vii. pp. 106, 107.

[9] Mr. Morier (*Journal of Geog. Soc.* vol. vii. p. 230) says, 'the conquest of Persia by the Saracens A.D. 651.' However, the fate of Persia was decided by the battles of Kudseah and Nahavund, which were fought in 638 and 641: see *Malcolm's History of Persia*, vol. i. pp. xvi. 139, 142.

[10] In 712. *Hallam's Middle Ages*, vol. i. p. 369.

[11] They were established in the Punjaub early in the ninth century, but did not conquer Guzerat and Malwa until five hundred years later. Compare Wilson's note in the *Vishnu Purana*, pp. 481, 482, with *Asiatic Researches*, vol. ix. pp. 187, 188, 203. On their progress in the more southern part of the Peninsula, see *Journal of Asiatic Society*, vol. iii. pp. 222, 223, vol. iv. pp. 28-30.

established in their fresh settlements, when their character seemed to undergo a great change. They, who in their original land were little else than roving savages, were now for the first time able to accumulate wealth, and, therefore, for the first time did they make some progress in the arts of civilization. In Arabia they had been a mere race of wandering shepherds;[12] in their new abodes they became the founders of mighty empires—they built cities, endowed schools, collected libraries; and the traces of their power are still to be seen at Cordova, at Bagdad, and at Delhi.[13] Precisely in the same manner, there is adjoining Arabia at the north, and only separated from it elsewhere by the narrow waters of the Red Sea,

[12] 'A race of pastoral barbarians.' *Dickinson on the Arabic Language*, in *Journal of Asiat. Society*, vol. v. p. 323. Compare *Reynier*, *Economie des Arabes*, pp. 27, 28; where, however, a very simple question is needlessly complicated. The old Persian writers bestowed on them the courteous appellation of 'a band of naked lizard-eaters.' *Malcolm's Hist. of Persia*, vol. i. p. 133. Indeed, there are few things in history better proved than the barbarism of a people whom some writers wish to invest with a romantic interest. The eulogy passed on them by Meiners is rather suspicious, for he concludes by saying, 'die Eroberungen der Araber waren höchst selten so blutig und zerstörend, als die Eroberungen der Tataren, Persen, Türken, u. s. w. in ältern und neuern Zeiten waren.' *Fruchtbarkeit der Länder*, vol. i. p. 153. If this is the best that can be said, the comparison with Tartars and Turks does not prove much; but it is singular that this learned author should have forgotten a passage in Diodorus Siculus which gives a pleasant description of them nineteen centuries ago on the eastern side: *Bibliothec. Hist.* lib. ii. vol. ii. p. 137. ἔχουσι δὲ βιον ληστρικὸν, καὶ πολλὴν τῆς ὁμόρου χώρας κατατρέχοντες ληστεύουσιν, &c.

[13] The only branch of knowledge which the Arabians ever raised to a science was astronomy, which began to be cultivated under the caliphs about the middle of the eighth century, and went on improving until 'la ville de Bagdad fut, pendant le dixième siècle, le théâtre principal de l'astronomie chez les orientaux.' *Montucla, Histoire des Mathématiques*, vol. i. pp. 355, 364. The old Pagan Arabs, like most barbarous people living in a clear atmosphere, had such an empirical acquaintance with the celestial phenomena as was used for practical purposes; but there is no evidence to justify the common opinion that they studied this subject as a science. Dr. Dorn (*Transactions of the Asiatic Society*, vol. ii. p. 371) says, 'of a scientific knowledge of astronomy among them no traces can be discovered.' Beausobre (*Histoire de Manichée*, vol. i. p. 20) is quite enthusiastic about the philosophy of the Arabs in the time of Pythagoras! and he tells us, that 'ces peuples ont toujours cultivé les sciences.' To establish this fact, he quotes a long passage from a life of Mohammed written early in the eighteenth century by Boulainvilliers, whom he calls 'un des plus beaux génies de France.' If this is an accurate description, those who have read the works of Boulainvilliers will think that France was badly off for men of genius; and as to his life of Mohammed, it is little better than a romance:

an immense sandy plain, which, covering the whole of Africa in the same latitude, extends westward until it reaches the shores of the Atlantic.[14] This enormous tract is, like Arabia, a barren waste;[15] and therefore, as in Arabia, the inhabitants have always been entirely uncivilized, acquiring no knowledge, simply because they have accumulated no wealth.[16] But this great desert is, in its eastern part, irrigated by the waters of the Nile, the overflowing of which covers the sand with a rich alluvial deposit, that yields to labour the most abundant, and in-

the author was ignorant of Arabic, and knew nothing which had not been already communicated by Maracci and Pococke. See *Biographie Universelle*, vol. v. p. 321.

In regard to the later Arabian astronomers, one of their great merits was to approximate to the value of the annual precession much closer than Ptolemy had done. See *Grant's History of Physical Astronomy*, 1852, p. 319.

[14] Indeed it goes beyond it: 'the trackless sands of the Sahara desert, which is even prolonged for miles into the Atlantic Ocean in the form of sandbanks.' *Somerville's Physical Geography*, vol. i. p. 149. For a singular instance of one of these sandbanks being formed into an island, see *Journal of Geograph. Society*, vol. ii. p. 284. The Sahara desert, exclusive of Bornou and Darfour, covers an area of 194,000 square leagues; that is, nearly three times the size of France, or twice the size of the Mediterranean. Compare *Lyell's Geology*, p. 694, with *Somerville's Connexion of the Sciences*, p. 294. As to the probable southern limits of the plateau of the Sahara, see *Richardson's Mission to Central Africa*, 1853, vol. ii. pp. 146, 156; and as to the part of it adjoining the Mandingo country, see *Mungo Park's Travels*, vol. i. pp. 237, 238. Respecting the country south of Mandara, some scanty information was collected by Denham in the neighbourhood of Lake Tchad. *Denham's Northern and Central Africa*, pp. 121, 122, 144-146.

[15] Richardson, who travelled through it south of Tripoli, notices its 'features of sterility, of unconquerable barrenness. *Richardson's Sahara*, 1848, vol. i. p. 86; and see the striking picture at p. 409. The long and dreary route from Mourzouk to Yeou, on Lake Tchad, is described by Denham, one of the extremely few Europeans who have performed that hazardous journey. *Denham's Central Africa*, pp. 2-60. Even on the shore of the Tchad there is hardly any vegetation, 'a coarse grass and a small bell-flower being the only plants that I could discover,' p. 90. Compare his remark on Bornou, p. 317. The condition of part of the desert in the fourteenth century is described in the *Travels of Ibn Batuta*, p. 233, which should be compared with the account given by Diodorus Siculus of the journey of Alexander to the temple of Ammon. *Bibliothec. Historic.* lib. xvii. vol. vii. p. 348.

[16] Richardson, who travelled in 1850 from Tripoli to within a few days of Lake Tchad, was struck by the stationary character of the people. He says, 'neither in the desert nor in the kingdoms of Central Africa is there any march of civilization. All goes on according to a certain routine established for ages past.' *Mission to Central Africa*, vol. i. pp. 304, 305. See similar remarks in *Pallme's Travels in Kordofan*, pp. 108, 109.

deed the most extraordinary, returns.[17] The consequence is, that in that spot, wealth was rapidly accumulated, the cultivation of knowledge quickly followed, and this narrow strip of land[18] became the seat of Egyptian civilization; a civilization which, though grossly exaggerated,[19] forms a striking contrast to the barbarism of the other nations of Africa, none of which have been able to work out their own progress, or emerge, in any degree, from the ignorance to which the penury of nature has doomed them.

These considerations clearly prove that of the two

[17] Abd-Allatif, who was in Egypt early in the thirteenth century, gives an interesting account of the rising of the Nile, to which Egypt owes its fertility. *Abd-Allatif, Relation de l'Egypte*, pp. 329-340, 374-376, and Appendix, p. 504. See also on these periodical inundations, *Wilkinson's Ancient Egyptians*, vol. iv. pp. 101-104; and on the half-astronomical half-theological notions connected with them, pp. 372-377, vol. v. pp. 291, 292. Compare on the religious importance of the Nile *Bunsen's Egypt*, vol. i. p. 409. The expression, therefore, of Herodotus (book ii. chap. v. vol i. p. 484), *δῶρον τοῦ ποταμοῦ*, is true in a much larger sense than he intended; since to the Nile Egypt owes all the physical peculiarities which distinguish it from Arabia and the great African desert. Compare *Heeren's African Nations*, vol. ii. p. 58; *Reynier, Economie des Arabes*, p. 3; *Postan's on the Nile and Indus*, in *Journal of Asiatic Society*, vol. vii. p. 275; and on the difference between the soil of the Nile and that of the surrounding desert, see *Volney, Voyage en Syrie et en Egypte*, vol. i. p. 14.

[18] 'The average breadth of the valley from one mountain-range to the other, between Cairo in Lower, and Edfoo in Upper Egypt, is only about seven miles; and that of the cultivable land, whose limits depend on the inundation, scarcely exceeds five and a half.' *Wilkinson's Ancient Egyptians*, vol. i. p. 216. According to Gerard, 'the mean width of the valley between Syene and Cairo is about nine miles.' Note in *Heeren's African Nations*, vol. ii. p. 62.

[19] I will give one instance of this from an otherwise sensible writer, and a man too of considerable learning: 'As to the physical knowledge of the Egyptians, their cotemporaries gave them credit for the astonishing power of their magic; and as we cannot suppose that the instances recorded in Scripture were to be attributed to the exertion of supernatural powers, we must conclude that they were in possession of a more intimate knowledge of the laws and combinations of nature than what is professed by the most learned men of the present age.' *Hamilton's Ægyptiaca*, pp. 61, 62. It is a shame that such nonsense should be written in the nineteenth century: and yet a still more recent author (*Vyse on the Pyramids*, vol. i. p. 28) assures us that 'the Egyptians, for especial purposes, were endowed with great wisdom and science.' Science properly so called, the Egyptians had none; and as to their wisdom, it was considerable enough to distinguish them from barbarous nations like the old Hebrews, but it was inferior to that of the Greeks, and it was of course immeasurably below that of modern Europe.

primary causes of civilization, the fertility of the soil is the one which in the ancient world exercised most influence. But in European civilization, the other great cause, that is to say, climate, has been the most powerful; and this, as we have seen, produces an effect partly on the capacity of the labourer for work, partly on the regularity or irregularity of his habits. The difference in the result has curiously corresponded with the difference in the cause. For, although all civilization must have for its antecedent the accumulation of wealth, still what subsequently occurs will be in no small degree determined by the conditions under which the accumulation took place. In Asia, and in Africa, the condition was a fertile soil, causing an abundant return; in Europe, it was a happier climate, causing more successful labour. In the former case, the effect depends on the relation between the soil and its produce; in other words, the mere operation of one part of external nature upon another. In the latter case, the effect depends on the relation between the climate and the labourer; that is, the operation of external nature not upon itself, but upon man. Of these two classes of relations, the first, being the less complicated, is the less liable to disturbance, and therefore came sooner into play. Hence it is, that, in the march of civilization, the priority is unquestionably due to the most fertile parts of Asia and Africa. But although their civilization was the earliest, it was very far, indeed, from being the best or most permanent. Owing to circumstances which I shall presently state, the only progress which is really effective depends, not upon the bounty of nature, but upon the energy of man. Therefore it is, that the civilization of Europe, which, in its earliest stage, was governed by climate, has shown a capacity of development unknown to those civilizations which were originated by soil. For the powers of nature, notwithstanding their apparent magnitude, are limited and stationary; at all events, we have not the slightest proof that they have ever increased, or that they will ever be able to increase. But the powers of man, so far as experience and analogy

can guide us, are unlimited; nor are we possessed of any evidence which authorizes us to assign even an imaginary boundary at which the human intellect will, of necessity, be brought to a stand. And as this power which the mind possesses of increasing its own resources, is a peculiarity confined to man, and one eminently distinguishing him from what is commonly called external nature, it becomes evident that the agency of climate, which gives him wealth by stimulating his labour, is more favourable to his ultimate progress than the agency of soil, which likewise gives him wealth, but which does so, not by exciting his energies, but by virtue of a mere physical relation between the character of the soil and the quantity or value of the produce that it almost spontaneously affords.

Thus far as to the different ways in which climate and soil affect the creation of wealth. But another point of equal, or perhaps of superior, importance remains behind. After the wealth has been created, a question arises as to how it is to be distributed; that is to say, what proportion is to go to the upper classes, and what to the lower. In an advanced stage of society, this depends upon several circumstances of great complexity, and which it is not necessary here to examine.[20] But in a very early stage of society, and before its later and refined complications have begun, it may, I think, be proved that the distribution of wealth is, like its creation, governed entirely by physical laws; and that those laws are moreover so active as to have invariably kept a vast majority of the inhabitants of the fairest portion of the globe in a condition of constant and inextricable poverty. If this can be demon-

[20] Indeed many of them are still unknown; for, as M. Rey justly observes, most writers pay too exclusive an attention to the production of wealth, and neglect the laws of its distribution. *Rey, Science Sociale*, vol. iii. p. 271. In confirmation of this, I may mention the theory of rent, which was only discovered about half a century ago, and which is connected with so many subtle arguments that it is not yet generally adopted; and even some of its advocates have shown themselves unequal to defending their own cause. The great law of the ratio between the cost of labour and the profits of stock, is the highest generalization we have reached respecting the distribution of wealth; but it cannot be consistently admitted by any one who holds that rent enters into price.

strated, the immense importance of such laws is manifest. For since wealth is an undoubted source of power, it is evident that, supposing other things equal, an inquiry into the distribution of wealth is an inquiry into the distribution of power, and, as such, will throw great light on the origin of those social and political inequalities, the play and opposition of which form a considerable part of the history of every civilized country.

If we take a general view of this subject, we may say that after the creation and accumulation of wealth have once fairly begun, it will be distributed among two classes, those who labour, and those who do not labour; the latter being, as a class, the more able, the former the more numerous. The fund by which both classes are supported is immediately created by the lower class, whose physical energies are directed, combined, and as it were economized, by the superior skill of the upper class. The reward of the workmen is called their wages; the reward of the contrivers is called their profits. At a later period, there will arise what may be called the saving class; that is, a body of men who neither contrive nor work, but lend their accumulations to those who contrive, and in return for the loan, receive a part of that reward which belongs to the contriving class. In this case, the members of the saving class are rewarded for their abstinence in refraining from spending their accumulations, and this reward is termed the interest of their money; so that there is made a threefold division—Interest, Profits, and Wages. But this is a subsequent arrangement, which can only take place to any extent when wealth has been considerably accumulated; and in the stage of society we are now considering, this third, or saving class, can hardly be said to have a separate existence.[21] For our present purpose, therefore, it is

[21] In a still more advanced stage, there is a fourth division of wealth, and part of the produce of labour is absorbed by rent. This, however, is not an element of price, but a consequence of it; and in the ordinary march of affairs, considerable time must elapse before it can begin. Rent, in the proper sense of the word, is the price paid for using the natural and indestructible powers of the soil, and must not be confused with rent commonly so called; for this last also includes the profits of stock. I notice this, because several of the opponents of Ricardo have placed the beginning of rent

enough to ascertain what those natural laws are, which, as soon as wealth is accumulated, regulate the proportion in which it is distributed to the two classes of labourers and employers.

Now, it is evident that wages being the price paid for labour, the rate of wages must, like the price of all other commodities, vary according to the changes in the market. If the supply of labourers outstrips the demand, wages will fall; if the demand exceeds the supply, they will rise. Supposing, therefore, that in any country there is a given amount of wealth to be divided between employers and workmen, every increase in the number of the workmen will tend to lessen the average reward each can receive. And if we set aside those disturbing causes by which all general views are affected, it will be found that, in the long-run, the question of wages is a question of population; for although the total sum of the wages actually paid depends upon the largeness of the fund from which they are drawn, still the amount of wages received by each man must diminish as the claimants increase, unless, owing to other circumstances, the fund itself should so advance as to keep pace with the greater demands made upon it.[22]

too early, by overlooking the fact that apparent rent is very often profits disguised.

[22] 'Wages depend, then, on the proportion between the number of the labouring population, and the capital or other funds devoted to the purchase of labour; we will say, for shortness, the capital. If wages are higher at one time or place than at another, if the subsistence and comfort of the class of hired labourers are more ample, it is, and can be, for no other reason than because capital bears a greater proportion to population. It is not the absolute amount of accumulation or of production that is of importance to the labouring class; it is not the amount even of the funds destined for distribution among the labourers; it is the proportion between those funds and the numbers among whom they are shared. The condition of the class can be bettered in no other way than by altering that proportion to their advantage; and every scheme for their benefit which does not proceed on this as its foundation, is, for all permanent purposes, a delusion.' *Mill's Principles of Political Economy*, 1849, vol. i. p. 425. See also vol. ii. pp. 264, 265, and *M'Culloch's Political Economy*, pp. 379, 380. Ricardo, in his *Essay on the Influence of a Low Price of Corn*, has stated, with his usual terseness, the three possible forms of this question: 'The rise or fall of wages is common to all states of society, whether it be the stationary, the advancing, or the retrograde state. In the stationary state, it is regulated wholly by the increase or falling-off of the population. In the

To know the circumstances most favourable to the increase of what may be termed the wages-fund is a matter of great moment, but is one with which we are not immediately concerned. The question we have now before us, regards not the accumulation of wealth, but its distribution; and the object is, to ascertain what those physical conditions are, which, by encouraging a rapid growth of population, over-supply the labour-market, and thus keep the average rate of wages at a very low point.

Of all the physical agents by which the increase of the labouring classes is affected, that of food is the most active and universal. If two countries, equal in all other respects, differ solely in this—that in one the national food is cheap and abundant, and in the other scarce and dear, the population of the former country will inevitably increase more rapidly than the population of the latter.[23] And, by a parity of reasoning, the average rate of wages will be lower in the former than in the latter, simply because the labour-market will be more amply stocked.[24] An inquiry, therefore, into the physical laws on which the food of different countries depends, is, for our present purpose, of the greatest importance; and fortunately it is one respecting which we are able, in the present state of chemistry and physiology, to arrive at some precise and definite conclusions.

The food consumed by man produces two, and only two, effects necessary to his existence. These are, first to supply him with that animal heat without which the functions of life would stop; and secondly, to repair the waste constantly taking place in his tissues, that is, in the mechanism of his frame. For each of these separate pur-

advancing state, it depends on whether the capital or the population advance at the more rapid course. In the retrograde state, it depends on whether population or capital decrease with the greater rapidity. *Ricardo's Works*, p. 379.

[23] The standard of comfort being of course supposed the same.

[24] 'No point is better established, than that the supply of labourers will always ultimately be in proportion to the means of supporting them.' *Principles of Political Economy*, chap. xxi., in *Ricardo's Works*, p. 176. Compare *Smith's Wealth of Nations*, book i. chap. xi. p. 86, and *M'Culloch's Political Economy*, p. 222.

poses there is a separate food. The temperature of our body is kept up by substances which contain no nitrogen, and are called non-azotized; the incessant decay in our organism is repaired by what are known as azotized substances, in which nitrogen is always found.[25] In the former case, the carbon of non-azotized food combines with the oxygen we take in, and gives rise to that internal combustion by which our animal heat is renewed. In the latter case, nitrogen having little affinity for oxygen,[26] the nitrogenous or azotized food is, as it were, guarded against combustion;[27] and being thus preserved, is able to perform its duty of repairing the tissues, and supplying those losses which the human organism constantly suffers in the wear and tear of daily life.

These are the two great divisions of food;[28] and if we

[25] The division of food into azotized and non-azotized is said to have been first pointed out by Magendie. See *Müller's Physiology*, vol. i. p. 525. It is now recognised by most of the best authorities. See, for instance, *Liebig's Animal Chemistry*, p. 134; *Carpenter's Human Physiology*, p 685; *Brande's Chemistry*, vol. ii. pp. 1218, 1870. The first tables of food constructed according to it were by Boussingault: see an elaborate essay by Messrs. Lawes and Gilbert on *The Composition of Foods*, in *Report of British Association for* 1852, p. 323: but the experiments made by these gentlemen are neither numerous nor diversified enough to establish a general law; still less can we accept their singular assertion, p. 346, that the comparative prices of different foods are a test of the nutriment they comparatively contain.

[26] 'Of all the elements of the animal body, nitrogen has the feeblest attraction for oxygen; and, what is still more remarkable, it deprives all combustible elements with which it combines, to a greater or less extent, of the power of combining with oxygen, that is, of undergoing combustion.' *Liebig's Letters on Chemistry*, p. 372.

[27] The doctrine of what may be called the protecting power of some substances is still imperfectly understood, and until late in the eighteenth century, its existence was hardly suspected. It is now known to be connected with the general theory of poisons. See *Turner's Chemistry*, vol. i. p. 516. To this we must probably ascribe the fact, that several poisons which are fatal when applied to a wounded surface, may be taken into the stomach with impunity. *Brodie's Physiological Researches*, 1851, pp. 137, 138. It seems more reasonable to refer this to chemical laws than to hold, with Sir Benjamin Brodie, that some poisons 'destroy life by paralysing the muscles of respiration without immediately affecting the action of the heart.'

[28] Prout's well-known division into saccharine, oily, and albuminous, appears to me of much inferior value, though I observe, that it is adopted in the last edition of *Elliotson's Human Physiology*, pp. 65, 160. The division by M. Lepelletier into 'les alimens solides et les boissons' is of course purely empirical. *Lepelletier, Physiologie Médicale*, vol. ii. p. 100,

inquire into the laws which regulate the relation they bear to man, we shall find that in each division the most important agent is climate. When men live in a hot country, their animal heat is more easily kept up than when they live in a cold one; therefore they require a smaller amount of that non-azotized food, the sole business of which is to maintain at a certain point the temperature of the body. In the same way, they, in the hot country, require a smaller amount of azotized food, because on the whole their bodily exertions are less frequent, and on that account the decay of their tissues is less rapid.[29]

Since, therefore, the inhabitants of hot climates do, in their natural and ordinary state, consume less food than the inhabitants of cold ones, it inevitably follows that, provided other things remain equal, the growth of population will be more rapid in countries which are hot than in those which are cold. For practical purposes, it is immaterial whether the greater plenty of a substance by which the people are fed arises from a larger supply, or whether it arises from a smaller consumption. When men eat less, the result will be just the same as if they had more; because the same amount of nutriment will go further, and thus population will gain a power of in-

Paris, 1832. In regard to Prout's classification, compare *Burdach's Traité de Physiologie*, vol. ix. p. 240, with *Wagner's Physiology*, p. 452.

[29] The evidence of an universal connexion in the animal frame between exertion and decay, is now almost complete. In regard to the muscular system, see *Carpenter's Human Physiology*, pp. 440, 441, 581, edit. 1846: 'there is strong reason to believe the waste or decomposition of the muscular tissue to be in exact proportion to the degree in which it is excited.' This perhaps would be generally anticipated even in the absence of direct proof: but what is more interesting, is that the same principle holds good of the nervous system. The human brain of an adult contains about one and a half per cent. of phosphorus; and it has been ascertained, that after the mind has been much exercised, phosphates are excreted, and that in the case of inflammation of the brain their excretion (by the kidneys) is very considerable. See *Paget's Lectures on Surgical Pathology*, 1853, vol. i. pp. 6, 7, 434; *Carpenter's Human Physiology*, pp. 192, 193, 222; *Simon's Animal Chemistry*, vol. ii. p. 426; *Henle, Anatomie Générale*, vol. ii. p. 172. The reader may also consult respecting the phosphorus of the brain, the recent very able work of MM. Robin et Verdeil, *Chimie Anatomique*, vol. i. p. 215, vol. ii. p. 348, Paris, 1853. According to these writers (vol. iii. p. 445), its existence in the brain was first announced by Hensing, in 1779.

creasing more quickly than it could do in a colder country, where, even if provisions were equally abundant, they, owing to the climate, would be sooner exhausted.

This is the first point of view in which the laws of climate are, through the medium of food, connected with the laws of population, and therefore with the laws of the distribution of wealth. But there is also another point of view, which follows the same line of thought, and will be found to strengthen the argument just stated. This is, that in cold countries, not only are men compelled to eat more than in hot ones, but their food is dearer, that is to say, to get it is more difficult, and requires a greater expenditure of labour. The reason of this I will state as briefly as possible, without entering into any details beyond those which are absolutely necessary for a right understanding of this interesting subject.

The objects of food are, as we have seen, only two: namely, to keep up the warmth of the body, and repair the waste in the tissues.[30] Of these two objects, the former is effected by the oxygen of the air entering our lungs, and, as it travels through the system, combining with the carbon which we take in our food.[31] This combination

[30] Though both objects are equally essential, the former is usually the more pressing; and it has been ascertained by experiment, what we should expect from theory, that when animals are starved to death, there is a progressive decline in the temperature of their bodies; so that the proximate cause of death by starvation is not weakness, but cold. See *Williams's Principles of Medicine*, p. 36; and on the connexion between the loss of animal heat and the appearance of *rigor mortis* in the contractile parts of the body, see *Vogel's Pathological Anatomy of the Human Body*, p. 532. Compare the important and thoughtful work of Burdach, *Physiologie comme Science d'Observation*, vol. v. pp. 144, 436, vol. ix. p. 231.

[31] Until the last twenty or five-and-twenty years, it used to be supposed that this combination took place in the lungs; but more careful experiments have made it probable that the oxygen unites with the carbon in the circulation, and that the blood-corpuscules are the carriers of the oxygen. Comp. *Liebig's Animal Chemistry*, p. 78; *Letters on Chemistry*, pp. 335, 336; *Turner's Chemistry*, vol. ii. p. 1319; *Müller's Physiology*, vol. i. pp. 92, 159. That the combination does not take place in the air-cells is moreover proved by the fact that the lungs are not hotter than other parts of the body. See *Müller*, vol. i. p. 348; *Thomson's Animal Chemistry*, p. 633; and *Brodie's Physiol. Researches*, p. 33. Another argument in favour of the red corpuscules being the carriers of oxygen, is that they are most abundant in those classes of the vertebrata which maintain the highest temperature; while the blood of invertebrata contains very few of them; and it has been doubted

of oxygen and carbon never can occur without producing a considerable amount of heat, and it is in this way that the human frame is maintained at its necessary temperature.[32] By virtue of a law familiar to chemists, carbon and oxygen, like all other elements, will only unite in certain definite proportions;[33] so that to keep up a healthy balance, it is needful that the food which contains the carbon should vary according to the amount of oxygen taken in: while it is equally needful that we should increase the quantity of both of these constituents whenever

if they even exist in the lower articulata and mollusca. See *Carpenter's Human Physiol.* pp. 109, 532; *Grant's Comparative Anatomy*, p. 472; *Elliotson's Human Physiol.* p. 159. In regard to the different dimensions of corpuscules, see *Henle, Anatomie Générale*, vol. i. pp. 457-467, 494, 495; *Blainville, Physiologie Comparée*, vol. i. pp. 298, 299, 301-304; *Milne Edwards, Zoologie*, part i. pp. 54-56; *Fourth Report of British Association*, pp. 117, 118; *Simon's Animal Chemistry*, vol. i. pp. 103, 104: and, above all, the important observations of Mr. Gulliver (*Carpenter*, pp. 105, 106). These additions to our knowledge, besides being connected with the laws of animal heat and of nutrition, will, when generalized, assist speculative minds in raising pathology to a science. In the mean time I may mention the relation between an examination of the corpuscules and the theory of inflammation which Hunter and Broussais were unable to settle: this is, that the proximate cause of inflammation is the obstruction of the vessels by the adhesion of the pale corpuscules. Respecting this striking generalization, which is still on its trial, compare *Williams's Principles of Medicine*, 1848, pp. 258-265, with *Paget's Surgical Pathology*, 1853, vol. i. pp. 313-317; *Jones and Siereking's Pathological Anatomy*, 1854, pp. 28, 105, 106. The difficulties connected with the scientific study of inflammation are evaded in *Vogel's Pathological Anatomy*, p. 418; a work which appears to me to have been greatly overrated.

[32] On the amount of heat disengaged by the union of carbon and oxygen, see the experiments of Dulong, in *Liebig's Animal Chemistry*, p. 44; and those of Despretz, in *Thomson's Animal Chemistry*, p. 634. Just in the same way, we find that the temperature of plants is maintained by the combination of oxygen with carbon: see *Balfour's Botany*, pp. 231, 232, 322, 323. As to the amount of heat caused generally by chemical combination, there is an essay well worth reading by Dr. Thomas Andrews in *Report of British Association for* 1849, pp. 63-78. See also *Report for* 1852, *Transac. of Sec.* p. 40, and *Liebig and Kopp's Reports on the Progress of Chemistry*, vol. i. p. 34, vol. iii. p. 16, vol. iv. p. 20; also *Pouillet, Elémens de Physique*, Paris, 1832, vol. i. part i. p. 411.

[33] The law of definite proportions, which, since the brilliant discoveries by Dalton, is the corner-stone of chemical knowledge, is laid down with admirable clearness in *Turner's Elements of Chemistry*, vol. i. pp. 146-151. Compare *Brande's Chemistry*, vol. i. pp. 139-144; *Cuvier, Progrès des Sciences*, vol. ii. p. 255; *Somerville's Connexion of the Sciences*, pp. 120, 121. But none of these writers have considered the law so philosophically as M. A. Comte, *Philosophie Positive*, vol. iii. pp. 133-176, one of the best chapters in his very profound, but ill-understood work.

a greater external cold lowers the temperature of the body. Now it is obvious that in a very cold climate, this necessity of providing a nutriment more highly carbonized will arise in two distinct ways. In the first place, the air being denser, men imbibe at each inspiration a greater volume of oxygen than they would do in a climate where the air is rarefied by heat.[34] In the second place, cold accelerates their respiration, and thus obliging them to inhale more frequently than the inhabitants of hot countries, increases the amount of oxygen which they on an average take in.[35] On both these grounds the consumption of oxygen becomes greater: it is therefore requisite that the consumption of carbon should also be greater; since by the union of these two elements in certain definite

[34] 'Ainsi, dans des temps égaux, la quantité d'oxygène consommée par le même animal est d'autant plus grande que la température ambiante est moins élevée.' *Robin et Verdeil, Chimie Anatomique*, vol. ii. p. 44. Compare *Simon's Lectures on Pathology*, 1850, p. 188, for the diminished quantity of respiration in a high temperature; though one may question Mr. Simon's inference that *therefore* the blood is more venous in hot countries than in cold ones. This is not making allowance for the difference of diet, which corrects the difference of temperature.

[35] 'The consumption of oxygen in a given time may be expressed by the number of respirations.' *Liebig's Letters on Chemistry*, p. 314; and see *Thomson's Animal Chemistry*, p. 611. It is also certain that exercise increases the number of respirations; and birds, which are the most active of all animals, consume more oxygen than any others. *Milne Edwards, Zoologie*, part i. p. 88, part ii. p. 371; *Flourens, Travaux de Cuvier*, pp. 153, 154, 265, 266. Compare, on the connexion between respiration and the locomotive organs, *Beclard, Anatomie Générale*, pp. 39, 44; *Burdach, Traité de Physiologie*, vol. ix. pp. 485, 556-559; *Carus' Comparative Anatomy*, vol. i. pp. 99, 164, 358, vol. ii. pp. 142, 160; *Grant's Comparative Anatomy*, pp. 455, 495, 522, 529, 537; *Rymer Jones's Animal Kingdom*, pp. 369, 440, 692, 714, 720; *Owen's Invertebrata*, pp. 322, 345, 386, 505. Thus too it has been experimentally ascertained, that in human beings exercise increases the amount of carbonic-acid gas. *Mayo's Human Physiology*, p. 64; *Liebig and Kopp's Reports*, vol. iii. p. 359.

If we now put these facts together, their bearing on the propositions in the text will become evident; because, on the whole, there is more exercise taken in cold climates than in hot ones, and there must therefore be an increased respiratory action. For proof that greater exercise is both taken and required, compare *Wrangel's Polar Expedition*, pp. 79, 102; *Richardson's Arctic Expedition*, vol. i. p. 385; *Simpson's North Coast of America*, pp. 49, 88, which should be contrasted with the contempt for such amusements in hot countries. Indeed, in polar regions all this is so essential to preserve a normal state, that scurvy can only be kept off in the northern part of the American continent by taking considerable exercise: see *Crantz, History of Greenland*, vol. i. pp. 46, 62, 338.

proportions, the temperature of the body and the balance of the human frame can alone be maintained.[36]

Proceeding from these chemical and physiological principles, we arrive at the conclusion, that the colder the country is in which a people live, the more highly carbonized will be their food. And this, which is a purely scientific inference has been verified by actual experiment. The inhabitants of the polar regions consume large quantities of whale-oil and blubber; while within the tropics such food would soon put an end to life, and therefore the ordinary diet consists almost entirely of fruit, rice, and other vegetables. Now it has been ascertained by careful analysis, that in the polar food there is an excess of carbon; in the tropical food an excess of oxygen. Without entering into details, which to the majority of readers would be distasteful, it may be said generally, that the oils contain about six times as much carbon as the fruits, and that they have in them very little oxygen;[37] while starch, which is the most universal, and, in reference to nutrition, the most important constituent in the vegetable world,[38] is nearly half oxygen.[39]

[36] See the note at the end of this chapter.

[37] 'The fruits used by the inhabitants of southern climes do not contain, in a fresh state, more than 12 per cent. of carbon; while the blubber and train-oil which feed the inhabitants of polar regions contain 66 to 80 per cent. of that element.' *Liebig's Letters on Chemistry*, p. 320; see also p. 375, and *Turner's Chemistry*, vol. ii. p. 1315. According to Prout (*Mayo's Human Physiol.*, p. 136), 'the proportion of carbon in oily bodies varies from about 60 to 80 per cent.' The quantity of oil and fat habitually consumed in cold countries is remarkable. Wrangel (*Polar Expedition*, p. 21) says of the tribes in the north-east of Siberia, 'fat is their greatest delicacy. They eat it in every possible shape; raw, melted, fresh, or spoilt.' See also *Simpson's Discoveries on the North Coast of America*, pp. 147, 404.

[38] 'So common, that no plant is destitute of it.' *Lindley's Botany*, vol. i. p. 111; and at p. 121, 'starch is the most common of all vegetable productions.' Dr. Lindley adds (vol. i. p. 292), that it is difficult to distinguish the grains of starch secreted by plants from cytoblasts. See also on the starch-granules, first noticed by M. Link, *Reports on Botany by the Ray Society*, pp. 223, 370; and respecting its predominance in the vegetable world, compare *Thomson's Chemistry of Vegetables*, pp. 650-652, 875; *Brande's Chemistry*, vol. ii. p. 1160; *Turner's Chemistry*, vol. ii. p. 1230; *Liebig and Kopp's Reports*, vol. ii. pp. 97, 98, 122.

[39] The oxygen is 49·39 out of 100. See the table in *Liebig's Letters on Chemistry*, p. 379. Amidin, which is the soluble part of starch, contains 53·33 per cent. of oxygen. See *Thomson's Chemistry of Vegetables*, p. 654,

The connexion between this circumstance and the subject before us is highly curious: for it is a most remarkable fact, and one to which I would call particular attention, that owing to some more general law, of which we are ignorant, highly carbonized food is more costly than food in which comparatively little carbon is found. The fruits of the earth, of which oxygen is the most active principle, are very abundant; they may be obtained without danger, and almost without trouble. But that highly carbonized food, which in a very cold climate is absolutely necessary to life, is not produced in so facile and spontaneous a manner. It is not, like vegetables, thrown up by the soil; but it consists of the fat, the blubber, and the oil[40] of powerful and ferocious animals. To procure it, man must incur great risk, and expend great labour. And although this is undoubtedly a contrast of extreme cases, still it is evident that the nearer a people approach to either extremity, the more subject will they be to the conditions by which that extremity is governed. It is evident that, as a general rule, the colder a country is, the more its food will be carbonized; the warmer it is, the more its food will be oxidized.[41] At the same time, carbonized food, being chiefly drawn from the animal world, is more difficult to obtain than oxidized food, which is drawn from the vegetable world.[42] The result has been,

on the authority of Prout, who has the reputation of being an accurate experimenter.

[40] 'Of which a single whale will yield 'cent vingt tonneaux.' *Cuvier, Règne Animal*, vol. i. p. 297. In regard to the solid food, Sir J. Richardson (*Arctic Expedition*, 1851, vol. i. p. 243) says that the inhabitants of the Arctic regions only maintain themselves by chasing whales and 'consuming blubber.'

[41] It is said, that to keep a person in health, his food, even in the temperate parts of Europe, should contain 'a full eighth more carbon in winter than in summer.' *Liebig's Animal Chemistry*, p. 16.

[42] The most highly carbonized of all foods are undoubtedly yielded by animals: the most highly oxidized by vegetables. In the vegetable kingdom there is, however, so much carbon, that its predominance, accompanied with the rarity of nitrogen, has induced chemical botanists to characterize plants as carbonized, and animals as azotized. But we have here to attend to a double antithesis. Vegetables are carbonized in so far as they are non-azotized; but they are oxidized in opposition to the highly carbonized animal food of cold countries. Besides this, it is important to observe that

that among nations where the coldness of the climate renders a highly carbonized diet essential, there is for the most part displayed, even in the infancy of society, a bolder and more adventurous character, than we find among those other nations whose ordinary nutriment, being highly oxidized, is easily obtained, and indeed is supplied to them, by the bounty of nature, gratuitously and without a struggle.[43] From this original divergence there follow many other consequences, which, however, I am not now concerned to trace; my present object being merely to point out how this difference of food affects the proportion in which wealth is distributed to the different classes.

The way in which this proportion is actually altered has, I hope, been made clear by the preceding argument. But it may be useful to recapitulate the facts on which the argument is based. The facts, then are simply these. The rate of wages fluctuates with the population; increasing when the labour-market is under-supplied, diminishing when it is over-supplied. The population itself, though affected by many other circumstances, does undoubtedly fluctuate with the supply of food; advancing when the supply is plentiful, halting or receding when the supply is scanty. The food essential to life, is scarcer in cold countries than in hot ones; and not only is it scarcer, but more of it is required;[44] so that on both

the carbon of vegetables is most abundant in the woody and unnutritious part, which is not eaten; while the carbon of animals is found in the fatty and oily parts, which are not only eaten, but are, in cold countries, greedily devoured.

[43] Sir J. Malcolm (*History of Persia*, vol. ii. p. 380), speaking of the cheapness of vegetables in the East, says, 'in some parts of Persia fruit has hardly any value.' Cuvier, in a striking passage (*Règne Animal*, vol. i. pp. 73, 74), has contrasted vegetable with animal food, and thinks that the former, being so easily obtained, is the more natural. But the truth is that both are equally natural: though when Cuvier wrote scarcely anything was known of the laws which govern the relation between climate and food. On the skill and energy required to obtain food in cold countries, see *Wrangel's Polar Expedition*, pp. 70, 71, 191, 192; *Simpson's Discoveries on the North Coast of America*, p. 249; *Crantz, History of Greenland*, vol. i. pp. 22, 32, 105, 131, 154, 155, vol. ii. pp. 203, 265, 324.

banis (*Rapports du Physique et du Moral*, p. 313) says, 'Dans les temps et dans les pays froids on mange et l'on agit davantage.' That much

grounds smaller encouragement is given to the growth of that population from whose ranks the labour-market is stocked. To express, therefore, the conclusion in its simplest form, we may say, that there is a strong and constant tendency in hot countries for wages to be low, in cold countries for them to be high.

Applying now this great principle to the general course of history, we shall find proofs of its accuracy in every direction. Indeed, there is not a single instance to the contrary. In Asia, in Africa, and in America, all the ancient civilizations were seated in hot climates; and in all of them the rate of wages was very low, and therefore the condition of the labouring classes very depressed. In Europe, for the first time, civilization arose in a colder climate: hence the reward of labour was increased, and the distribution of wealth rendered more equal than was possible in countries where an excessive abundance of food stimulated the growth of population. This difference produced, as we shall presently see, many social and political consequences of immense importance. But before discussing them, it may be remarked that the only apparent exception to what has been stated, is one which strikingly verifies the general law. There is one instance, and only one, of a great European people possessing a very cheap national food. This people, I need hardly say, are the Irish. In Ireland the labouring classes have for more than two hundred years been principally fed by potatoes, which were introduced into their country late in the sixteenth, or early in the seventeenth century.[45]

food is eaten in cold countries, and little in hot ones, is mentioned by numerous travellers, none of whom are aware of the cause. See *Simpson's Discov. on North Coast of America*, p. 218; *Custine's Russie*, vol. iv. p. 66; *Wrangel's Expedition*, pp. 21, 327; *Crantz, History of Greenland*, vol. i. pp. 145, 360; *Richardson's Central Africa*, vol. ii. p. 46; *Richardson's Sahara*, vol. i. p. 137; *Denham's Africa*, p. 37; *Journal of Asiatic Society*, vol. v. p. 144, vol. viii. p. 188; *Burckhardt's Travels in Arabia*, vol. ii. p. 265; *Niebuhr, Déscription de l'Arabie*, p. 45; *Ulloa's Voyage to South America*, vol. i. pp. 403, 408; *Journal of Geograph. Society*, vol. iii. p. 283, vol. vi. p. 85, vol. xix. p. 121: *Spix and Martius's Travels in Brazil*, vol. i. p. 164; *Southey's History of Brazil*, vol. iii. p. 848; *Volney, Voyage en Syrie et en Egypte*, vol. i. pp. 379, 380, 460; *Low's Sarawak*, p. 140.

[45] Meyen (*Geography of Plants*, 1846, p. 313) says that the potato was

Now, the peculiarity of the potato is, that until the appearance of the late disease, it was, and perhaps still is, cheaper than any other food equally wholesome. If we compare its reproductive power with the amount of nutriment contained in it, we find that one acre of average land sown with potatoes will support twice as many persons as the same quantity of land sown with wheat.[46] The consequence is, that in a country where men live on potatoes, the population will, if other things are tolerably equal, increase twice as fast as in a country where they live on wheat. And so it has actually occurred. Until a very few years ago, when the face of affairs was entirely altered by pestilence and emigration, the population of Ireland was, in round numbers, increasing annually three per cent.; the population of England during the same period increasing one and a half per cent.[47] The result was, that in these two countries the distribution of wealth was altogether different. Even in England the growth of population is somewhat too rapid; and the labour-market being overstocked, the working classes are not sufficiently paid for their labour.[48] But their condition is one of sumptuous splendour, compared to that in which only a few years ago the Irish were forced to live.

introduced into Ireland in 1586; but according to Mr. M'Culloch (*Dictionary of Commerce*, 1849, p. 1048), 'potatoes, it is commonly thought, were not introduced into Ireland till 1610, when a small quantity was sent by Sir Walter Raleigh to be planted in a garden on his estate in the vicinity of Youghall.' Compare *Loudon's Encyclop. of Agriculture*, p. 845: 'first planted by Sir Walter Raleigh on his estate of Youghall, near Cork.'

[46] Adam Smith (*Wealth of Nations*, book i. chap. xi. p. 67) supposes that it will support three times as many; but the statistics of this great writer are the weakest part of his work, and the more careful calculations made since he wrote bear out the statement in the text. 'It admits of demonstration that an acre of potatoes will feed double the number of people that can be fed from an acre of wheat.' *Loudon's Encyclop. of Agriculture*, 5th edit., 1844, p. 845. So, too, in *M'Culloch's Dict.*, p. 1048, 'an acre of potatoes will feed double the number of individuals that can be fed from an acre of wheat.' The daily average consumption of an able-bodied labourer in Ireland is estimated at nine and a half pounds of potatoes for men, and seven and a half for women. See *Phillips on Scrofula*, 1846, p. 177.

[47] *Malthus, Essay on Population*, vol. i. pp. 424, 425, 431, 435, 441, 442; *M'Culloch's Political Economy*, pp. 381, 382.

[48] The lowest agricultural wages in our time have been in England about 1s. a day; while from the evidence collected by Mr. Thornton in 1845, the highest wages then paid were in Lincolnshire, and were rather more

The misery in which they were plunged has no doubt always been aggravated by the ignorance of their rulers, and by that scandalous misgovernment which, until very recently formed one of the darkest blots on the glory of England. The most active cause, however, was, that their wages were so low as to debar them, not only from the comforts, but from the common decencies of civilized life; and this evil condition was the natural result of that cheap and abundant food, which encouraged the people to so rapid an increase, that the labour-market was constantly gorged.[49] So far was this carried, that an intelligent observer who travelled through Ireland twenty years ago, mentioned that at that time the average wages were fourpence a day, and that even this wretched pittance could not always be relied upon for regular employment.[50]

Such have been the consequences of cheap food in a country which, on the whole, possesses greater natural resources than any other in Europe.[51] And if we inves-

than 13s. a week; those in Yorkshire and Northumberland being nearly as high. *Thornton on Over-Population*, pp. 12-15, 24, 25. Godwin, writing in 1820, estimates the average at 1s. 6d. a day. *Godwin on Population*, p. 574. Mr. Phillips, in his work *On Scrofula*, 1846, p. 345, says, 'at present the ratio of wages is from 9s. to 10s.

[49] The most miserable part, namely Connaught, in 1733, contained 242,160 inhabitants; and in 1821, 1,110,229. See *Sadler's Law of Population*, vol. ii. p. 490.

[50] Mr. Inglis, who in 1834 travelled through Ireland with a particular view to its economical state, says, as the result of very careful inquiries, 'I am quite confident, that if the whole yearly earnings of the labourers of Ireland were divided by the whole number of labourers, the result would be under this sum—'*Fourpence* a day for the labourers of Ireland.' *Inglis, Journey throughout Ireland in* 1834, Lond. 1835, 2nd edit. vol. ii. p. 300. At Balinasloe, in the county of Galway, 'A gentleman with whom I was accidentally in company offered to procure, on an hour's warning, a couple of hundred labourers at fourpence even for temporary employment.' *Inglis*, vol. ii. p. 17. The same writer says (vol. i. p. 263), that at Tralee 'it often happens that the labourers, after working in the canal from five in the morning until eleven in the forenoon, are discharged for the day with the pittance of twopence.' Compare, in *Cloncurry's Recollections*, Dublin, 1849, p. 310, a letter from Dr. Doyle written in 1829, describing Ireland as 'a country where the market is always overstocked with labour, and in which a man's labour is not worth, at an average, more than threepence a day.'

[51] It is singular that so acute a thinker as Mr. Kay should, in his otherwise just remarks on the Irish, entirely overlook the effect produced on their wages by the increase of population. *Kay's Social Condition of the People,*

tigate on a larger scale the social and economical condition of nations, we shall see the same principle every where at work. We shall see that, other things remaining equal, the food of a people determines the increase of their numbers, and the increase of their numbers determines the rate of their wages. We shall moreover find, that when the wages are invariably low,[52] the distribution of wealth being thus very unequal, the distribution of political power and social influence will also be very unequal; in other words it will appear that the normal and average relation between the upper and lower classes will, in its origin, depend upon those peculiarities of nature, the operations of which I have endeavoured to indicate.[53] After putting all these things together, we shall, I trust, be able to discern, with a clearness hitherto unknown, the

vol. i. pp. 8, 9, 92, 223, 306-324. This is the more observable, because the disadvantages of cheap food have been noticed not only by several common writers, but by the highest of all authorities on population, Mr. Malthus: see the sixth edition of his *Essay on Population*, vol. i. p. 469, vol. ii. pp. 123, 124, 383, 384. If these things were oftener considered, we should not hear so much about the idleness and levity of the Celtic race; the simple fact being, that the Irish are unwilling to work, not because they are Celts, but because their work is badly paid. When they go abroad, they get good wages, and therefore they become as industrious as any other people. Compare *Journal of Statistical Society*, vol. vii. p. 24, with *Thornton on Over-Population*, p. 425; a very valuable work. Even in 1799, it was observed that the Irish as soon as they left their own country became industrious and energetic. See *Parliamentary History*, vol. xxxiv. p. 222. So too, in North America, 'they are most willing to work hard.' *Lyell's Second Visit to the United States*, 1849, vol. i. p. 187.

[52] By low wages, I mean low reward of labour, which is of course independent both of the cost of labour and of the money-rate of wages.

[53] In a recent work of considerable ingenuity (*Doubleday's True Law of Population*, 1847, pp. 25-29, 69, 78, 123, 124, &c.) it is noticed that countries are more populous when the ordinary food is vegetable than when it is animal; and an attempt is made to explain this on the ground that a poor diet is more favourable to fecundity than a rich one. But though the fact of the greater increase of population is indisputable, there are several reasons for being dissatisfied with Mr. Doubleday's explanation.

1st. That the power of propagation is heightened by poor living, is a proposition which has never been established physiologically; while the observations of travellers and of governments are not sufficiently numerous to establish it statistically.

2nd. Vegetable diet is as generous for a hot country as animal diet is for a cold country; and since we know that, notwithstanding the difference of food and climate, the temperature of the body varies little between the equator and the poles (compare *Liebig's Animal Chemistry*, p. 19; *Holland's Medical Notes*, p. 473; *Pouillet, Elémens de Physique*, vol. i. part i. p. 414;

intimate connexion between the physical and moral world; the laws by which that connexion is governed; and the reasons why so many ancient civilizations reached a certain stage of development, and then fell away, unable to resist the pressure of nature, or make head against those external obstacles by which their progress was effectually retarded.

If, in the first place, we turn to Asia, we shall see an admirable illustration of what may be called the collision between internal and external phenomena. Owing to circumstances already stated, Asiatic civilization has always been confined to that rich tract where alone wealth could be easily obtained. This immense zone comprises some of the most fertile parts of the globe; and of all its provinces, Hindostan is certainly the one which for the longest period has possessed the greatest civilization.[54] And as the materials for forming an opinion respecting India are more ample than those respecting any other part of Asia,[55] I purpose to select it as an example, and

Burdach's Traité de Physiologie, vol. ix. p. 663), we have no reason to believe that there is any other normal variation, but should rather suppose that, in regard to all essential functions, vegetable diet and external heat are equivalent to animal diet and external cold.

3rd. Even conceding, for the sake of argument, that vegetable food increases the procreative power, this would only affect the number of births, and not the density of population; for a greater number of births may be, and often are, remedied by a greater mortality; a point in regard to which Godwin, in trying to refute Malthus, falls into serious error. *Godwin on Population*, p. 317.

Since writing the above, I have found that these views of Mr. Doubleday's were in a great measure anticipated by Fourier. See *Rey, Science Sociale*, vol. i. p. 185.

[54] I use the word 'Hindostan' in the popular sense, as extending south to Cape Comorin; though, properly speaking, it only includes the country north of the Nerbudda. Compare *Mill's History of India*, vol. ii. p. 178; *Bohlen, das alte Indien*, vol. i. p. 11; *Meiners über die Länder in Asien*, vol. i. p. 224. The word itself is not found in the old Sanscrit, and is of Persian origin. *Halhed's Preface to the Gentoo Laws*, pp. xx. xxi.; *Asiatic Researches*, vol. iii. pp. 368, 369.

[55] So that, in addition to works published on their philosophy, religion, and jurisprudence, a learned geographer stated several years ago, that 'kein anderes Asiatisches Reich ist in den letzten drey Jahrhunderten von so vielen und so einsichtsvollen Europaern durchreist und beschrieben worden, als Hindostan.' *Meiners Länder in Asien*, vol i. p. 225. Since the time of Meiners, such evidence has become still more precise and extensive; and is, I think, too much neglected by M. Rhode in his valuable work on India:

use it to illustrate those laws which, though generalized from political economy, chemistry, and physiology, may be verified by that more extensive survey, the means of which history alone can supply.

In India, the great heat of the climate brings into play that law already pointed out, by virtue of which the ordinary food is of an oxygenous rather than of a carbonaceous character. This, according to another law, obliges the people to derive their usual diet not from the animal, but from the vegetable world, of which starch is the most important constituent. At the same time the high temperature, incapacitating men for arduous labour, makes necessary a food of which the returns will be abundant, and which will contain much nutriment in a comparatively small space. Here, then, we have some characteristics, which, if the preceding views are correct, ought to be found in the ordinary food of the Indian nations. So they all are. From the earliest period the most general food in India has been rice,[56] which is the most nutritive of all the cerealia;[57] which contains an enormous proportion of starch;[58] and which yields to the labourer an average return of at least sixty fold.[59]

'Dem Zwecke dieser Arbeit gemäss, betrachten wir hier nur Werke der Hindus selbst, oder Auszüge aus denselben als Quellen.' *Rhode, Religiöse Bildung der Hindus*, vol. i. p. 43.

[56] This is evident from the frequent and familiar mention of it in that remarkable relic of antiquity, the Institutes of Menu. See the *Institutes*, in *Works of Sir W. Jones*, vol. iii. pp. 87, 132, 156, 200, 215, 366, 400, 403, 434. Thus too, in the enumeration of foods in *Vishnu Purana*, pp. 46, 47, rice is the first mentioned. See further evidence in *Bohlen, das alte Indien*, vol. i. p. 22, vol. ii. pp. 159, 160; *Wilson's Theatre of the Indus*, vol. i. part ii. pp. 15, 16, 37, 92, 95, vol. ii. part ii. p. 35, part iii. p. 64; *Notes on the Mahabharata*, in *Journal of Asiatic Society*, vol. vii. p. 141; *Travels of Ibn Batuta in Fourteenth Century*, p. 164; *Colebrooke's Digest of Hindu Law*, vol. i. p. 499, vol. ii. pp. 44, 48, 436, 569, vol. iii. pp. 11, 148, 205, 206, 207, 266, 364, 530; *Asiatic Researches*, vol. vii. pp. 299, 302; *Ward on the Hindoos*, vol. i. p. 209, vol. iii. p. 105.

[57] 'It contains a greater proportion of nutritious matter than any of the cerealia.' *Somerville's Physical Geography*, vol. ii. p. 220.

[58] It contains from 83·8 to 85·07 per cent. of starch. *Brande's Chemistry*, vol. ii. p. 1624; *Thomson's Chemistry of Organic Bodies*, p. 883.

[59] It is difficult to collect sufficient evidence to strike an average; but in Egypt, according to Savary, rice 'produces eighty bushels for one.' *Loudon's Encyclop. of Agriculture*, p. 173. In Tennasserim, the yield is from 80 to 100. *Low's History of Tennasserim*, in *Journal of Asiatic Society*, vol. iii.

Thus possible is it, by the application of a few physical laws, to anticipate what the national food of a country will be, and therefore to anticipate a long train of ulterior consequences. What in this case is no less remarkable, is that though in the south of the peninsula, rice is not so much used as formerly, it has been replaced, not by animal food, but by another grain called ragi.[60] The original rice, however, is so suited to the circumstances I have described, that it is still the most general food of nearly all the hottest countries of Asia,[61] from which at different times it has been transplanted to other parts of the world.[62]

p. 29. In South America, 250 fold, according to Spix and Martius (*Travels in Brazil*, vol. ii. p. 79); or from 200 to 300, according to Southey (*History of Brazil*, vol. iii. pp. 658, 806). The lowest estimate given by M. Meyen is forty fold; the highest, which is marsh rice in the Philippine Islands, 400 fold. *Meyen's Geography of Plants*, 1846, p. 301.

[60] *Elphinstone's History of India*, p. 7. Ragi is the Cynosurus Corocanus of Linnæus; and, considering its importance, it has been strangely neglected by botanical writers. The best account I have seen of it is in *Buchanan's Journey through the Countries of Mysore, Canara, and Malabar*, vol. i. pp. 100-104, 285, 286, 375, 376, 403, vol. ii. pp. 103, 104, vol. iii. pp. 239, 240, 296, 297. In the large cities, millet is generally used; of which 'a quantity sufficient for two meals may be purchased for about a halfpenny.' *Gibson on Indian Agriculture*, in *Journal of Asiatic Society*, vol. viii. p. 100.

[61] *Marsden's History of Sumatra*, pp. 56, 59; *Raffles' History of Java*, vol. i. pp. 39, 106, 119, 129, 240; *Percival's Ceylon*, pp. 337, 364; *Transac. of Society of Bombay*, vol. ii. p. 155; *Transac. of Asiatic Society*, vol. i. p. 510; *Journal of Asiatic Society*, vol. i. pp. 228, 247, vol. ii. pp. 44, 64, 251, 257, 262, 336, 344, vol. iii. pp. 8, 25, 300, 340, vol. iv. pp. 82, 83, 104, vol. v. pp. 241, 246; *Asiatic Researches*, vol. v. pp. 124, 229, vol. xii. p. 148, vol. xvi. pp. 171, 172; *Journal of Geograph. Society*, vol. ii. p. 86, vol. iii. pp. 124, 295, 300, vol. v. p. 263, vol. viii. pp. 341, 359, vol. xix. pp. 132, 137.

[62] Rice, so far as I have been able to trace it, has travelled westward. Besides the historical evidence, there are philological probabilities in favour of its being indigenous to Asia, and the Sanscrit name for it has been very widely diffused. Compare *Humboldt's Cosmos*, vol. ii. p. 472, with *Craufurd's History of the Indian Archipelago*, vol. i. p. 358. In the fourteenth century, it was the common food on the Zanguebar coast; and is now universal in Madagascar. *Travels of Ibn Batuta in Fourteenth Century*, p. 56; *Ellis's History of Madagascar*, vol. i. pp. 39, 297-304, vol. ii. p. 292; *Journal of Geograph. Society*, vol. iii. p. 212. From Madagascar its seeds were, according to *M'Culloch's Dictionary of Commerce*, p. 1105, carried to Carolina late in the seventeenth century. It is now cultivated in Nicaragua (*Squier's Central America*, vol. i. p. 38) and in South America (*Henderson's Hist. of Brazil*, pp. 292, 307, 395, 440, 488), where it is said to grow wild. Compare *Meyen's Geography of Plants*, pp. 291, 297, with *Azara, Voyages dans l'Amérique Méridionale*, vol. i. p. 100, vol. ii. p. 80. The ancient Greeks, though acquainted with rice, did not cultivate it; and its cultivation was first introduced into Europe by the Arabs. See *Humboldt, Nouvelle Espagne*, vol. ii. pp. 409, 410.

In consequence of these peculiarities of climate, and of food, there has arisen in India that unequal distribution of wealth which we must expect to find in countries where the labour-market is always redundant.[63] If we examine the earliest Indian records which have been preserved—records between two and three thousand years old—we find evidence of a state of things similar to that which now exists, and which, we may rely upon it, always has existed ever since the accumulation of capital once fairly began. We find the upper classes enormously rich, and the lower classes miserably poor. We find those by whose labour the wealth is created, receiving the smallest possible share of it; the remainder being absorbed by the higher ranks in the form either of rent or of profit. And as wealth is, after intellect, the most permanent source of power, it has naturally happened that a great inequality of wealth has been accompanied by a corresponding inequality of social and political power. It is not, therefore, surprising that from the earliest period to which our knowledge of India extends, an immense majority of the people, pinched by the most galling poverty, and just living from hand to mouth, should always have remained in a state of stupid debasement, broken by incessant misfortune, crouching before their superiors in abject submission, and only fit either to be slaves themselves or to be led to battle to make slaves of others.[64]

To ascertain the precise value of the average rate of wages in India for any long period, is impossible; because, although the amount might be expressed in money, still

[63] So far as food is concerned, Diodorus Siculus notices the remarkable fertility of India, and the consequent accumulation of wealth. See two interesting passages in *Bibliothec. Hist.* lib. ii. vol. ii. pp. 49, 50, 108, 109. But of the economical laws of distribution he, like all the ancient writers, was perfectly ignorant.

[64] An able and very learned apologist for this miserable people says, 'The servility so generally ascribed to the Hindu is never more conspicuous than when he is examined as an evidence. But if it be admitted that he acts as a slave, why blame him for not possessing the virtues of a free man? *The oppression of ages has taught him implicit submission.*' *Vans Kennedy*, in *Transactions of Society of Bombay*, vol. iii. p. 144. Compare the observations of Charles Hamilton in *Asiatic Researches*, vol. i. p. 305.

the value of money, that is, its purchasing power, is subject to incalculable fluctuations, arising from changes in the cost of production.[65] But, for our present purpose, there is a method of investigation which will lead to results far more accurate than any statement could be that depended merely on a collection of evidence respecting the wages themselves. The method is simply this: that inasmuch as the wealth of a country can only be divided into wages, rent, profits, and interest, and inasmuch as interest is on an average an exact measure of profits,[66] it follows that if among any people rent and interest are both high, wages must be low.[67] If, therefore, we can ascertain the current interest of money, and the proportion of the produce of the soil which is absorbed by rent, we shall get a perfectly accurate idea of the wages; because wages are the residue, that is, they are what is left to the labourers after rent, profits, and interest have been paid.

Now it is remarkable, that in India both interest and rent have always been very high. In the *Institutes of*

65 The impossibility of having a standard of value, is clearly pointed out in *Turgot's Réflexions sur la Formation et la Distribution des Richesses*, in *Œuvres*, vol. v. pp. 51, 52. Compare *Ricardo's Works*, pp. 11, 28-30, 46, 166, 253, 270, 401, with *M'Culloch's Principles of Political Economy*, pp. 298, 299, 307.

66 *Smith's Wealth of Nations*, book i. chap. ix. p. 37; where, however, the proposition is stated rather too absolutely, since the risks arising from an insecure state of society must be taken into consideration. But that there is an average ratio between interest and profits is obvious, and is distinctly laid down by the Sanscrit jurists. See *Colebrooke's Digest of Hindu Law*, vol. i. pp. 72, 81.

67 Ricardo (*Principles of Political Economy*, chap. vi. in *Works*, p. 65) says, 'whatever increases wages, necessarily reduces profits.' And in chap. xv. p. 122, 'whatever raises the wages of labour, lowers the profits of stock.' In several other places he makes the same assertion, very much to the discomfort of the ordinary reader, who knows that in the United States, for instance, wages and profits are both high. But the ambiguity is in the language, not in the thought; and in these and similar passages Ricardo by wages meant cost of labour, in which sense the proposition is quite accurate. If by wages we mean the reward of labour, then there is no relation between wages and profits; for when rent is low, both of them may be high, as is the case in the United States. That this was the view of Ricardo is evident from the following passage: 'Profits, it cannot be too often repeated, depend on wages; not on nominal but real wages; not on the number of pounds that may be annually paid to the labourer, but on the number of days' work necessary to obtain those pounds.' *Political Economy*, chap. vii., *Ricardo's Works*, p. 82. Compare *Mill's Principles of Political Economy*, vol. i. p. 509, vol. ii. p. 225.

Menu, which were drawn up about B C. 900,[68] the lowest legal interest for money is fixed at fifteen per cent., the highest at sixty per cent.[69] Nor is this to be considered as a mere ancient law now fallen into disuse. So far from that, the *Institutes of Menu* are still the basis of Indian jurisprudence;[70] and we know on very good authority, that in 1810 the interest paid for the use of money varied from thirty-six to sixty per cent.[71]

Thus much as to one of the elements of our present calculation. As to the other element, namely, the rent, we have information equally precise and trustworthy. In England and Scotland, the rent paid by the cultivator for the use of land is estimated in round numbers, taking one farm with another, at a fourth of the gross produce.[72] In France, the average proportion is about a third;[73] while

[68] I take the estimate of Mr. Elphinstone (*History of India*, pp. 225-228) as midway between Sir William Jones (*Works*, vol. iii. p. 56) and Mr. Wilson (*Rig Veda Sanhita*, vol. i. p. xlvii.).

[69] *Institutes of Menu*, chap. viii. sec. 140-142, in *Works of Sir W. Jones*. vol. iii. p. 295. The subsequent Sanscrit commentators recognize nearly the same rate of interest, the minimum being fifteen per cent. See *Colebrooke's Digest of Hindu Law*, vol. i. pp. 29, 36, 43, 98, 99, 237, vol. ii. p. 70.

[70] In *Colebrooke's Digest* vol. i. p. 454, and vol. iii. p. 229, Menu is called 'the highest authority of memorial law,' and 'the founder of memorial law.' The most recent historian of India, Mr. Elphinstone, says (*Hist. of India*, p. 83) 'the code of Menu is still the basis of the Hindu jurisprudence; and the principal features remain unaltered to the present day.' This remarkable code is also the basis of the laws of the Burmese, and even of those of the Laos. *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, vol. ii. p. 271, vol. iii. pp. 28, 296, 332, vol. v. p. 252.

[71] See, in *Mill's History of India*, vol. i. p. 317, the report of a committee of the House of Commons in 1810, in which it is stated that the ryots paid 'the heavy interest of three, four, and five per cent. per month.' Ward, writing about the same time, mentions as much as seventy-five per cent. being given, and this apparently without the lender incurring any extraordinary risk. *Ward on the Hindoos*, vol. ii. p. 190.

[72] Compare the table in *London's Encyclopædia of Agriculture*, p. 778, with *Mavor's note in Tusser's Five Hundred Points of Husbandry*, p. 195, Lond. 1812, and *M'Culloch's Statistical Account of the British Empire*, 1847, vol. i. p. 560.

[73] This is the estimate I have received from persons well acquainted with French agriculture. The rent, of course, varies in each separate instance, according to the natural powers of the soil, according to the extent to which those powers have been improved, and according to the facilities for bringing the produce to market. But, notwithstanding these variations, there must be in every country an average rent, depending upon the operation of general causes.

in the United States of North America it is well known to be much less, and, indeed, in some parts, to be merely nominal.[74] But in India, the legal rent, that is, the lowest rate recognized by the law and usage of the country, is one-half of the produce; and even this cruel regulation is not strictly enforced, since in many cases rents are raised so high, that the cultivator not only receives less than half the produce, but receives so little as to have scarcely the means of providing seed to sow the ground for the next harvest.[75]

The conclusion to be drawn from these facts is manifest. Rent and interest being always very high, and interest varying, as it must do, according to the rate of profits, it is evident that wages must have been very low; for since there was in India a specific amount of wealth to be divided into rent, interest, profits, and wages, it is clear that the first three could only have been increased at the expense of the fourth; which is saying, in other words, that the reward of the labourers was very small in proportion to the reward received by the upper classes. And though this, being an inevitable inference, does not require extraneous support, it may be mentioned that in modern times, for which alone we have direct evidence, wages have in India always been excessively low, and the people have been, and still are, obliged to work for a sum barely sufficient to meet the exigencies of life.[76]

[74] Owing to the immense supply of land preventing the necessity of cultivating those inferior soils which older countries are glad to use, and are therefore willing to pay a rent for the right of using. In the United States, profits and wages (i. e., the reward of the labourer, not the cost of labour) are both high, which would be impossible if rent were also high.

[75] See *Rammohun Roy on the Judicial and Revenue Systems of India*, 1832, pp. 59-61, 63, 69, 92, 94. At p. 69, this high authority says of the agricultural peasantry of Bengal: 'In an abundant season, when the price of corn is low, the sale of their whole crops is required to meet the demands of the landholder, leaving little or nothing for seed or subsistence to the labourer or his family.' In Cashmere, the sovereign received half the produce of the rice-crop, leaving the other half to the cultivator. *Moorcroft's Notices of Cashmere*, in *Journal of Geog. Society*, vol. ii. p. 266.

[76] Heber (*Journey through India*, vol. i. pp. 209, 356, 357, 359) gives some curious instances of the extremely low rate at which the natives are glad to work. As to the ordinary wages in India in the present century, see *Journal of Asiatic Society*, vol. i. p. 255, vol. v. p. 171; *Rammohun Roy*

This was the first great consequence induced in India by the cheapness and abundance of the national food.[77] But the evil by no means stopped there. In India, as in every other country, poverty provokes contempt, and wealth produces power. When other things are equal, it must be with classes of men as with individuals, that the richer they are, the greater the influence they will possess. It was therefore to be expected, that the unequal distribution of wealth should cause an unequal distribution of

on the Judicial and Revenue Systems, pp. 105, 106; *Sykes's Statistics of the Deccan*, in *Reports of the British Association*, vol. vi. p. 321; *Ward's View of the Hindoos*, vol. iii. p. 207; *Colebrooke's Digest of Hindu Law*, vol. ii. p. 184. On wages in the south of India, the fullest information will be found in Buchanan's valuable work, *Journey through the Mysore, Canara, and Malabar*, vol. i. pp. 124, 125, 133, 171, 175, 216, 217, 298, 390, 415, vol. ii. pp. 12, 19, 22, 37, 90, 108, 132, 217, 218, 315, 481, 523, 525, 562, vol. iii. pp. 35, 181, 226, 298, 321, 349, 363, 398, 428, 555. I wish that all travellers were equally minute in recording the wages of labour; a subject of far greater importance than those with which they usually fill their books.

On the other hand, the riches possessed by the upper classes have, owing to this mal-distribution of wealth, been always enormous, and sometimes incredible. See *Forbes's Oriental Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 297; *Bohlen, das alte Indien*, vol. ii. p. 119; *Travels of Ibn Batuta*, p. 41; *Ward's Hindoos*, vol. iii. p. 178. The autobiography of the Emperor Jehangueir contains such extraordinary statements of his immense wealth, that the Editor, Major Price, thinks that some error must have been made by the copyist; but the reader will find in *Grote's History of Greece* (vol. xii. pp. 229, 245) evidence of the treasures which it was possible for Asiatic rulers to collect in that state of society. The working of this unequal distribution is thus stated by Mr. Glyn (*Transac. of Asiatic Society*, vol. i. p. 482.): 'The nations of Europe have very little idea of the actual condition of the inhabitants of Hindustan; they are more wretchedly poor than we have any notion of. Europeans have hitherto been too apt to draw their opinions of the wealth of Hindustan from the gorgeous pomp of a few emperors, sultans, nawabs, and rajahs; whereas a more intimate and accurate view of the real state of society would have shown that these princes and nobles were engrossing all the wealth of the country, whilst the great body of the people were earning but a bare subsistence, groaning under intolerable burdens, and hardly able to supply themselves with the necessaries of life, much less with its luxuries.'

[77] Turner, who travelled in 1783 through the north-east of Bengal, says: 'Indeed, the extreme poverty and wretchedness of these people will forcibly appear, when we recollect how little is necessary for the subsistence of a peasant in these regions. The value of this can seldom amount to more than one penny per day, even allowing him to make his meal of two pounds of boiled rice, with a due proportion of salt, oil, vegetables, fish, and chili.' *Turner's Embassy to Tibet*, p. 11. Ibn Batuta, who travelled in Hindostan in the fourteenth century, says: 'I never saw a country in which provisions were so cheap.' *Travels of Ibn Batuta*, p. 194.

power; and as there is no instance on record of any class possessing power without abusing it, we may easily understand how it was that the people of India, condemned to poverty by the physical laws of their climate, should have fallen into a degradation from which they have never been able to escape. A few instances may be given to illustrate, rather than to prove, a principle which the preceding arguments have, I trust, placed beyond the possibility of dispute.

To the great body of the Indian people the name of Sudras is given;[78] and the native laws respecting them contain some minute and curious provisions. If a member of this despised class presumed to occupy the same seat as his superiors, he was either to be exiled or to suffer a painful and ignominious punishment.[79] If he spoke of them with contempt, his mouth was to be burned;[80] if he actually insulted them, his tongue was to be slit;[81] if he molested a Brahmin, he was to be put to death;[82] if he sat on the same carpet with a Brahmin, he was to be maimed for life;[83] if, moved by the desire of instruction, he even listened to the reading of the sacred books, burning oil was to be poured into his ears;[84] if, however, he

[78] The Sudras are estimated by Ward (*View of the Hindoos*, vol. iii. p. 281) at 'three-fourths of the Hindoos.' At all events, they comprise the whole of the working-classes; the Vaisyas not being husbandmen, as they are often called, but landlords, owners of cattle, and traders. Compare *Institutes of Menu*, chap. ix. sec. 326-333, in *Works of Sir W. Jones*, vol. iii. pp. 380, 381, with *Colebrooke's Digest*, vol. i. p. 15, from which it appears that the Vaisyas were always the masters, and that the Sudra was to 'rely on agriculture for his subsistence.' The division, therefore, between 'the industrious and the servile' (*Elphinstone's History of India*, p. 12) is too broadly stated, and we must, I think, take the definition of M. Rhode: 'Die Kaste der Sudras umfasst die ganze arbeitende, oder um Lohn dienende Classe des Volks.' *Relig. Bildung der Hindus*, vol. ii. p. 561.

[79] 'Either be banished with a mark on his hinder parts, or the king shall cause a gash to be made on his buttock.' *Institutes of Menu*, chap. viii. sec. 281, in *Works of Sir W. Jones*, vol. iii. p. 315. See also *Ward's View of the Hindoos*, vol. iii. p. 67.

[80] *Menu*, chap. viii. sec. 271, in *Jones's Works*, vol. iii. p. 314.

[81] *Menu*, chap. viii. sec. 270.

[82] 'If a Sooder gives much and frequent molestation to a Brahmin, the magistrate shall put him to death.' *Halhed's Code of Gentoo Laws*, p. 262.

[83] *Halhed's Code of Gentoo Laws*, p. 207. As to the case of striking a Brahmin, see *Rammohun Roy on the Veds*, p. 227, 2nd edit. 1832.

[84] 'And if a Sooder listens to the Beids of the Shaster, then the oil,

committed them to memory, he was to be killed;[85] if he were guilty of a crime, the punishment for it was greater than that inflicted on his superiors;[86] but if he himself were murdered, the penalty was the same as for killing a dog, a cat, or a crow.[87] Should he marry his daughter to a Brahmin, no retribution that could be exacted in this world was sufficient; it was therefore announced that the Brahmin must go to hell, for having suffered contamination from a woman immeasurably his inferior.[88] Indeed, it was ordered that the mere name of a labourer should be expressive of contempt, so that his proper standing might be immediately known.[89] And lest this should not be enough to maintain the subordination of society, a law was actually made forbidding any labourer to accumulate wealth;[90] while another clause declared, that even though his master should give him freedom, he would in reality

heated as before, shall be poured into his ears; and arzeez and wax shall be melted together, and the orifice of his ears shall be stopped up therewith.' *Halhed*, p. 262. Compare the prohibition in *Menu*, chap. iv. sec. 99, chap. x. sec. 109-111, in *Jones's Works*, vol. iii. pp. 174, 398.

85 *Halhed*, p. 262: 'the magistrate shall put him to death.' In Mrichchakati, the judge says to a Sudra, 'If you expound the Vedas, will not your tongue be cut out?' *Wilson's Theatre of the Hindus*, vol. i. part ii. p. 170.

86 *Ward's View of the Hindoos*, vol. iv. p. 308. To this the only exception was in the case of theft. *Mill's History of India*, vol. i. pp. 193, 260. A Brahmin could 'on no account be capitally punished.' *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xv. p. 44.

87 *Menu*, chap. xi. sec. 132. in *Works of Sir W. Jones*, vol. iii. p. 422.

88 'A Brahmin, if he take a Sudra to his bed as his first wife, sinks to the regions of torment.' *Institutes of Menu*, chap. iii. sec. 17, in *Jones*, vol. iii. p. 121. Compare the denial of funeral rites, in *Colebrooke's Digest of Hindu Law*, vol. iii. p. 328. And on the different hells invented by the Hindu clergy, see *Vishnu Purana*, p. 207; *Ward's View of the Hindoos*, vol. ii. pp. 182, 183; *Coleman's Mythology of the Hindus*, p. 113. The curious details in *Rhode, die Religiöse Bildung der Hindus*, vol. i. pp. 392, 393, rather refer to Buddhism, and should be compared with *Journal Asiatique*, I. série, vol. viii. pp. 80, 81, Paris, 1826.

89 *Menu*, chap. ii. sec. 31, in *Jones*, vol. iii. p. 87; also noticed in *Rhode Relig. Bildung*, vol. ii. p. 561: 'sein Name soll schon Verachtung ausdrücken.' So, too, Mr. Elphinstone (*History of India*, p. 17): 'the proper name of a Sudra is directed to be expressive of contempt.' Compare *Origines du Droit*, in *Œuvres de Michelet*, vol. ii. p. 387, Bruxelles, 1840.

90 *Menu*, chap. x. sec. 129, in *Jones*, vol. iii. p. 401. This law is pointed out by Mill (*History of India*, vol. i. p. 195) as an evidence of the miserable state of the people, which Mr. Wilson (note in p. 194) vainly attempts to evade.

still be a slave; 'for,' says the lawgiver—'for of a state which is natural to him, by whom can he be divested?'[91]

By whom, indeed, could he be divested? I ween not where that power was by which so vast a miracle could be worked. For in India, slavery, abject, eternal slavery, was the natural state of the great body of the people; it was the state to which they were doomed by physical laws utterly impossible to resist. The energy of those laws is, in truth, so invincible, that wherever they have come into play, they have kept the productive classes in perpetual subjection. There is no instance on record of any tropical country, in which wealth having been extensively accumulated, the people have escaped their fate; no instance in which the heat of the climate has not caused an abundance of food, and the abundance of food caused an unequal distribution, first of wealth, and then of political and social power. Among nations subjected to these conditions, the people have counted for nothing; they have had no voice in the management of the state, no control over the wealth their own industry created. Their only business has been to labour; their only duty to obey. Thus there have been generated among them, those habits of tame and servile submission, by which, as we know from history, they have always been characterized. For it is an undoubted fact, that their annals furnish no instance of their having turned upon their rulers, no war of classes, no popular insurrections, not even one great popular conspiracy. In those rich and fertile countries there have been many changes, but all of them have been from above, not from below. The democratic element has been altogether wanting. There have been in abundance, wars of kings, and wars of dynasties. There have been revolutions in the government, revolutions in the palace, revolutions on the throne; but no revolutions

[91] 'A Sudra, though emancipated by his master, is not released from a state of servitude; for of a state which is natural to him, by whom can he be divested?' *Institutes of Menu,* chap. viii. sec. 414, in *Works of Sir W. Jones,* vol. iii. p. 333.

among the people;[92] no mitigation of that hard lot which nature, rather than man, assigned to them. Nor was it until civilization arose in Europe, that other physical laws came into operation, and therefore other results were produced. In Europe, for the first time, there was some approach to equality, some tendency to correct that enormous disproportion of wealth and power, which formed the essential weakness of the greatest of the more ancient countries. As a natural consequence, it is in Europe that everything worthy of the name of civilization has originated; because there alone have attempts been made to preserve the balance of its relative parts. There alone has society been organized according to a scheme, not indeed sufficiently large, but still wide enough to include all the different classes of which it is composed, and thus, by leaving room for the progress of each, to secure the permanence and advancement of the whole.

The way in which certain other physical peculiarities confined to Europe, have also accelerated the progress of Man by diminishing his superstition, will be indicated towards the end of this chapter; but as that will involve an examination of some laws which I have not yet noticed, it seems advisable, in the first place, to complete the inquiry now before us; and I therefore purpose proving that the line of argument which has been just applied to India, is likewise applicable to Egypt, to Mexico, and to Peru. For by thus including in a single survey, the most conspicuous civilizations of Asia, Africa, and America, we shall be able to see how the preceding principles hold good of different and distant countries; and we shall be possessed of evidence sufficiently comprehensive to test the accuracy of those great laws which, without such

[92] An intelligent observer says, 'It is also remarkable how little the people of Asiatic countries have to do in the revolutions of their governments. They are never guided by any great and common impulse of feeling, and take no part in events the most interesting and important to their country and their own prosperity.' *M'Murdo on the Country of Sindh*, in *Journal of Asiatic Society*, vol. i. p. 250. Compare similar remarks in *Herder's Ideen zur Geschichte*, vol. iii. p. 114; and even in *Alison's History of Europe*, vol. x. pp. 419, 420.

precaution, I might be supposed to have generalized from scanty and imperfect materials.

The reasons why, of all the African nations, the Egyptians alone were civilized, have been already stated, and have been shown to depend on those physical peculiarities which distinguish them from the surrounding countries, and which, by facilitating the acquisition of wealth, not only supplied them with material resources that otherwise they could never have obtained, but also secured to their intellectual classes the leisure and the opportunity of extending the boundaries of knowledge. It is, indeed, true that, notwithstanding these advantages, they effected nothing of much moment; but this was owing to circumstances which will be hereafter explained; and it must, at all events, be admitted that they raised themselves far above every other people by whom Africa was inhabited.

The civilization of Egypt being, like that of India, caused by the fertility of the soil, and the climate being also very hot,[93] there were in both countries brought into play the same laws; and there naturally followed the same results. In both countries we find the national food cheap and abundant: hence the labour-market oversupplied; hence a very unequal division of wealth and power; and hence all the consequences which such inequality will inevitably produce. How this system worked in India, I have just attempted to examine; and although the materials for studying the former condition of Egypt are much less ample, they are still sufficiently numerous to prove the striking analogy between the two civilizations, and the identity of those great principles which regulated the order of their social and political development.

If we inquire into the most important circumstances which concerned the people of ancient Egypt, we shall see that they are exactly the counterpart of those that have been noticed in India. For, in the first place, as regards their ordinary food, what rice is to the most

[93] Volney (*Voyage en Egypte*, vol. i. pp. 58-63) has a good chapter on the climate of Egypt.

fertile parts of Asia, that are dates to Africa. The palm-tree is found in every country from the Tigris to the Atlantic;[94] and it supplies millions of human beings with their daily food in Arabia,[95] and in nearly the whole of Africa north of the equator.[96] In many parts of the great African desert it is indeed unable to bear fruit; but naturally it is a very hardy plant, and produces dates in such profusion, that towards the north of the Sahara they are eaten not only by man, but also by domestic animals.[97] And in Egypt, where the palm is said to be of spontaneous growth,[98] dates, besides being the chief sustenance

[94] It is, however, unknown in South Africa. See the account of the Palmaceæ in *Lindley's Vegetable Kingdom*, 1847, p. 136, and *Meyen's Geog. of Plants*, p. 337.

[95] 'Of all eatables used by the Arabs, dates are the most favourite.' *Burckhardt's Travels in Arabia*, vol. i. p. 56. See also, for proof of their abundance in the west of Arabia, vol. i. pp. 103, 157, 238, vol. ii. pp. 91, 100, 105, 118, 209, 210, 214, 253, 300, 331. And on the dates of Oman and the east of Arabia, see *Wellsted's Travels in Arabia*, vol. i. pp. 188, 189, 236, 276, 290, 349. Compare *Niebuhr, Description de l'Arabie*, pp. 142, 296. Indeed, they are so important, that the Arabs have different names for them according to the stages of their growth. Djewhari says, 'La dénomination *balah* précède le nom *bosr;* car la datte se nomme d'abord *tala*, en suite *khalal*, puis *balah*, puis *bosr*, puis *rotab*, et enfin *tamr*.' *De Sacy's note to Abd-Allatif, Relation de l'Egypte*, p. 74, and see p. 118. Other notices of the dates of Arabia will be found in *Travels of Ibn Batuta in Fourteenth Century*, p. 66; *Journal of Asiatic Soc.* vol. viii. p. 286; *Journal of Geograph. Soc.* vol. iv. p. 201, vol. vi. pp. 53, 55, 58, 66, 68, 74, vol. vii. p. 32, vol. ix. pp. 147, 151.

[96] Heeren (*Trade of the African Nations*, vol. i. p. 182) supposes that in Africa, dates are comparatively little known south of 26° north lat. But this learned writer is certainly mistaken; and a reference to the following passages will show that they are common as far down as the parallel of Lake Tchad, which is nearly the southern limit of our knowledge of Central Africa; *Denham's Central Africa*, p. 295; *Clapperton's Journal*, in *Appendix to Denham*, pp. 34, 59; *Clapperton's Second Expedition*, p. 159. Further east they are somewhat scarcer, but are found much more to the south than is supposed by Heeren: see *Pallme's Kordofan*, p. 220.

[97] 'Dates are not only the principal growth of the Fezzan oases, but the main subsistence of their inhabitants. All live on dates; men, women, and children, horses, asses, and camels, and sheep, fowls, and dogs.' *Richardson's Travels in the Sahara*, vol. ii. p. 323, and see vol. i. p. 343: as to those parts of the desert where the palm will not bear, see vol. i. pp. 387, 405, vol. ii. pp. 291, 363. Respecting the dates of western Africa, see *Journal of Geograph. Society*, vol. xii. p. 204.

[98] 'It flourished spontaneously in the valley of the Nile.' *Wilkinson's Ancient Egyptians*, vol. ii. p. 372. As further illustration of the importance to Africa of this beautiful plant, it may be mentioned, that from the high-palm there is prepared a peculiar beverage, which in some parts is in great request. On this, which is called palm-wine, see *M'William's Medical*

of the people, are so plentiful, that from a very early period they have been commonly given to camels, the only beasts of burden generally used in that country.[99]

From these facts, it is evident that, taking Egypt as the highest type of African civilization, and India as the highest type of Asiatic civilization, it may be said that dates are to the first civilization, what rice is to the second. Now it is observable, that all the most important physical peculiarities found in rice, are also found in dates. In regard to their chemistry, it is well known that the chief principle of the nutriment they contain is the same in both; the starch of the Indian vegetable being merely turned into the sugar of the Egyptian. In regard to the laws of climate, their affinity is equally obvious; since dates, like rice, belong to hot countries, and flourish most in or near the tropics.[100] In regard to their increase, and the laws of their connexion with the soil, the analogy is also exact; for dates, just the same as rice, require little labour, and yield abundant returns, while they occupy so small a space of land in comparison with the nutriment they afford, that upwards of two hundred palm-trees are sometimes planted on a single acre.[101]

Thus striking are the similarities to which, in different countries, the same physical conditions naturally give rise. At the same time, in Egypt, as in India, the attainment of civilization was preceded by the possession of a highly fertile soil; so that, while the exuberance of the land

Expedition to the Niger, pp. 71, 116; *Meredith's Gold Coast of Africa*, 1812, pp. 55, 56; *Laird and Oldfield's Expedition into the Interior of Africa*, 1837, vol. ii. pp. 170, 213; *Bowditch, Mission to Ashantee*, pp. 69, 100, 152, 293, 386, 392. But I doubt if this is the same as the palm-wine mentioned in *Balfour's Botany*, 1849, p. 532. Compare *Tuckey's Expedition to the Zaire*, pp. 155, 216, 224, 356.

[99] *Wilkinson's Ancient Egyptians*, vol. ii. pp. 175-178. See also on the abundance of dates, the extracts from an Arabian geographer in *Quatremère, Recherches sur l'Egypte*, pp. 220, 221.

[100] On their relation to the laws of climate, see the remarks respecting the geographical limits of their power of ripening, in *Jussieu's Botany*, edit. Wilson, 1849, p, 734.

[101] 'In the valley of the Nile, a feddan (1¾ acre) is sometimes planted with 400 trees.' *Wilkinson's Ancient Egyptians*, vol. ii. p. 178. At Moorzuk an entire date-palm is only worth about a shilling. *Richardson's Central Africa*, vol. i. p. 111.

regulated the speed with which wealth was created, the abundance of the food regulated the proportions into which the wealth was divided. The most fertile part of Egypt is the Said;[102] and it is precisely there that we find the greatest display of skill and knowledge, the splendid remains of Thebes, Carnac, Luxor, Dendera, and Edfou.[103] It is also in the Said, or as it is often called the Thebaid, that a food is used which multiplies itself even more rapidly than either dates or rice. This is the dhourra, which until recently was confined to Upper Egypt,[104] and of which the reproductive power is so remarkable, that it yields to the labourer a return of two hundred and forty for one.[105] In Lower Egypt the dhourra was formerly unknown; but, in addition to dates, the people made a sort of bread from the lotos, which sprang spontaneously

[102] On the remarkable fertility of the Said, see *Abd-Allatif, Relation de l'Egypte*, p. 3.

[103] The superiority of the ruins in Southern Egypt over those in the northern part is noticed by Heeren (*African Nations*, vol. ii. p. 69), and must, indeed, be obvious to whoever has studied the monuments. In the Said the Coptic was preserved longer than in Lower Egypt, and is known to philologists by the name of Misr. See *Quatremère, Recherches sur la Langue de l'Egypte*, pp. 20, 41, 42. See also on the Saidic, pp. 134-140, and some good remarks by Dr. Prichard (*Physical Hist.* vol. ii. p. 202); who, however, adopts the paradoxical opinion of Georgi respecting the origin of the language of the Thebaid.

[104] Abd-Allattf (*Relation de l'Egypte*, p. 32) says, that in his time it was only cultivated in the Said. This curious work by Abd-Allatif was written in A.D. 1203. *Relation*, p. 423. Meiners thinks that Herodotus and other ancient writers refer to the dhourra without mentioning it: 'diese Durra muss daher im Herodot, wie in andern alten Schriftstellern vorzüglich verstanden werden, wenn von hundert, zwey hundert, und mehrfaltigen Früchten, welche die Erde trage, die Rede ist.' *Meiners, Fruchtbarkeit der Länder*, vol. i. p. 139. According to Volney, it is the Holcus Arundinaceus of Linnæus, and appears to be similar to millet; and though that accurate traveller distinguishes between them, I observe that Captain Haines, in a recent memoir, speaks of them as being the same. Compare Haines in *Journal of Geog. Soc.* vol. xv. p. 118, with *Volney, Voyage en Egypte*, vol. i. p. 195.

[105] 'The return is in general not less than 240 for one; and the average price is about 3*s.* 9*d.* the ardeb, which is scarcely 3*d.* per bushel.' *Hamilton's Ægyptiaca*, p. 420. In Upper Egypt, 'the doura constitutes almost the whole subsistence of the peasantry.' p. 419. At p. 96, Hamilton says, 'I have frequently counted 3,000 grains in one ear of doura, and each stalk has in general four or five ears.' For an account of the dhourra bread, see *Volney, Voyage en Egypte*, vol. i. p. 161.

out of the rich soil of the Nile.[106] This must have been a very cheap and accessible food; while to it there was joined a profusion of other plants and herbs, on which the Egyptians chiefly lived.[107] Indeed so inexhaustible was the supply, that at the time of the Mohammedan invasion there were, in the single city of Alexandria, no less than four thousand persons occupied in selling vegetables to the people.[108]

From this abundance of the national food, there resulted a train of events strictly analogous to those which took place in India. In Africa generally, the growth of population, though on the one hand stimulated by the heat of the climate, was on the other hand checked by the poverty of the soil. But on the banks of the Nile this restraint no longer existed,[109] and therefore the laws already noticed came into uncontrolled operation. By virtue of those laws, the Egyptians were not only satisfied

[106] Ἐπεὰν πλήρης γένηται ὁ ποταμὸς, καὶ τὰ πεδία πελαγίσῃ, φύεται ἐν τῷ ὕδατι κρίνεα πολλὰ, τὰ Αἰγύπτιοι καλέουσι λωτόν· ταῦτα ἐπεὰν δρέψωσι, αὐαίνουσι πρὸς ἥλιον· καὶ ἔπειτα τὸ ἐκ τοῦ μέσου τοῦ λωτοῦ τῇ μήκωνι ἐὸν ἐμφερὲς, πτίσαντες ποιεῦνται ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἄρτους ὀπτοὺς πυρί. *Herodot.* ii. 92, vol. i. p. 688.

[107] *Wilkinson's Ancient Egyptians*, vol. ii. pp. 370-372, 400, vol. iv. p. 59. Abd-Allatif gives a curious account of the different vegetables grown in Egypt early in the thirteenth century. *Relation*, pp. 16-36, and the notes of De Sacy, pp. 37-134. On the κύαμος of Herodotus there are some botanical remarks worth reading in the *Correspondence of Sir J. E. Smith*, vol. ii. pp. 224-232; but I doubt the assertion, p. 227, that Herodotus 'knew nothing of any other kind of κύαμος in Egypt than that of the ordinary bean.'

[108] 'When Alexandria was taken by Amer, the lieutenant of the Caliph Omer, no less than 4000 persons were engaged in selling vegetables in that city.' *Wilkinson's Ancient Egyptians*, vol. ii. p. 372, and see vol. i. p. 277, vol. iv. p. 60. Niebuhr (*Description de l'Arabie*, p. 136) says that the neighbourhood of Alexandria is so fertile, that 'le froment y rend le centuple.' See also on its rich vegetation, *Matter, Histoire de l'Ecole d'Alexandrie*, vol. i. p. 52.

[109] The encouragement given to the increase of population by the fertility arising from the inundation of the Nile, is observed by many writers, but by none so judiciously as Malthus; *Essay on Population*, vol. i. pp. 161-163. This great work, the principles of which have been grossly misrepresented, is still the best which has been written on the important subject of population; though the author, from a want of sufficient reading, often errs in his illustrations; while he, unfortunately, had no acquaintance with those branches of physical knowledge which are intimately connected with economical inquiries.

with a cheap food, but they required that food in comparatively small quantities; thus by a double process, increasing the limit to which their numbers could extend. At the same time the lower orders were able to rear their offspring with the greater ease, because, owing to the high rate of temperature, another considerable source of expense was avoided; the heat being such that, even for adults, the necessary clothes were few and slight, while the children of the working-classes went entirely naked; affording a striking contrast to those colder countries where, to preserve ordinary health, a supply of warmer and more costly covering is essential. Diodorus Siculus, who travelled in Egypt nineteen centuries ago, says, that to bring up a child to manhood did not cost more than twenty drachmas, scarcely thirteen shillings English money; a circumstance which he justly notices as a cause of the populousness of the country.[110]

To compress into a single sentence the preceding remarks, it may be said that in Egypt the people multiplied rapidly, because while the soil increased their supplies, the climate lessened their wants. The result was, that Egypt was not only far more thickly peopled than any other country in Africa, but probably more so than any in the ancient world. Our information upon this point is indeed somewhat scanty, but it is derived from sources of unquestioned credibility. Herodotus, who the more he is understood, the more accurate he is found to be,[111] states that in the reign of Amasis there were said to have been

[110] *Τρέφουσι δὲ τὰ παιδία μετά τινος εὐχερείας ἀδαπάνου, καὶ παντελῶς ἀπίστου. . . . . . ἀνυποδέτων δὲ τῶν πλείστων καὶ γυμνῶν τρεφομένων διὰ τὴν εὐκρασίαν τῶν τόπων, τὴν πᾶσαν δαπάνην οἱ γονεῖς, ἄχρις ἂν εἰς ἡλικίαν ἔλθῃ τὸ τέκνον, οὐ πλείω ποιοῦσι δραχμῶν εἴκοσι. δι' ἃς αἰτίας μάλιστα τὴν Αἴγυπτον συμβαίνει πολυανθρωπίᾳ διαφέρειν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πλείστας ἔχειν μεγάλων ἔργων κατασκευάς.* *Bibliothec. Hist.* book i. chap. lxxx. vol. i. p. 238.

[111] Frederick Schlegel (*Philos. of Hist.* p. 247, London, 1846) truly says, 'The deeper and more comprehensive the researches of the moderns have been on ancient history, the more have their regard and esteem for Herodotus increased.' His minute information respecting Egypt and Asia Minor is now admitted by all competent geographers; and I may add, that a recent and very able traveller has given some curious proofs of his knowledge even of the western parts of Siberia. See Erman's valuable work, *Travels in Siberia*, vol. i. pp. 211, 297-301.

twenty thousand inhabited cities.[112] This may, perhaps, be considered an exaggeration; but what is very observable is, that Diodorus Siculus, who travelled in Egypt four centuries after Herodotus, and whose jealousy of the reputation of his great predecessor made him anxious to discredit his statements,[113] does nevertheless, on this important point, confirm them. For he not only remarks that Egypt was at that time as densely inhabited as any existing country, but he adds, on the authority of records which were then extant, that it was formerly the most populous in the world, having contained, he says, upwards of eighteen thousand cities.[114]

These were the only two ancient writers who, from personal knowledge, were well acquainted with the state of Egypt;[115] and their testimony is the more valuable because it was evidently drawn from different sources; the information of Herodotus being chiefly collected at Mem-

112 Ἐπ' Ἀμάσιος δὲ βασιλέος λέγεται Αἴγυπτος μάλιστα δὴ τότε εὐδαιμονῆσαι, καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τῇ χώρῃ γινόμενα, καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς χώρης τοῖσι ἀνθρώποισι. καὶ πόλις εν αὐτῇ γενέσθαι τὰς ἀπάσας· τότε δισμυρίας τὰς οἰκεομένας. *Herodot.* book ii. chap. clxxvii. vol. i. pp. 881, 882.

113 Diodorus, who, though an honest and painstaking man, was in every respect inferior to Herodotus, says, impertinently enough, ὅσα μὲν οὖν Ἡρόδοτος και τινες τῶν τας Αἰγυπτιων πραξεις συνταξαμενων ἐσχεδιάκασιν, ἑκουσίως προκρίναντες τῆς ἀληθειας τὸ παραδοξολογεῖν, καὶ μύθους πλάττειν ψυχαγωγίας ἕνεκα, παρήσομεν. *Biblioth. Hist.* book i. chap. lxix. vol. i. p. 207. In other places he alludes to Herodotus in the same tone, without actually mentioning him.

114 Πολυανθρωπία δὲ τὸ μὲν παλαιὸν πολὺ προέσχε πάντων τῶν γνωριζομένων τόπων κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην, καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς δὲ οὐδενὸς τῶν ἄλλων δοκεῖ λείπεσθαι. ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἀρχαιων χρόνων ἔσχε κώμας ἀξιολόγους, καὶ πόλεις πλείους τῶν μυριων καὶ ὀκτακισχιλιων, ὡς ἐν ταῖς ἀναγραφαῖς ὁρᾶν ἐστι κατακεχωρισμένον, *Diod. Sic. Biblioth. Hist.* book i. chap. xxxi. vol. i. p. 89.

115 Notwithstanding the positive assertions of M. Matter (*Hist. de l'Ecole d'Alexandrie*, vol. ii. p. 285; compare *Hist. du Gnosticisme*, vol. i. p. 48), there is no good evidence for the supposed travels in Egypt of the earlier Greeks, and it is even questionable if Plato ever visited that country. ('Whether he ever was in Egypt is doubtful.' *Bunsen's Egypt*, vol. i. p. 60.) The Romans took little interest in the subject (*Bunsen*, vol. i. pp. 152-158); and, says M. Bunsen, p. 152, 'with Diodorus all systematic inquiry into the history of Egypt ceases, not only on the part of the Greeks, but of the ancients in general.' Mr. Leake, in an essay on the Quorra, arrives at the conclusion, that after the time of Ptolemy, the ancients made no additions to their knowledge of African geography. *Journal of Geographical Society*, vol. ii. p. 9.

phis, that of Diodorus at Thebes.[116] And whatever discrepancies there may be between these two accounts, they are both agreed respecting the rapid increase of the people, and the servile condition into which they had fallen. Indeed, the mere appearance of those huge and costly buildings, which are still standing, are a proof of the state of the nation that erected them. To raise structures so stupendous,[117] and yet so useless,[118] there must have been tyranny on the part of the rulers, and slavery on the part of the people. No wealth, however great, no expenditure, however lavish, could meet the expense which would have been incurred, if they had been the work of free men, who received for their labour a fair and honest reward.[119] But in Egypt, as in India, such considerations were disregarded, because every thing tended to favour the upper ranks of society and depress the lower. Between the two there was an immense and impassable gap.[120] If a member of the industrious classes changed his usual employment, or was known to pay attention to political matters, he was

[116] See on this some good remarks in *Heeren's African Nations*, vol. ii. pp. 202-207; and as to the difference between the traditions of Thebes and Memphis, see *Matter, Histoire de l'Ecole d'Alexandrie*, vol. i. p. 7. The power and importance of the two cities fluctuated, both being at different periods the capital. *Bunsen's Egypt*, vol. ii. pp. 54, 55, 244, 445, 446; *Vyse on the Pyramids*, vol. iii. pp. 27, 100; *Sharpe's History of Egypt*, vol. i. pp. 9, 19, 24, 34, 167, 185.

[117] Sir John Herschel (*Disc. on Natural Philosophy*, p. 60) calculates that the great pyramid weighs twelve thousand seven hundred and sixty million pounds. Compare *Lyell's Principles of Geology*, p. 459, where the still larger estimate of six million tons is given. But according to Perring, the present quantity of masonry is 6,316,000 tons, or 82,110,000 cubic feet. See *Bunsen's Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 155, London, 1854, and *Vyse on the Pyramids*, 1840, vol. ii. p. 113.

[118] Many fanciful hypotheses have been put forward as to the purpose for which the pyramids were built; but it is now admitted that they were neither more nor less than tombs for the Egyptian kings! See *Bunsen's Egypt*, vol. ii. pp. xvii. 88, 105, 372, 389; and *Sharpe's History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 21.

[119] For an estimate of the expense at which one of the pyramids could be built in our time by European workmen, see *Vyse on the Pyramids*, vol. ii. p. 268. On account, however, of the number of disturbing causes, such calculations have little value.

[120] Those who complain that in Europe this interval is still too great, may derive a species of satisfaction from studying the old extra-European civilizations.

severely punished;[121] and under no circumstances was the possession of land allowed to an agricultural labourer, to a mechanic, or indeed to any one except the king, the clergy, and the army.[122] The people at large were little better than beasts of burden; and all that was expected from them was an unremitting and unrequited labour. If they neglected their work, they were flogged; and the same punishment was frequently inflicted upon domestic servants, and even upon women.[123] These and similar regulations were well conceived; they were admirably suited to that vast social system, which, because it was based on despotism, could only be upheld by cruelty. Hence it was that, the industry of the whole nation being at the absolute command of a small part of it, there arose the possibility of rearing those vast edifices, which inconsiderate observers admire as a proof of civilization,[124] but which, in reality, are evidence of a state of things altogether depraved and unhealthy; a state in which the skill and the arts of an imperfect refinement injured those whom they ought to have benefited; so that the very resources which the people had created were turned against the people themselves.

That in such a society as this, much regard should be paid to human suffering, it would indeed be idle to expect.[125] Still, we are startled by the reckless prodigality

[121] *Wilkinson's Ancient Egyptians*, vol. ii. pp. 8, 9. 'Nor was any one permitted to meddle with political affairs, or to hold any civil office in the state.' . . . 'If any artizan meddled with political affairs, or engaged in any other employment than the one to which he had been brought up, a severe punishment was instantly inflicted upon him.' Compare *Diod. Sic. Bibliothec. Hist.* book i. chap. lxxiv. vol. i. p. 223.

[122] *Wilkinson's Ancient Egyptians*, vol. i. p. 263, vol. ii. p. 2; *Sharpe's History of Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 24.

[123] *Wilkinson's Ancient Egyptians*, vol. ii. pp. 41, 42, vol. iii. p. 69, vol. iv. p. 131. Compare Ammianus Marcellinus, in *Hamilton's Ægyptiaca*, p. 309.

[124] *Vyse on the Pyramids*, vol. i. p. 61, vol. ii. p. 92.

[125] 'Ein König ahmte den andern nach, oder suchte ihn zu übertreffen; indess das gutmüthige Volk seine Lebenstage am Baue dieser Monumente verzehren musste. So entstanden wahrscheinlich die Pyramiden und Obelisken Ægyptens. Nur in den ältesten Zeiten wurden sie gebauet: denn die spätere Zeit und jede Nation, die ein nützlicher Gewerbe treiben lernte, bauete keine Pyramiden mehr. Weit gefehlt also, dass Pyramiden ein Kennzeichen von der Glükseligkeit und Aufklärung des alten Ægyptens seyn sollten, sind sie ein unwidersprechliches Denkmal von dem Aber-

with which, in Egypt, the upper classes squandered away the labour and the lives of the people. In this respect, as the monuments yet remaining abundantly prove, they stand alone and without a rival. We may form some idea of the almost incredible waste, when we hear that two thousand men were occupied for three years in carrying a single stone from Elephantine to Sais;[126] that the Canal of the Red Sea alone, cost the lives of a hundred and twenty thousand Egyptians;[127] and that to build one of the pyramids required the labour of three hundred and sixty thousand men for twenty years.[128]

If, passing from the history of Asia and Africa, we now turn to the New World, we shall meet with fresh proof of the accuracy of the preceding views. The only parts of America which before the arrival of the Europeans were in some degree civilized, were Mexico and Peru;[129] to which may probably be added that long and narrow tract which stretches from the south of Mexico to the Isthmus of Panama. In this latter country, which is now known as Central America, the inhabitants, aided by

glauben und der Gedankenlosigkeit sowohl der Armen, die da baueten, als der Ehrgeizigen, die den Bau befahlen.' *Herder's Ideen zur Geschichte*, vol. iii. pp. 103, 104: see also p. 293, and some admirable remarks in *Volney's Voyage en Egypt*, vol. i. pp. 240, 241. Even M. Bunsen, notwithstanding his admiration, says of one of the pyramids, 'the misery of the people, already grievously oppressed, was aggravated by the construction of this gigantic building . . . . . The bones of the oppressors of the people who for two whole generations harassed hundreds of thousands from day to day,' &c. *Bunsen's Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 176, a learned and enthusiastic work.

[126] Καὶ τοῦτο ἐκόμιζον μὲν ἐπ' ἔτεα τρία δισχίλιοι δέ οἱ προσετετάχατο ἄνδρες ἀγωγέες. *Herodot.* book ii. chap. clxxv. vol. i. p. 897. On the enormous weight of the stones which the Egyptians sometimes carried, see *Bunsen's Egypt*, vol. i. p. 379; and as to the machines employed, and the use of inclined roads for the transit, see *Vyse on the Pyramids*, vol. i. p. 197, vol. iii. pp. 14, 38.

[127] *Wilkinson's Ancient Egyptians*, vol. i. p. 70: but this learned writer is unwilling to believe a statement so adverse to his favourite Egyptians. It is likely enough that there is some exaggeration; still no one can dispute the fact of an enormous and unprincipled waste of human life.

[128] Τριάκοντα μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἓξ μυριάδες ἀνδρῶν, ὥς φασι, ταῖς τῶν ἔργων λειτουργίαις προσήδρευσαν, τὸ δὲ πᾶν κατασκεύασμα τέλος ἔσχε μόγις ἐτῶν εἴκοσι διελθόντων. *Diod. Sic. Bibliothec. Hist.* book i. chap. lxiii. vol. i. p. 188.

[129] 'When compared with other parts of the New World, Mexico and Peru may be considered as polished states.' *History of America*, book vii. in *Robertson's Works*, p. 904. See, to the same effect, *Journal of Geograph. Society*, vol. v. p. 355.

the fertility of the soil,[130] seem to have worked out for themselves a certain amount of knowledge; since the ruins still extant, prove the possession of a mechanical and architectural skill too considerable to be acquired by any nation entirely barbarous.[131] Beyond this, nothing is known of their history; but the accounts we have of such buildings as Copan, Palenque, and Uxmal, make it highly probable that Central America was the ancient seat of a civilization, in all essential points similar to those of India and Egypt; that is to say, similar to them in respect to the unequal distribution of wealth and power, and the thraldom in which the great body of the people consequently remained.[132]

But although the evidence from which we might estimate the former condition of Central America is almost entirely lost,[133] we are more fortunate in regard to the

[130] Compare *Squier's Central America*, vol. i. pp. 34, 244, 358, 421, vol. ii. p. 307, with *Journal of Geograph. Society*, vol. iii. p. 59, vol. viii. pp. 319, 323.

[131] Mr. Squier (*Central America*, vol ii. p. 68), who explored Nicaragua, says of the statues, 'the material, in every case, is a black basalt, of great hardness, which, with the best of modern tools, can only be cut with difficulty.' Mr. Stephens (*Central America*, vol. ii. p. 355) found at Palenque 'elegant specimens of art and models for study.' See also vol. iii. pp. 276, 389, 406, vol. iv. p. 293. Of the paintings at Chichen he says (vol. iv. p. 311), 'they exhibit a freedom of touch which could only be the result of discipline and training under masters.' At Copan (vol. i. p. 151), 'it would be impossible, with the best instruments of modern times, to cut stones more perfectly.' And at Uxmal (vol. ii. p. 431), throughout, the laying and polishing of the stones are as perfect as under the rules of the best modern masonry.' Our knowledge of Central America is almost entirely derived from these two writers; and although the work of Mr. Stephens is much the more minute, Mr. Squier says (vol. ii. p. 306), what I believe is quite true, that until the appearance of his own book in 1853, the monuments in Nicaragua were entirely unknown. Short descriptions of the remains in Guatemala and Yucatan will be found in *Larenaudière's Mexique et Guatemala*, pp. 308-327, and in *Journal of Geograph. Society*, vol. iii. pp. 60-63.

[132] See the remarks on Yucatan in *Prichard's Physical History of Mankind*, vol. v. p. 348: 'a great and industrious, though perhaps, as the writer above cited (Gallatin) observes, an enslaved population. Splendid temples and palaces attest the power of the priests and nobles, while as usual no trace remains of the huts in which dwelt the mass of the nation.'

[133] Dr. M'Culloh (*Researches concerning the Aboriginal History of America*, pp. 272-340) has collected from the Spanish writers some meagre statements respecting the early condition of Central America; but of its social state and history properly so called, nothing is known; nor is it even certain to what family of nations the inhabitants belonged, though a recent author

histories of Mexico and Peru. There are still existing considerable and authentic materials, from which we may form an opinion on the ancient state of those two countries, and on the nature and extent of their civilization. Before, however, entering upon this subject, it will be convenient to point out what those physical laws were which determined the localities of American civilization; or, in other words, why it was that in these countries alone, society should have been organized into a fixed and settled system, while the rest of the New World was peopled by wild and ignorant barbarians. Such an inquiry will be found highly interesting, as affording further proof of the extraordinary, and indeed irresistible, force with which the powers of nature have controlled the fortunes of man.

The first circumstance by which we must be struck, is that in America, as in Asia and Africa, all the original civilizations were seated in hot countries; the whole of Peru proper being within the southern tropic, the whole of Central America and Mexico within the northern tropic. How the heat of the climate operated on the social and political arrangements of India and Egypt, I have attempted to examine; and it has, I trust, been proved that the result was brought about by diminishing the wants and requirements of the people, and thus producing a very unequal distribution of wealth and power. But, besides this, there is another way in which the average temperature of a country affects its civilization, and the discussion of which I have reserved for the present moment, because it may be more clearly illustrated in America than elsewhere. Indeed, in the New World, the scale on which Nature works, being much larger than in the Old, and her forces being more overpowering, it is evident that her operations on mankind may be studied

can find 'la civilisation guatemalienne ou misteco-zapotèque et mayaquiche vivante pour nous encore dans les ruines de Mitla et de Palenque.' *Mexique et Guatemala par Larenaudière*, p. 8, Paris, 1843. Dr. Prichard, too, refers the ruins in Central America to 'the Mayan race:' see *Prichard on Ethnology*, in *Report of British Association for* 1847, p. 252. But the evidence for these and similar statements is very unsatisfactory.

with greater advantage than in countries where she is weaker, and where, therefore, the consequences of her movements are less conspicuous.

If the reader will bear in mind the immense influence which an abundant national food has been shown to exercise, he will easily understand how, owing to the pressure of physical phenomena, the civilization of America was, of necessity, confined to those parts where alone it was found by the discoverers of the New World. For, setting aside the chemical and geognostic varieties of soil, it may be said that the two causes which regulate the fertility of every country are heat and moisture.[134] Where these are abundant, the land will be exuberant; where they are deficient, it will be sterile. This rule is, of course, in its application subject to exceptions, arising from physical conditions which are independent of it; but if other things are equal, the rule is invariable. And the vast additions which, since the construction of isothermal lines, have been made to our knowledge of geographical botany, enable us to lay this down as a law of nature, proved not only by arguments drawn from vegetable physiology, but also by a careful study of the proportions in which plants are actually distributed in different countries.[135]

[134] Respecting the connection between the vegetable productions of a country and its geognostic peculiarities, little is yet known; but the reader may compare *Meyen's Geography of Plants*, p. 64, with *Reports on Botany by the Ray Society*, 1846, pp. 70, 71. The chemical laws of soil are much better understood, and have a direct practical bearing on the use of manures. See *Turner's Chemistry*, vol. ii. pp. 1310-1314; *Brande's Chemistry*, vol. i. p. 691, vol. ii. pp. 1867-1869; *Balfour's Botany*, pp. 116-122; *Liebig and Kopp's Reports*, vol. ii. pp. 315, 328, vol. iii. p. 463, vol. iv. pp. 438, 442, 446.

[135] As to the influence of heat and moisture on the geographical distribution of plants, see *Henslow's Botany*, pp. 295-300, and *Balfour's Botany*, pp. 560-563. Meyen (*Geog of Plants*, p. 263) says, 'I, therefore, after allowing for local circumstances, bring the vegetation of islands also under that law of nature, according to which the number of species constantly increases with increasing heat and corresponding humidity.' On the effect of temperature alone, compare a note in *Erman's Siberia*, vol. i. pp. 64, 65, with *Reports on Botany by the Ray Society*, pp. 339, 340. In the latter work, it is supposed that heat is the most important of all single agents; and though this is probably true, still the influence of humidity is immense. I may mention as an instance of this, that it has been recently ascertained that the oxygen used by seeds during germination, is not always taken from the air, but is obtained by decomposing water. See the curious experiments of

A general survey of the continent of America will illustrate the connexion between this law and the subject now before us. In the first place, as regards moisture, all the great rivers in the New World are on the eastern coast, none of them on the western. The causes of this remarkable fact are unknown;[136] but it is certain that neither in North, nor in South America, does one considerable river empty itself into the Pacific; while on the opposite side there are numerous rivers, some of enormous magnitude, all of great importance, as the Negro, the La Plata, the San Francisco, the Amazon, the Orinoco, the Mississippi, the Alabama, the Saint John, the Potomac, the Susquehannah, the Delaware, the Hudson, and the Saint Lawrence. By this vast water-system the soil is towards the east constantly irrigated:[137] but towards the west there is in North America only one river of value, the Oregon;[138] while in South America, from the Isthmus of Panama to the Straits of Magellan, there is no great river at all.

But as to the other main cause of fertility, namely heat, we find in North America a state of things precisely

Edwards and Colin in *Lindley's Botany*, vol. ii. pp. 261, 262, London, 1848; and on the direct nourishment which water supplies to vegetables, see Burdach's great work, *Traité de Physiologie*, vol. ix. pp. 254, 398.

[136] There is a difference between the watersheds of the eastern and western ranges, which explains this in part, but not entirely; and even if the explanation were more satisfactory than it is, it is too proximate to the phenomenon to have much scientific value, and must itself be referred to higher geological considerations.

[137] Of this irrigation some idea may be formed from an estimate that the Amazon drains an area of 2,500,000 square miles; that its mouth is ninety-six miles wide; and that it is navigable 2,200 miles from its mouth. *Somerville's Physical Geography*, vol. i. p. 423. Indeed, it is said in an Essay on the Hydrography of South America (*Journal of Geograph. Society*, vol. ii. p. 250), that 'with the exception of one short portage of three miles, water flows, and is for the most part navigable, between Buenos Ayres, in 35° south latitude, to the mouth of the Orinoco, in nearly 9° north.' See also on this river-system, vol. v. p. 93, vol. x. p. 267. In regard to North America, Mr. Rogers (*Geology of North America*, p. 8, *Brit. Assoc. for* 1834) says, 'the area drained by the Mississippi and all its tributaries is computed at 1,099,000 square miles.' Compare *Richardson's Arctic Expedition*, vol. ii. p. 164.

[138] The Oregon, or Columbia as it is sometimes called, forms a remarkable botanical line, which is the boundary of the Californian flora. See *Reports on Botany by the Ray Society*, p. 113.

the reverse. There we find that while the irrigation is on the east, the heat is on the west.[139] This difference of temperature between the two coasts, is probably connected with some great meteorological law; for in the whole of the northern hemisphere, the eastern part of continents and of islands is colder than the western.[140] Whether, however, this is owing to some large and comprehensive cause, or whether each instance has a cause peculiar to itself, is an alternative, in the present state of knowledge, impossible to decide; but the fact is unquestionable, and its influence upon the early history of America is extremely curious. In consequence of it, the two great conditions of fertility have not been united in any part of the continent north of Mexico. The countries on the one side have wanted heat; those on the other side have wanted irrigation. The accumulation of wealth being thus impeded, the progress of society was stopped; and until, in the sixteenth century, the knowledge of Europe was brought to bear upon America, there is no instance of any people north of the twentieth parallel, reaching even that imperfect civilization to which the inhabitants of India and of Egypt easily attained.[141] On the other

139 For proof that the mean temperature of the western coast of North America is higher than that of the eastern coast, see *Journal of Geograph. Society*, vol. ix. p. 380, vol. xi. pp. 168, 216; *Humboldt, la Nouvelle Espagne*, vol. i. pp. 42, 336; *Richardson's Arctic Expedition*, vol. ii. pp. 214, 218, 219, 259, 260. This is well illustrated by the botanical fact, that on the west coast the Coniferæ grow as high as 68° or 70° north latitude; while on the east their northern limit is 60°. See an Essay on the Morphology of the Coniferæ, in *Reports on Botany by the Ray Society*, p. 8, which should be compared with *Forry on the Climate of the United States and its Endemic Influences*, New York, 1842, p. 89.

140 'Writers on climate have remarked that the eastern coasts of continents in the northern hemisphere have a lower mean temperature than the western coasts.' *Richardson on North American Zoology*, p. 129, *Brit. Assoc. for* 1836: see also *Report for* 1841, *Sections*, p. 28; *Davis's China*, vol. iii. pp. 140, 141; *Journal of Geograph. Society*, vol. xxii. p. 176.

141 The little that is known of the early state of the North-American tribes has been brought together by Dr. M'Culloh in his learned work, *Researches concerning America*, pp. 119-146. He says, p. 121, that they 'lived together without laws and civil regulations.' In that part of the world, the population has probably never been fixed; and we now know that the inhabitants of the north-east of Asia have at different times passed over to the north-west of America, as in the case of the Tschuktschi, who are found in both continents. Indeed, Dobell was so struck by the

hand, south of the twentieth parallel, the continent suddenly changes its form, and, rapidly contracting, becomes a small strip of land, until it reaches the Isthmus of Panama. This narrow tract was the centre of Mexican civilization; and a comparison of the preceding arguments will easily show why such was the case; for the peculiar configuration of the land secured a very large amount of coast, and thus gave to the southern part of North America the character of an island. Hence there arose one of the characteristics of an insular climate, namely, an increase of moisture caused by the watery vapour which springs from the sea.[142] While, therefore, the position of Mexico near the equator gave it heat, the shape of the land gave it humidity; and this being the only part of North America in which these two conditions were united, it was likewise the only part which was at all civilized. There can be no doubt that if the sandy plains of California and southern Columbia, instead of being scorched into sterility, had been irrigated by the rivers of the east, or if the rivers of the east had been accompanied by the heat of the west, the result of either combination would have been that exuberance of soil by which, as the history of the world decisively proves, every early civilization was preceded. But inasmuch as, of the two elements of fertility, one was deficient in every part of America north of the twentieth parallel, it followed that, until that

similarity between the North-American tribes and some he met with nearly as far west as Tomsk, that he believed their origin to be the same. See *Dobell's Travels in Kamtchatka and Siberia*, 1830, vol. ii. p. 112. And on this question of intercourse between the two continents, compare *Crantz's History of Greenland*, vol. i. pp. 259, 260, with *Richardson's Arctic Expedition*, vol. i. pp. 362, 363, and *Prichard's Physical History of Mankind*, vol. iv. pp. 458, 463, vol. v. pp. 371, 378.

142 From general physical considerations, we should suppose a relation between amount of rain and extent of coast; and in Europe, where alone we have extensive meteorological records, the connexion has been proved statistically. 'If the quantity of rain that falls in different parts of Europe is measured, it is found to be less, other things being equal, as we recede from the sea-shore.' *Kaemtz's Meteorology*, 1845, p. 139. Compare pp. 91, 94. Hence, no doubt, the greater rarity of rain as we advance north from Mexico. 'Au nord du 20°, surtout depuis les 22° au 30° de latitude, les pluies, que ne durent que pendant les mois de juin, de juillet, d'août et de septembre, sont peu fréquentes dans l'intérieur du pays.' *Humboldt, la Nouvelle Espagne*, vol. i. p. 46.

line was passed, civilization could gain no resting-place; and there never has been found, and we may confidently assert never will be found, any evidence that even a single ancient nation, in the whole of that enormous continent, was able to make much progress in the arts of life, or organise itself into a fixed and permanent society.

Thus far as to the physical agents which controlled the early destinies of North America. But in reference to South America, a different train of circumstances came into play; for the law by virtue of which the eastern coasts are colder than the western, is not only inapplicable to the southern hemisphere, but is replaced by another law precisely the reverse. North of the equator, the east is colder than the west; south of the equator, the east is hotter than the west.[143] If now, we connect this fact with what has been noticed respecting the vast river-system which distinguishes the east of America from the west, it becomes evident that in South America there exists that coöperation of heat and humidity in which North America is deficient. The result is, that the soil in the eastern part of South America is remarkable for its exuberance, not only within the tropic, but considerably beyond it; the south of Brazil, and even part of Uruguay, possessing a fertility not to be found in any country of North America situated under a corresponding latitude.

On a hasty view of the preceding generalizations, it might be expected that the eastern side of South America, being thus richly endowed by nature,[144] would have been

[143] 'The difference between the climates of the east and west coasts of continents and islands, has also been observed in the southern hemisphere; but here the west coasts are colder than the east, while in the northern hemisphere the east coasts are the colder.' *Meyen's Geography of Plants*, 1846, p. 24.

[144] Mr. Darwin, who has written one of the most valuable works ever published on South America, was struck by this superiority of the eastern coast: and he mentions that 'fruits which ripen well and are very abundant, such as the grape and fig, in latitude 41° on the east coast, succeed very poorly in a lower latitude on the opposite side of the continent.' *Darwin's Journal of Researches*, Lond. 1840, p. 268. Compare *Meyen's Geog. of Plants*, pp. 25, 188. So that the proposition of Daniell (*Meteorological Essays*, p. 104, sec. xiv.) is expressed too generally, and should be confined to continents north of the equator.

the seat of one of those civilizations, which, in other parts of the world, similar causes produced. But if we look a little further, we shall find that what has just been pointed out, by no means exhausts even the physical bearings of this subject, and that we must take into consideration a third great agent, which has sufficed to neutralize the natural results of the other two, and to retain in barbarism the inhabitants of what otherwise would have been the most flourishing of all the countries of the New World.

The agent to which I allude is the trade-wind; a striking phenomenon, by which, as we shall hereafter see, all the civilizations anterior to those of Europe were greatly and injuriously influenced. This wind covers no less than 56° of latitude; 28° north of the equator, and 28° south of it.[145] In this large tract, which comprises some of the most fertile countries in the world, the trade-wind blows, during the whole year, either from the north-east or from the south-east.[146] The causes of this regularity are now well understood, and are known to depend partly on the displacement of air at the equator, and partly on the motion of the earth; for the cold air from the poles is constantly flowing towards the equator, and thus producing northerly winds in the northern hemisphere, and southerly winds in the southern. These winds are, however, deflected from their natural course by the movement of the earth, as it revolves on its axis from west to east. And as the rotation of the earth is, of course, more rapid at the equator than elsewhere, it happens that in the neighbourhood of the equator the speed is so great as to outstrip the movements of the

[145] The trade-winds sometimes reach the thirtieth parallel. See *Daniell's Meteorological Essays*, p. 469. Dr. Traill (*Physical Geography*, Edin. 1838, p. 200, says, 'they extend to about 30° on each side of the equator:' but I believe they are rarely found so high; though Robertson is certainly wrong in supposing that they are peculiar to the tropics; *History of America*, book iv. in *Robertson's Works*, p. 781.

[146] 'In the northern hemisphere the trade-wind blows from the north-east, and in the southern from the south-east.' *Meyen's Geog. of Plants*, p. 42. Compare *Walsh's Brazil*, vol. i. p. 112, vol. ii. p. 494; and on the 'tropical east-wind' of the Gulf of Mexico, see *Forry's Climate of the United States*, p. 206. Dr. Forry says that it has given to the growth of the trees 'an inclination from the sea.'

atmosphere from the poles, and forcing them into another direction, gives rise to those easterly currents which are called trade-winds.[117] What, however, we are now rather concerned with, is not so much an explanation of the trade-winds, as an account of the way in which this great physical phenomenon is connected with the history of South America.

The trade-wind, blowing on the eastern coast of South America, and proceeding from the east, crosses the Atlantic ocean, and therefore reaches the land surcharged with the vapours accumulated in its passage. These vapours, on touching the shore, are, at periodical intervals, condensed into rain; and as their progress westward is checked by that gigantic chain of the Andes, which they are unable to pass,[118] they pour the whole of their moisture on Brazil, which, in consequence, is often deluged by the most destructive torrents.[119] This abundant supply, being aided by that vast river-system peculiar to the eastern part of America, and being also accompanied by heat, has stimulated the soil into an activity unequalled

[117] Respecting the causes of the trade-winds, see *Somerville's Connexion of the Physical Sciences*, pp. 136, 137; *Leslie's Natural Philosophy*, p. 518; *Daniell's Meteorological Essays*, pp. 44, 102, 476-481; *Kaemtz's Meteorology*, pp. 37-39; *Prout's Bridgewater Treatise*, pp 254-256. The discovery of the true theory is often ascribed to Mr. Daniell; but Hadley was the real discoverer. *Note in Prout*, p. 257. The monsoons, which popular writers frequently confuse with the trade-winds, are said to be caused by the predominance of land, and by the difference between its temperature and that of the sea: see *Kaemtz*, pp. 42-45. On what may be called the conversion of the trades into monsoons, according to the laws very recently promulgated by M. Dove, see *Report of British Association for* 1847 (*Transac. of Sections*, p 30) and *Report for* 1848, p. 94. The monsoons are noticed in *Humboldt's Cosmos*, vol. ii. p. 485; *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xviii. part i. p. 261; *Thirlwall's History of Greece*, vol. vii. pp. 13, 55; *Journal of Geograph. Society*, vol. ii. p. 90, vol. iv. pp. 8, 9, 148, 149, 169, vol. xi. p. 162, vol. xv. pp. 146-149, vol. xvi. p. 185, vol. xviii. pp. 67, 68, vol. xxiii. p. 112; *Low's Sarawak*, p. 30.

[118] *Lyell's Principles of Geology*, pp. 201, 714, 715: see also *Somerville's Physical Geography*, vol. ii. p. 71. And on this confining power of the Cordillera of the Andes, see *Azara, Voyages dans l'Amérique Méridionale*, vol. i. p. 33. According to Dr. Tschudi, the eastern chain is properly the Andes, and the western the Cordillera; but this distinction is rarely made. *Tschudi's Travels in Peru*, p. 290.

[119] On the rain of Brazil, see *Daniell's Meteorological Essays*, p. 335; *Darwin's Journal*, pp. 11, 33.: *Spix and Martius's Travels in Brazil*, vol. ii. p. 113; *Gardner's Travels in Brazil*, pp. 53, 99, 114, 175, 233, 394.

in any other part of the world.[150] Brazil, which is nearly as large as the whole of Europe, is covered with a vegetation of incredible profusion. Indeed, so rank and luxuriant is the growth, that Nature seems to riot in the very wantonness of power. A great part of this immense country is filled with dense and tangled forests, whose noble trees, blossoming in unrivalled beauty, and exquisite with a thousand hues, throw out their produce in endless prodigality. On their summit are perched birds of gorgeous plumage, which nestle in their dark and lofty recesses. Below, their base and trunks are crowded with brushwood, creeping plants, innumerable parasites, all swarming with life. There, too, are myriads of insects of every variety; reptiles of strange and singular form; serpents and lizards, spotted with deadly beauty: all of which find means of existence in this vast workshop and repository of Nature. And that nothing may be wanting to this land of marvels, the forests are skirted by enormous meadows, which, reeking with heat and moisture, supply nourishment to countless herbs of wild cattle, that browse and fatten on their herbage; while the adjoining plains, rich in another form of life, are the chosen abode of the subtlest and most ferocious animals, which prey on each other, but which it might almost seem no human power can hope to extirpate.[151]

[150] Dr. Gardner, who looked at these things with the eye of a botanist, says that near Rio de Janeiro the heat and moisture are sufficient to compensate even the poorest soil; so that 'rocks, on which scarcely a trace of earth is to be observed, are covered with vellozias, tillandsias, melastomaceæ, cacti, orchideæ, and ferns, and all in the vigour of life.' *Gardner's Travels in Brazil*, p. 9. See also on this combination, *Walsh's Brazil*, vol. ii. pp. 297, 298, a curious description of the rainy season: 'For eight or nine hours a day, during some weeks, I never had a dry shirt on me; and the clothes I divested myself of at night, I put on quite wet in the morning. When it did not rain, which was very rare, there shone out in some places a burning sun; and we went smoking along, the wet exhaling by the heat, as if we were dissolving into vapour.'

[151] On the natural history of Brazil, I have compared a few notices in *Swainson's Geography of Animals*, pp. 75-87, with *Cuvier, Règne Animal*, vol. i. p. 460, vol. ii. pp. 28, 65, 66, 89, vol. iv. pp. 51, 75, 258, 320, 394, 485, 561, vol. v. pp. 40, 195, 272, 334, 553; *Azara, Amérique Méridionale*, vol. i. pp. 244-388, and the greater part of vols. iii. and iv.: *Winckler, Geschichte der Botanik*, pp. 378, 576-578; *Southey's History of Brazil*, vol. i. p. 27, vol. iii. pp. 315; 823; *Gardner's Brazil*, pp. 18, 32-34, 41-44, 131,

Such is the flow and abundance of life by which Brazil is marked above all the other countries of the earth.[152] But, amid this pomp and splendour of Nature, no place is left for Man. He is reduced to insignificance by the majesty with which he is surrounded. The forces that oppose him are so formidable that he has never been able to make head against them, never able to rally against their accumulated pressure. The whole of Brazil, notwithstanding its immense apparent advantages, has always remained entirely uncivilized; its inhabitants wandering savages, incompetent to resist those obstacles which the very bounty of Nature had put in their way. For the natives, like every people in the infancy of society, are averse to enterprise; and being unacquainted with the arts by which physical impediments are removed, they have never attempted to grapple with the difficulties that stopped their social progress. Indeed, those difficulties are so serious, that during more than three hundred years the resources of European knowledge have been vainly employed in endeavouring to get rid of them. Along the coast of Brazil, there has been introduced from Europe a certain amount of that civilization, which the natives by their own efforts could never have reached. But such civilization, in itself very imperfect, has never penetrated the recesses of the country; and in the interior there is still found a state of things similar to that which has always existed. The people, ignorant, and therefore brutal, practising no restraint, and recognizing no law,

330; *Spix and Martius's Brazil*, vol. i. pp. 207-209, 238-248, vol. ii. pp. 131, 160-163. And as to the forests, which are among the wonders of the world, *Somerville's Physical Geog.* vol. ii. pp. 204-206; *Prichard's Physical History*, vol. v. p. 497; *Darwin's Journal*, pp. 11, 24; *Walsh's Brazil*, vol. i. p. 145, vol. ii. pp. 29, 30, 253.

[152] This extraordinary richness has excited the astonishment of all who have seen it. Mr. Walsh, who had travelled in some very fertile countries, mentions 'the exceeding fecundity of nature which characterizes Brazil.' *Walsh's Brazil*, vol. ii. p. 19. And a very eminent naturalist, Mr. Darwin, says (*Journal*, p. 29), 'In England, any person fond of natural history enjoys in his walks a great advantage, by always having something to attract his attention; but in these fertile climates, teeming with life, the attractions are so numerous that he is scarcely able to walk at all.'

continue to live on in their old and inveterate barbarism.[153] In their country, the physical causes are so active, and do their work on a scale of such unrivalled magnitude, that it has hitherto been found impossible to escape from the effects of their united action. The progress of agriculture is stopped by impassable forests, and the harvests are destroyed by innumerable insects.[154] The mountains are too high to scale, the rivers are too wide to bridge; every thing is contrived to keep back the human mind, and repress its rising ambition. It is thus that the energies of Nature have hampered the spirit of Man. Nowhere else is there so painful a contrast between the grandeur of the external world and the littleness of the internal. And the mind, cowed by this unequal struggle, has not only been unable to advance, but without foreign aid it would undoubtedly have receded. For even at present, with all the improvements constantly introduced from Europe, there are no signs of real progress; while notwithstanding the frequency of colonial settlements, less than one-fiftieth of the land is cultivated.[155] The habits of the people are as barbarous as ever; and as to their

[153] Azara (*Amérique Méridionale*, vol. ii. pp. 1-168) gives a curious, but occasionally a disgusting account of the savage natives in that part of Brazil south of 16°, to which his observations were limited. And as to the inhabitants of other parts, see *Henderson's History of Brazil*, pp. 28, 29, 107, 173, 248, 315, 473; *M'Culloh's Researches concerning America*, p. 77; and the more recent account of Dr. Martius, in *Journal of Geograph. Society*, vol. ii. pp. 191-199. Even in 1817, it was rare to see a native in Rio de Janeiro (*Spix and Martius's Travels in Brazil*, vol. i. p. 142); and Dr. Gardner (*Travels in Brazil*, pp. 61, 62) says, that 'more than one nation of Indians in Brazil' have returned to that savage life from which they had apparently been reclaimed.

[154] Sir C. Lyell (*Principles of Geology*, p. 682) notices 'the incredible number of insects which lay waste the crops in Brazil;' and Mr. Swainson, who had travelled in that country, says 'The red ants of Brazil are so destructive, and at the same time so prolific, that they frequently dispute possession of the ground with the husbandman, defy all his skill to extirpate their colonies, and fairly compel him to leave his fields uncultivated.' *Swainson on the Geography and Classification of Animals*, p. 87. See more about these insects in *Darwin's Journal*, pp. 37-43; *Southey's History of Brazil*, vol. i. pp. 144, 256, 333-335, 343, vol. ii. pp. 365, 642, vol. iii. p. 876; *Spix and Martius's Travels in Brazil*, vol. i. p. 259, vol. ii. p. 117; *Cuvier, Règne Animal*, vol. iv. p. 320.

[155] The cultivated land is estimated at from 1½ to 2 per cent. See *M'Culloch's Geog. Dict.*, 1849, vol. i. p. 430.

numbers, it is well worthy of remark, that Brazil, the country where, of all others, physical resources are most powerful, where both vegetables and animals are most abundant, where the soil is watered by the noblest rivers, and the coast studded by the finest harbours—this immense territory, which is more than twelve times the size of France, contains a population not exceeding six millions of people.[156]

These considerations sufficiently explain why it is, that in the whole of Brazil there are no monuments even of the most imperfect civilization; no evidence that the people had, at any period, raised themselves above the state in which they were found when their country was first discovered. But immediately opposite to Brazil there is another country, which, though situated in the same continent, and lying under the same latitude, is subjected to different physical conditions, and therefore was the scene of different social results. This is the celebrated kingdom of Peru, which included the whole of the southern tropic, and which, from the circumstances just stated, was naturally the only part of South America where any thing approaching to civilization could be attained. In Brazil, the heat of the climate was accompanied by a twofold irrigation, arising first from the immense river-system incidental to the eastern coast; and secondly, from the abundant moisture deposited by the trade-winds. From this combination there resulted that unequalled fertility, which, so far as Man was concerned, defeated its own ends, stopping his progress by an exuberance, which, had it been less excessive, it would have aided. For, as we have clearly seen, when the productive powers of Nature

[156] During the present century, the population of Brazil has been differently stated at different times; the highest computation being 7,000,000, and the lowest 4,000,000. Comp. *Humboldt, Nouv. Espagne*, vol. ii. p. 855; *Gardner's Brazil*, p. 12; *M'Culloch's Geog. Dict.* 1849, vol. i. pp. 430, 434. Mr. Walsh describes Brazil as 'abounding in lands of the most exuberant fertility, but nearly destitute of inhabitants.' *Walsh's Brazil*, vol. i. p. 248. This was in 1828 and 1829, since which the European population has increased; but, on the whole, 6,000,000 seems to be a fair estimate of what can only be known approximatively. In *Alison's History*, vol. x. p. 229, the number given is 5,000,000; but the area also is rather understated.

are carried beyond a certain point, the imperfect knowledge of uncivilized men is unable to cope with them, or in any way turn them to their own advantage. If, however, those powers, being very active, are nevertheless confined within manageable limits, there arises a state of things similar to that noticed in Asia and Africa; where the profusion of Nature, instead of hindering social progress, favoured it, by encouraging that accumulation of wealth, without some share of which progress is impossible.

In estimating, therefore, the physical conditions by which civilization was originally determined, we have to look, not merely at the exuberance, but also at what may be called the manageability of Nature; that is, we have to consider the ease with which the resources may be used, as well as the number of the resources themselves. Applying this to Mexico and Peru, we find that they were the countries of America where this combination most happily occurred. For though their resources were much less numerous than those of Brazil, they were far more easy to control; while at the same time the heat of the climate brought into play those other laws by which, as I have attempted to show, all the early civilizations were greatly influenced. It is a very remarkable fact, which, I believe, has never been observed, that even in reference to latitude, the present limit of Peru to the south corresponds with the ancient limit of Mexico to the north; while, by a striking, but to me perfectly natural coincidence, both these boundaries are reached before the tropical line is passed; the boundary of Mexico being 21° N. lat., that of Peru 21½° S. lat.[157]

Such is the wonderful regularity which history, when comprehensively studied, presents to our view. And if we compare Mexico and Peru with those countries of the Old World which have been already noticed, we shall find,

[157] Vidaca being the most southerly point of the present Peruvian coast; though the conquests of Peru, incorporated with the empire, extended far into Chili, and within a few degrees of Patagonia. In regard to Mexico, the northern limit of the empire was 21° on the Atlantic coast, and 19° on the Pacific. *Prescott's History of Mexico*, vol. i. p. 2.

as in all the civilizations anterior to those of Europe, that their social phenomena were subordinate to their physical laws. In the first place, the characteristics of their national food were precisely those met with in the most flourishing parts of Asia and Africa. For although few of the nutritious vegetables belonging to the Old World were found in the New, their place was supplied by others exactly analogous to rice and dates; that is to say, marked by the same abundance, by the same facility of growth, and by the same exuberant returns; therefore, followed by the same social results. In Mexico and Peru, one of the most important articles of food has always been maize, which, we have every reason to believe, was peculiar to the American continent.[158] This, like rice and dates, is eminently the product of a hot climate; and although it is said to grow at an elevation of upwards of 7,000 feet,[159] it is rarely seen beyond the fortieth parallel,[160] and its exuberance rapidly diminishes with the diminution of temperature. Thus, for example, in New California, its average yield is seventy or eighty fold;[161]

[158] A question has been raised as to the Asiatic origin of maize: *Reynier, Economie des Arabes*, pp. 94, 95. But later and more careful researches seem to have ascertained beyond much doubt that it was unknown before America was discovered. Compare *Meyen's Geography of Plants*, pp. 44, 303, 304; *Walckenaer's note in Azara, Amérique Méridionale*, vol. i. p. 149; *Cuvier, Progrès des Sciences Naturelles*, vol. ii. p. 354; *Cuvier, Eloges Historiques*, vol. ii. p. 178; *Loudon's Encyclopædia of Agriculture*, p. 829; *M'Culloch's Dict. of Commerce*, 1849, p. 831. The casual notices of maize by Ixtlilxochitl, the native Mexican historian, show its general use as an article of food before the arrival of the Spaniards: see *Ixtlilxochitl, Histoire des Chichimèques*, vol. i. pp. 53, 64, 240, vol. ii. p. 19.

[159] 'Maize, indeed, grows to the height of 7,200 feet above the level of the sea, but only predominates between 3,000 and 6,000 of elevation.' *Lindley's Vegetable Kingdom*, 1847, p. 112. This refers to the tropical parts of South America; but the Zea Mais is said to have been raised on the slopes of the Pyrenees 'at an elevation of 3,000 to 4,000 feet.' See *Austen on the Forty Days' Maize*, in *Report of Brit. Assoc. for* 1849, *Trans. of Sec.* p. 68.

[160] M. Meyen (*Geog. of Plants*, p. 302) and Mr. Balfour (*Botany*, p. 567) suppose that in America 40° is about its limit; and this is the case in regard to its extensive cultivation; but it is grown certainly as high as 52°, perhaps as high as 54°, north latitude: see *Richardson's Arctic Expedition*, 1851, vol. ii. pp. 49, 234.

[161] 'Sous la zone tempérée, entre les 33 et 38 degrés de latitude, par exemple dans la Nouvelle Californie, le maïs ne produit, en général, année commune, que 70 à 80 grains pour un.' *Humboldt, la Nouvelle Espagne*, vol. ii. p. 375.

but in Mexico Proper the same grain yields three or four hundred fold, and, under very favourable circumstances, even eight hundred fold.[162]

A people who derived their sustenance from a plant of such extraordinary fecundity, had little need to exercise their industrious energies; while at the same time they had every opportunity of increasing their numbers, and thus producing a train of social and political consequences similar to those which I have noticed in India and in Egypt. Besides this, there were, in addition to maize, other kinds of food to which the same remarks are applicable. The potato, which, in Ireland, has brought about such injurious effects by stimulating the growth of population, is said to be indigenous to Peru; and although this is denied by a very high authority,[163] there is, at all events, no doubt that it was found there in great abundance when the country was first discovered by the Europeans.[164] In Mexico, potatoes were unknown till the arrival of the Spaniards; but both Mexicans and Peruvians lived to a great extent on the produce of the banana; a vegetable whose reproductive powers are so extraordinary, that nothing but the precise and unimpeachable testimony of which we are possessed could make

[162] 'La fécondité du Tlaolli, ou maïs mexicain, est au-delà de tout ce que l'on peut imaginer en Europe. La plante, favorisée par de fortes chaleurs et par beaucoup d'humidité, acquiert une hauteur de deux à trois mètres. Dans les belles plaines qui s'étendent depuis San Juan del Rio à Queretaro, par exemple dans les terres de la grande métairie de l'Esperanza, une fanègue de maïs en produit quelquefois huit cents.' Des terrains fertiles en donnent année commune trois à quatre cents.' *Humboldt, Nouv. Espagne*, vol. ii. p. 374. Nearly the same estimate is given by Mr. Ward: see *Ward's Mexico*, vol. i. p. 32, vol. ii. p. 230. In Central America (Guatemala), maize returns three hundred for one. *Mexique et Guatemala par Larenaudière*, p. 257.

[163] 'La pomme de terre n'est pas indigène au Pérou.' *Humboldt, Nouv. Espagne*, vol. ii. p. 400. On the other hand, Cuvier (*Histoire des Sciences Naturelles*, part ii. p. 185) peremptorily says, 'il est impossible de douter qu'elle ne soit originaire du Pérou:' see also his *Eloges Historiques*, vol. ii. p. 171. Compare *Winckler, Gesch. der Botanik*, p. 92: 'Von einem gewissen Carate unter den Gewächsen Peru's mit dem Namen papas aufgeführt.'

[164] And has been used ever since for food. On the Peruvian potato, compare *Tschudi's Travels in Peru*, pp. 178, 368, 386; *Ulloa's Voyage to South America*, vol. i. pp. 287, 288. In Southern Peru, at the height of 13,000 or 14,000 feet, a curious process takes place, the starch of the potato being frozen into saccharine. See a valuable paper by Mr. Bollaert in *Journal of Geograph. Society*, vol. xxi. p. 119.

them at all credible. This remarkable plant is, in America, intimately connected with the physical laws of climate; since it is an article of primary importance for the subsistence of man whenever the temperature passes a certain point.[165] Of its nutritive powers, it is enough to say, that an acre sown with it will support more than fifty persons; whereas the same amount of land sown with wheat in Europe will only support two persons.[166] As to the exuberance of its growth, it is calculated that, other circumstances remaining the same, its produce is forty-four times greater than that of potatoes, and a hundred and thirty-three times greater than that of wheat.[167]

It will now be easily understood why it was that, in all important respects, the civilizations of Mexico and Peru were strictly analogous to those of India and Egypt. In these four countries, as well as in a few others in Southern Asia and Central America, there existed an amount of knowledge, despicable indeed if tried by an European standard, but most remarkable if contrasted with the gross ignorance which prevailed among the adjoining and cotemporary nations. But in all of them there was the same inability to diffuse even that scanty civilization which they really possessed; there was the same utter absence of any thing approaching to the democratic spirit; there was the same despotic power on the part of the upper classes, and the same contemptible subservience on the part of the lower. For, as we have clearly seen, all these civilizations were affected

[165] Humboldt (*Nouv. Espagne*, vol. ii. p. 359) says, 'partout où la chaleur moyenne de l'année excède vingt-quatre degrés centigrades, le fruit du bananier est un objet de culture du plus grand intérêt pour la subsistance de l'homme.' Compare *Bullock's Mexico*, p. 281.

[166] *M'Culloch's Geograph. Dict.*, 1849, vol. ii. p. 315.

[167] 'Je doute qu'il existe une autre plante sur le globe, qui, sur un petit espace de terrain, puisse produire une masse de substance nourrissante aussi considérable.' . . . . 'Le produit des bananes est par conséquent à celui du froment comme 133 : 1—à celui des pommes de terre comme 44 : 1.' *Humboldt, Nouvelle Espagne*, vol. ii. pp. 362, 363. See also *Prout's Bridgewater Treatise*, p. 333, edit. 1845; *Prescott's Peru*, vol. i. pp. 131, 132; *Prescott's Mexico*, vol. i. p. 114. Earlier notices, but very imperfect ones, of this remarkable vegetable may be found in *Ulloa's South America*, vol. i. p. 74; and in *Boyle's Works*, vol. iii. p. 590.

by certain physical causes, which, though favourable to the accumulation of wealth, were unfavourable to a just subdivision of it. And as the knowledge of men was still in its infancy,[168] it was found impossible to struggle against these physical agents, or prevent them from producing those effects on the social organization which I have attempted to trace. Both in Mexico and in Peru, the arts, and particularly those branches of them which minister to the luxury of the wealthy classes, were cultivated with great success. The houses of the higher ranks were filled with ornaments and utensils of admirable workmanship; their chambers were hung with splendid tapestries; their dresses and their personal decorations betrayed an almost incredible expense; their jewels of exquisite and varied form; their rich and flowing robes embroidered with the rarest feathers, collected from the most distant parts of the empire: all supplying evidence of the possession of unlimited wealth, and of the ostentatious prodigality with which that wealth was wasted.[169] Immediately below this class came the people; and what their condition was, may be easily imagined. In Peru the whole of the taxes were paid by them; the

[168] The only science with which they had much acquaintance was astronomy, which the Mexicans appear to have cultivated with considerable success. Compare the remark of La Place, in *Humboldt, Nouvelle Espagne*, vol. i. p. 92, with *Prichard's Physical History*, vol. v. pp. 323, 329; *M'Culloh's Researches*, pp. 201-225; *Larenaudière's Mexique*, pp. 51, 52; *Humboldt's Cosmos*, vol. iv. p. 456; *Journal of Geog. Society*, vol. vii. p. 3. However, their astronomy, as might be expected, was accompanied by astrology: see *Ixtlilxochitl, Histoire des Chichimèques*, vol. i. p. 168, vol. ii. pp. 94, 111.

[169] The works of art produced by the Mexicans and Peruvians are underrated by Robertson; who, however, admits that he had never seen them. *History of America*, book vii., in *Robertson's Works*, pp. 909, 920. But during the present century considerable attention has been paid to this subject: and in addition to the evidence of skill and costly extravagance collected by Mr. Prescott (*History of Peru*, vol. i. pp. 28, 142; *History of Mexico*, vol. i. pp. 27, 28, 122, 256, 270, 307, vol. ii. pp. 115, 116), I may refer to the testimony of M. Humboldt, the only traveller in the New World who has possessed a competent amount of physical as well as historical knowledge. *Humboldt, Nouvelle Espagne*, vol. ii. p. 483, and elsewhere. Compare Mr. Pentland's observation on the tombs in the neighbourhood of Titicaca (*Jour. of Geog. Soc.*, vol. x. p. 554) with *M'Culloh's Researches*, pp. 364-366; *Mexique par Larenaudière*, pp. 41, 42, 66; *Ulloa's South America*, vol. i. pp. 465, 466.

nobles and the clergy being altogether exempt.[170] But as, in such a state of society, it was impossible for the people to accumulate property, they were obliged to defray the expenses of government by their personal labour, which was placed under the entire command of the state.[171] At the same time, the rulers of the country were well aware that, with a system like this, feelings of personal independence were incompatible; they therefore contrived laws by which, even in the most minute matters, freedom of action was controlled. The people were so shackled, that they could neither change their residence, nor alter their clothes, without permission from the governing powers. To each man the law prescribed the trade he was to follow, the dress he was to wear, the wife he was to marry, and the amusements he was to enjoy.[172] Among the Mexicans the course of affairs was similar; the same physical conditions being followed by the same social results. In the most essential particular for which history can be studied, namely, the state of the people, Mexico and Peru are the counterpart of each other. For though there were many minor points of difference,[173] both were

[170] 'The members of the royal house, the great nobles, even the public functionaries, and the numerous body of the priesthood, were all exempt from taxation. The whole duty of defraying the expenses of the government belonged to the people.' *Prescott's History of Peru*, vol. i. p. 56.

[171] Ondegardo emphatically says, 'Solo el trabajo de las personas era el tributo que se dava, porque ellos no poseian otra cosa.' *Prescott's Peru*, vol. i. p. 57. Compare *M'Culloh's Researches*, p. 359. In Mexico, the state of things was just the same: 'Le petit peuple, qui ne po sédait point de biens-fonds, et qui ne faisait point de commerce, payait sa part des taxes en travaux de différents genres; c'était par lui que les terres de la couronne étaient cultivées, les ouvrages publics exécutés, et le sdiverses maisons appartenantes à l'empereur construites ou entretenues.' *Larenaudière's Mexique*, p. 39.

[172] Mr. Prescott notices this with surprise, though, under the circumstances, it was in truth perfectly natural. He says (*Hist. of Peru*, vol. i. p. 159), 'Under this extraordinary polity, a people, advanced in many of the social refinements, well skilled in manufactures and agriculture, were unacquainted, as we have seen, with money. They had nothing that deserved to be called property. They could follow no craft, could engage in no labour, no amusement, but such as was specially provided by law. They could not change their residence or their dress without a licence from the government. They could not even exercise the freedom which is conceded to the most abject in other countries—that of selecting their own wives.'

[173] The Mexicans being, as Prichard says (*Physical History*, vol. v.

agreed in this, that there were only two classes—the upper class being tyrants, and the lower class being slaves. This was the state in which Mexico was found when it was discovered by the Europeans,[174] and towards which it must have been tending from the earliest period. And so insupportable had all this become, that we know, from the most decisive evidence, that the general disaffection it produced among the people was one of the causes which, by facilitating the progress of the Spanish invaders, hastened the downfall of the Mexican empire.[175]

The further this examination is carried, the more striking becomes the similarity between those civilizations which flourished anterior to what may be called the European epoch of the human mind. The division of a nation into castes would be impossible in the great European countries; but it existed from a remote antiquity in Egypt, in India, and apparently in Persia.[176] The very same institution was rigidly enforced in Peru;[177] and what proves how consonant it was to that stage of society, is, that in Mexico, where castes were not established by law, it was nevertheless a recognized custom that the son should follow the occupation of his father.[178] This was the political symptom of that stationary and

p. 467), of a more cruel disposition than the Peruvians; but our information is too limited to enable us to determine whether this was mainly owing to physical causes or to social ones. Herder preferred the Peruvian civilization: 'der gebildetste Staat dieses Welttheils, Peru.' *Ideen zur Geschichte der Menschheit*, vol. i. p. 33.

[174] See in *Humboldt's Nouvelle Espagne*, vol. i. p. 101, a striking summary of the state of the Mexican people at the time of the Spanish conquest: see also *History of America*, book vii., in *Robertson's Works*, p. 907.

[175] *Prescott's History of the Conquest of Mexico*, vol. i. p. 34. Compare a similar remark on the invasion of Egypt in *Bunsen's Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 414.

[176] That there were castes in Persia is stated by Firdousi; and his assertion, putting aside its general probability, ought to outweigh the silence of the Greek historians, who, for the most part, knew little of any country except their own. According to Malcolm, the existence of caste in the time of Jemsheed, is confirmed by 'some Mahomedan authors;' but he does not say who they were. *Malcolm's History of Persia*, vol. i. pp. 505, 506. Several attempts have been made, but very unsuccessfully, to ascertain the period in which castes were first instituted. Compare *Asiatic Researches*, vol. vi. p. 251; *Heeren's African Nations*, vol. ii. p. 121; *Bunsen's Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 410; *Rammohun Roy on the Veds*, p. 269.

[177] *Prescott's History of Peru*, vol. i. pp. 143, 156.

[178] *Prescott's History of Mexico*, vol. i. p. 124.

conservative spirit, which, as we shall hereafter see, has marked every country in which the upper classes have monopolized power. The religious symptom of the same spirit was displayed in that inordinate reverence for antiquity, and in that hatred of change, which the greatest of all the writers on America has well pointed out as an analogy between the natives of Mexico and those of Hindostan.[179] To this may be added, that those who have studied the history of the ancient Egyptians, have observed among that people a similar tendency. Wilkinson, who is well known to have paid great attention to their monuments, says that they were more unwilling than any other nation to alter their religious worship;[180] and Herodotus, who travelled in their country two thousand three hundred years ago, assures us that, while they preserved old customs, they never acquired new ones.[181]

179 'Les Américains, comme les habitans de l'Indoustan, et comme tous les peuples qui ont gémi long-temps sous le despotisme civil et religieux, tiennent avec une opiniâtreté extraordinaire à leurs habitudes, à leurs mœurs, à leurs opinions. . . . . Au Mexique, comme dans l'Indoustan, il n'étoit pas permis aux fidèles de changer la moindre chose aux figures des idoles. Tout ce qui appartenoit au rite des Aztèques et des Hindous étoit assujéti à des lois immuables.' *Humboldt, Nouv. Espagne*, vol. i. pp. 95, 97. Turgot (*Œuvres*, vol. ii. pp. 226, 313, 314) has some admirable remarks on this fixity of opinion natural to certain states of society. See also *Herder's Ideen zur Geschichte*, vol. iii. pp. 34, 35; and for other illustrations of this unpliancy of thought, and adherence to old customs, which many writers suppose to be an eastern peculiarity, but which is far more widely spread, and is, as Humboldt clearly saw, the result of an unequal distribution of power, compare *Turner's Embassy to Tibet*, p. 41; *Forbes's Oriental Memoirs*, vol. i. pp. 15, 164, vol. ii. p. 236; *Mill's History of India*, vol. ii. p. 214; *Elphinstone's History of India*, p. 48; *Otter's Life of Clarke*, vol. ii. p. 109; *Transac. of Asiatic Society*, vol. ii. p. 64; *Journal of Asiat. Society*, vol. viii. p. 116.

180 'How scrupulous the Egyptians were, above all people, in permitting the introduction of new customs in matters relating to the gods.' *Wilkinson's Ancient Egyptians*, vol. iii. p. 262. Compare p. 275. Thus, too, M. Bunsen notices 'the tenacity with which the Egyptians adhered to old manners and customs.' *Bunsen's Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 64. See also some remarks on the difference between this spirit and the love of novelty among the Greeks, in *Ritter's History of Ancient Philosophy*, vol. iv. pp. 625, 626.

181 *Herodot.* book ii. chap. 79: πατριοισι δε χρεώμενοι νόμοισι, ἄλλον οὐδένα ἐπικτέωνται: and see the note in *Baehr*, vol. i. p. 660: 'νόμους priores interpretes explicarunt *cantilenas, hymnos*; Schweighæuserus rectius intellexit *instituta ac mores*.' In the same way, in Timæus, Plato represents an Egyptian priest saying to Solon, Ἕλληνες ἀεὶ παῖδες ἐστε, γέρων δὲ Ἕλλην οὐκ ἔστιν. And when Solon asked what he meant, Νέοι ἐστε, was the reply,

In another point of view, the similarity between these distant countries is equally interesting, since it evidently arises from the causes already noticed as common to both. In Mexico and Peru, the lower classes being at the disposal of the upper, there followed that frivolous waste of labour which we have observed in Egypt, and evidence of which may also be seen in the remains of those temples and palaces that are still found in several parts of Asia. Both Mexicans and Peruvians erected immense buildings, which were as useless as those of Egypt, and which no country could produce, unless the labour of the people were ill-paid and ill-directed.[182] The cost of these monuments of vanity is unknown; but it must have been enormous; since the Americans, being ignorant of the use of iron,[183] were unable to employ a resource by which, in the construction of large works, labour is greatly abridged. Some particulars, however, have been preserved, from which an idea may be formed on this subject. To take, for instance, the palaces of their kings: we find that in Peru, the erection of the royal residence occupied, during fifty years, 20,000 men;[184] while that of Mexico cost the labour of no less than 200,000: striking facts, which, if all other testimonies had perished, would enable us to appreciate the condition of countries in which, for such insignificant purposes, such vast power was expended.[185]

τὰς ψυχὰς πάντες· οὐδεμίαν γὰρ ἐν αὐταῖς ἔχετε δι' ἀρχαίαν ἀκοὴν παλαιὰν δόξαν οὐδὲ μάθημα χρόνῳ πολιὸν οὐδέν. Chap. v. in *Platonis Opera*, vol. vii. p. 242, edit. Bekker, Lond. 1826.

[182] The Mexicans appear to have been even more wantonly prodigal than the Peruvians. See, respecting their immense pyramids, one of which, Cholula, had a base 'twice as broad as the largest Egyptian pyramid,' *M'Culloh's Researches*, pp. 252-256; *Bullock's Mexico*, pp. 111-115, 414; *Humboldt's Nouvelle Espagne*, vol. i. pp. 240, 241.

[183] *Prescott's History of Mexico*, vol. i. p. 117, vol. iii. p. 341; and *Prescott's History of Peru*, vol. i. p. 145. See also *Haüy, Traité de Minéralogie*, Paris, 1801, vol. iv. p. 372.

[184] *Prescott's History of Peru*, vol. i. p. 18.

[185] Mr. Prescott (*History of Mexico*, vol. i. p. 153) says, 'We are not informed of the time occupied in building this palace; but 200,000 workmen, it is said, were employed on it. However this may be, it is certain that the Tezcucan monarchs, like those of Asia and ancient Egypt, had the control of immense masses of men, and would sometimes turn the whole population of a conquered city, including the women, into the public works. The most gigantic monuments of architecture which the world has wit-

The preceding evidence, collected from sources of unquestioned credibility, proves the force of those great physical laws, which, in the most flourishing countries out of Europe, encouraged the accumulation of wealth, but prevented its dispersion; and thus secured to the upper classes a monopoly of one of the most important elements of social and political power. The result was, that in all those civilizations the great body of the people derived no benefit from the national improvements; hence, the basis of the progress being very narrow, the progress itself was very insecure.[186] When, therefore, unfavourable circumstances arose from without, it was but natural that the whole system should fall to the ground. In such countries, society, being divided against itself, was unable to stand. And there can be no doubt that long before the crisis of their actual destruction, these one-sided and irregular civilizations had begun to decay; so that their own degeneracy aided the progress of foreign invaders, and secured the overthrow of those ancient kingdoms, which, under a sounder system, might have been easily

Thus far as to the way in which the great civilizations exterior to Europe have been affected by the peculiarities of their food, climate, and soil. It now remains for me to examine the effect of those other physical agents to which I have given the collective name of Aspects of Nature, and which will be found suggestive of some very wide and comprehensive inquiries into the influence exercised by the external world in predisposing men to certain habits of thought, and thus giving a particular

nessed would never have been reared by the hands of freemen.' The Mexican historian, Ixtlilxochitl, gives a curious account of one of the royal palaces. See his *Histoire des Chichimèques*, translated by Ternaux-Compans, Paris, 1840, vol. i. pp. 257-262, chap. xxxvii.

186 This may be illustrated by a good remark of M. Matter, to the effect that when the Egyptians had once lost their race of kings, it was found impossible for the nation to reconstruct itself. *Matter, Histoire de l'Ecole d'Alexandrie*, vol. i. p. 68; a striking passage. In Persia, again, when the feeling of loyalty decayed, so also did the feeling of national power. *Malcolm's History of Persia*, vol. ii. p. 130. The history of the most civilized parts of Europe presents a picture exactly the reverse of this.

tone to religion, arts, literature, and, in a word, to all the principal manifestations of the human mind. To ascertain how this is brought about, forms a necessary supplement to the investigations just concluded. For, as we have seen that climate, food, and soil mainly concern the accumulation and distribution of wealth, so also shall we see that the Aspects of Nature concern the accumulation and distribution of thought. In the first case, we have to do with the material interests of Man; in the other case, with his intellectual interests. The former I have analyzed as far as I am able, and perhaps as far as the existing state of knowledge will allow.[187] But the other, namely, the relation between the Aspects of Nature and the mind of Man, involves speculations of such magnitude, and requires such a mass of materials drawn from every quarter, that I feel very apprehensive as to the result; and I need hardly say, that I make no pretensions to any thing approaching an exhaustive analysis, nor can I hope to do more than generalize a few of the laws of that complicated, but as yet unexplored, process by which the external world has affected the human mind, has warped its natural movements, and too often checked its natural progress.

The Aspects of Nature, when considered from this point of view, are divisible into two classes: the first class being those which are most likely to excite the imagination; and the other class being those which address themselves to the understanding commonly so called, that is, to the mere logical operations of the intellect. For although it is true that, in a complete and well-balanced mind, the imagination and the understanding each play their respective parts, and are auxiliary to each other, it is also true that, in a majority of instances, the understanding is too weak to curb the imagination and restrain its dangerous licence. The tendency of advancing civilization is to remedy this disproportion, and

187 I mean, in regard to the physical and economical generalizations. As to the literature of the subject, I am conscious of many deficiencies, particularly in respect to the Mexican and Peruvian histories.

invest the reasoning powers with that authority, which, in an early stage of society, the imagination exclusively possesses. Whether or not there is ground for fearing that the reaction will eventually proceed too far, and that the reasoning faculties will in their turn tyrannize over the imaginative ones, is a question of the deepest interest; but, in the present condition of our knowledge, it is probably an insoluble one. At all events, it is certain that nothing like such a state has yet been seen; since, even in this age, when the imagination is more under control than in any preceding one, it has far too much power; as might be easily proved, not only from the superstitions which in every country still prevail among the vulgar, but also from that poetic reverence for antiquity, which, though it has been long diminishing, still hampers the independence, blinds the judgment, and circumscribes the originality of the educated classes.

Now, so far as natural phenomena are concerned, it is evident, that whatever inspires feelings of terror, or of great wonder, and whatever excites in the mind an idea of the vague and uncontrollable, has a special tendency to inflame the imagination, and bring under its dominion the slower and more deliberate operations of the understanding. In such cases, Man, contrasting himself with the force and majesty of Nature, becomes painfully conscious of his own insignificance. A sense of inferiority steals over him. From every quarter innumerable obstacles hem him in, and limit his individual will. His mind, appalled by the indefined and indefinable, hardly cares to scrutinize the details of which such imposing grandeur consists.[188] On the other hand, where the works of Nature

[188] The sensation of fear, even when there is no danger, becomes strong enough to destroy the pleasure that would otherwise be felt. See, for instance, a description of the great mountain boundary of Hindostan, in *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xi. p. 469: 'It is necessary for a person to place himself in our situation before he can form a just conception of the scene. The depth of the valley below, the progressive elevation of the intermediate hills, and the majestic splendour of the cloud-capped Himalaya, formed so grand a picture, that the mind was impressed with a sensation of dread rather than of pleasure.' Compare vol. xiv. p. 116, Calcutta, 1822. In the Tyrol, it has been observed, that the grandeur of the mountain-scenery

are small and feeble, Man regains confidence: he seems more able to rely on his own power; he can, as it were, pass through, and exercise authority in every direction. And as the phenomena are more accessible, it becomes easier for him to experiment on them, or to observe them with minuteness; an inquisitive and analytic spirit is encouraged, and he is tempted to generalize the appearances of Nature, and refer them to the laws by which they are governed.

Looking in this way at the human mind as affected by the Aspects of Nature, it is surely a remarkable fact, that all the great early civilizations were situated within and immediately adjoining the tropics, where those aspects are most sublime, most terrible, and where Nature is, in every respect, most dangerous to Man. Indeed, generally, in Asia, Africa, and America, the external world is more formidable than in Europe. This holds good not only of the fixed and permanent phenomena, such as mountains, and other great natural barriers, but also of occasional phenomena, such as earthquakes, tempests, hurricanes, pestilences; all of which are in those regions very frequent, and very disastrous. These constant and serious dangers produce effects analogous to those caused by the sublimity of Nature, in so far, that in both cases there is a tendency to increase the activity of the imagination. For the peculiar province of the imagination being to deal with the unknown, every event which is unexplained, as well as important, is a direct stimulus to our imaginative faculties. In the tropics, events of this kind are more numerous than elsewhere; it therefore follows that in the tropics the imagination is most likely to triumph. A few illustrations of the working of this principle will place it in a clearer light, and will prepare the reader for the arguments based upon it.

Of those physical events which increase the insecurity of Man, earthquakes are certainly among the most striking, in regard to the loss of life which they cause, as also

imbues the minds of the natives with fear, and has caused the invention of many superstitious legends. *Alison's Europe*, vol. ix. pp. 79, 80.

in regard to their sudden and unexpected occurrence. There is reason to believe that they are always preceded by atmospheric changes which strike immediately at the nervous system, and thus have a direct physical tendency to impair the intellectual powers.[189] However this may be, there can be no doubt as to the effect they produce in encouraging particular associations and habits of thought. The terror which they inspire, excites the imagination even to a painful extent, and, overbalancing the judgment, predisposes men to superstitious fancies. And what is highly curious, is, that repetition, so far from blunting such feelings, strengthens them. In Peru, where earthquakes appear to be more common than in any other country,[190] every succeeding visitation increases the general dismay; so that, in some cases, the fear becomes almost insupportable.[191] The mind is thus constantly thrown into a timid

[189] 'Une augmentation d'électricité s'y manifeste aussi presque toujours, et ils sont généralement annoncés par le mugissement des bestiaux, par l'inquiétude des animaux domestiques, et dans les hommes par cette sorte de malaise qui, en Europe, précède les orages dans les personnes nerveuses.' *Cuvier, Prog. des Sciences*, vol. i. p. 265. See also on this 'Vorgefühl,' the observation of Von Hoff, in Mr. Mallet's valuable essay on earthquakes (*Brit. Assoc. for* 1850, p. 68); and the 'foreboding' in *Tschudi's Peru*, p. 165; and a letter in *Nichols's Illustrations of the Eighteenth Century*, vol. iv. p. 504. The probable connexion between earthquakes and electricity is noticed in *Bakewell's Geology*, p. 434.

[190] 'Peru is more subject, perhaps, than any other country to the tremendous visitation of earthquakes.' *M'Culloch's Geog. Dict.* 1849, vol. ii. p. 499. Dr. Tschudi (*Travels in Peru*, p. 162) says of Lima, 'at an average forty-five shocks may be counted on in the year.' See also on the Peruvian earthquakes, pp. 43, 75, 87, 90.

[191] A curious instance of association of ideas conquering the deadening effect of habit. Dr. Tschudi (*Peru*, p. 170), describing the panic, says, 'no familiarity with the phenomenon can blunt this feeling.' Beale (*South-Sea Whaling Voyage*, Lond. 1839, p. 205) writes, 'It is said at Peru, that the oftener the natives of the place feel those vibrations of the earth, instead of becoming habituated to them, as persons do who are constantly exposed to other dangers, they become more filled with dismay every time the shock is repeated, so that aged people often find the terror a slight shock will produce almost insupportable.' Compare *Darwin's Journal*, pp. 422, 423. So, too, in regard to Mexican earthquakes, Mr. Ward observes, that 'the natives are both more sensible than strangers of the smaller shocks, and more alarmed by them.' *Ward's Mexico*, vol. ii. p. 55. On the physiological effects of the fear caused by earthquakes, see the remarkable statement by Osiander in *Burdach's Physiologie comme Science d'Observation*, vol. ii. pp. 223, 224. That the fear should be not deadened by familiarity, but increased by it, would hardly be expected by speculative reasoners unacquainted with the evidence; and we find, in fact, that the Pyrrhonists

and anxious state; and men witnessing the most serious dangers, which they can neither avoid nor understand, become impressed with a conviction of their own inability, and of the poverty of their own resources.[192] In exactly the same proportion, the imagination is aroused, and a belief in supernatural interference actively encouraged. Human power failing, superhuman power is called in; the mysterious and the invisible are believed to be present; and there grow up among the people those feelings of awe, and of helplessness, on which all superstition is based, and without which no superstition can exist.[193]

Further illustration of this may be found even in Europe, where such phenomena are comparatively speaking extremely rare. Earthquakes and volcanic eruptions are more frequent and more destructive in Italy, and in the Spanish and Portuguese peninsula, than in any other of the great countries; and it is precisely there that superstition is most rife, and the superstitious classes most powerful. Those were the countries where the clergy first established their authority, where the worst corruptions of Christianity took place, and where superstition has during the longest period retained the firmest hold. To this may be added another circumstance, indicative of the connexion between these physical phenomena and the predominance of the imagination. Speaking generally, the fine arts are addressed more to the imagination; the sciences to the intellect.[194] Now it is remarkable, that

asserted that οἱ γοῦν σεισμοὶ παρ' οἷς συνεχῶς ἀποτελοῦνται, οὐ θαυμάζονται· οὐδ' ὁ ἥλιος, ὅτι καθ' ἡμέραν ὁρᾶται. *Diog. Laert. de Vitis Philos.* lib. ix. segm. 87, vol. i. p. 591.

[192] Mr. Stephens, who gives a striking description of an earthquake in Central America, emphatically says, 'I never felt myself so feeble a thing before.' *Stephens's Central America*, vol. i. p. 383. See also the account of the effects produced on the mind by an earthquake, in *Transac. of Soc. of Bombay*, vol. iii. p. 98, and the note at p. 105.

[193] The effect of earthquakes in encouraging superstition, is noticed in Lyell's admirable work, *Principles of Geology*, p. 492. Compare a myth on the origin of earthquakes in *Beausobre, Histoire Critique de Manichée*, vol. i. p. 243.

[194] The greatest men in science, and in fact all very great men, have no doubt been remarkable for the powers of their imagination. But in art the imagination plays a far more conspicuous part than in science; and this is what I mean to express by the proposition in the text. Sir David Brew-

all the greatest painters, and nearly all the greatest sculptors, modern Europe has possessed, have been produced by the Italian and Spanish peninsulas. In regard to science, Italy has no doubt had several men of conspicuous ability; but their numbers are out of all proportion small when compared with her artists and poets. As to Spain and Portugal, the literature of those two countries is eminently poetic, and from their schools have proceeded some of the greatest painters the world has ever seen. On the other hand, the purely reasoning faculties have been neglected, and the whole Peninsula, from the earliest period to the present time, does not supply to the history of the natural sciences a single name of the highest merit; not one man whose works form an epoch in the progress of European knowledge.[195]

The manner in which the Aspects of Nature, when they are very threatening, stimulate the imagination,[196] and by encouraging superstition, discourage knowledge, may be made still more apparent by one or two additional facts. Among an ignorant people, there is a direct tendency to ascribe all serious dangers to supernatural intervention; and a strong religious sentiment being thus aroused,[197] it constantly happens, not only that the danger

ster, indeed, thinks that Newton was deficient in imagination: 'the weakness of his imaginative powers.' *Brewster's Life of Newton*, 1855, vol. ii. p. 133. It is impossible to discuss so large a question in a note; but to my apprehension, no poet, except Dante and Shakespeare, ever had an imagination more soaring and more audacious than that possessed by Sir Isaac Newton.

[195] The remarks made by Mr. Ticknor on the absence of science in Spain, might be extended even further than he has done. See *Ticknor's History of Spanish Literature*, vol. iii. pp. 222, 223. He says, p. 237, that in 1771, the University of Salamanca being urged to teach the physical sciences, replied, 'Newton teaches nothing that would make a good logician or metaphysician, and Gassendi and Descartes do not agree so well with revealed truth as Aristotle does.

[196] In *Asiatic Researches*, vol. vi. pp. 35, 36, there is a good instance of an earthquake giving rise to a theological fiction. See also vol. i. pp. 154-157; and compare *Coleman's Mythology of the Hindus*, p. 17.

[197] See for example, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. iv. pp. 56, 57, vol. vii. p. 94; and the effect produced by a volcano, in *Journal of Geograph. Society*, vol. v. p. 388. See also vol. xx. p. 8, and a partial recognition of the principle by Sextus Empiricus, in *Tennemann's Geschichte der Philosophie*, vol. i. p. 292. Compare the use the clergy made of a volcanic eruption in Iceland (*Wheaton's*

is submitted to, but that it is actually worshipped. This is the case with some of the Hindus in the forests of Malabar;[198] and many similar instances will occur to whoever has studied the condition of barbarous tribes.[199] Indeed, so far is this carried, that in some countries the inhabitants, from feelings of reverential fear, refuse to destroy wild-beasts and noxious reptiles; the mischief these animals inflict being the cause of the impunity they enjoy.[200]

It is in this way, that the old tropical civilizations had to struggle with innumerable difficulties unknown to the temperate zone, where European civilization has long flourished. The devastations of animals hostile to man, the ravages of hurricanes, tempests, earthquakes,[201] and similar perils, constantly pressed upon them, and affected the tone

History of the Northmen, p. 42); and see further *Raffles' History of Java*, vol. i. pp. 29, 274, and *Tschudi's Peru*, pp. 64, 167, 171.

198 The Hindus in the Irnari forests, says Mr. Edye, 'worship and respect every thing from which they apprehend danger.' *Edye on the Coast of Malabar*, in *Journal of Asiatic Society*, vol. ii. p. 337.

199 Dr. Prichard (*Physical History*, vol. iv. p. 501) says, 'The tiger is worshipped by the Hajin tribe in the vicinity of the Garrows or Garrudus.' Compare *Transactions of Asiatic Society*, vol. iii. p. 66. Among the Garrows themselves, this feeling is so strong, that 'the tiger's nose strung round a woman's neck is considered as a great preservative in childbirth.' *Coleman's Mythology of the Hindus*, p. 321. The Seiks have a curious superstition respecting wounds inflicted by tigers (*Burnes' Bokhara*, 1834, vol. iii. p. 140); and the Malasir believe that these animals are sent as a punishment for irreligion. *Buchanan's Journey through the Mysore*, vol. ii. p. 385.

200 The inhabitants of Sumatra are, for superstitious reasons, most unwilling to destroy tigers, though they commit frightful ravages. *Marsden's History of Sumatra*, pp. 149, 254. The Russian account of the Kamtschatkans says, 'Besides the above-mentioned gods, they pay a religious regard to several animals from which they apprehend danger.' *Grieve's History of Kamtschatka*, p. 205. Bruce mentions that in Abyssinia, hyænas are considered 'enchanters;' and the inhabitants 'will not touch the skin of a hyæna till it has been prayed over and exorcised by a priest.' *Murray's Life of Bruce*, p. 472. Allied to this, is the respect paid to bears (*Erman's Siberia*, vol. i. p. 492, vol. ii. pp. 42, 43); also the extensively-diffused worship of the serpent, whose wily movements are well calculated to inspire fear and therefore rouse the religious feelings. The danger apprehended from noxious reptiles is connected with the Dews of the Zendavesta. See *Matter's Histoire du Gnosticisme*, vol. i. p. 380, Paris, 1828.

201 To give one instance of the extent to which these operate, it may be mentioned, that in 1815 an earthquake and volcanic eruption broke forth in Sumbawa, which shook the ground 'through an area of 1000 miles in circumference,' and the detonations of which were heard at a distance of 970 geographical miles. *Somerville's Connexion of the Physical Sciences*, p. 283; *Hitchcock's Religion of Geology*, p. 190; *Low's Sarawak*, p. 10; *Bakewell's Geology*, p. 438.

of their national character. For the mere loss of life was the smallest part of the inconvenience. The real mischief was, that there were engendered in the mind, associations which made the imagination predominate over the understanding; which infused into the people a spirit of reverence instead of a spirit of inquiry; and which encouraged a disposition to neglect the investigation of natural causes, and ascribe events to the operation of supernatural ones.

Everything we know of those countries proves how active this tendency must have been. With extremely few exceptions, health is more precarious, and disease more common, in tropical climates than in temperate ones. Now, it has been often observed, and indeed is very obvious, that the fear of death makes men more prone to seek supernatural aid than they would otherwise be. So complete is our ignorance respecting another life, that it is no wonder if even the stoutest heart should quail at the sudden approach of that dark and untried future. On this subject the reason is perfectly silent; the imagination, therefore, is uncontrolled. The operation of natural causes being brought to an end, supernatural causes are supposed to begin. Hence it is, that whatever increases in any country the amount of dangerous disease, has an immediate tendency to strengthen superstition, and aggrandize the imagination at the expense of the understanding. This principle is so universal, that, in every part of the world, the vulgar ascribe to the intervention of the Deity those diseases which are peculiarly fatal, and especially those which have a sudden and mysterious appearance. In Europe it used to be believed that every pestilence was a manifestation of the divine anger;[202] and this opinion,

[202] In the sixteenth century, 'Les différentes sectes s'accordèrent néanmoins à regarder les maladies graves et dangereuses comme un effet immédiat de la puissance divine; idée que Fernel contribua encore à répandre davantage. On trouve dans Paré plusieurs passages de la Bible, cités pour prouver que la colère de Dieu est la seule cause de la peste, qu'elle suffit pour provoquer ce fleau, et que sans elle les causes éloignées ne sauraient agir.' *Sprengel, Histoire de la Médecine*, vol. iii. p. 112. The same learned writer says of the Middle Ages (vol. ii. p. 372), 'D'après l'esprit généralement répandu dans ces siècles de barbarie, on croyait la lèpre envoyée d'une manière immédiate par Dieu.' See also pp. 145, 346, 431. Bishop Heber says that

though it has long been dying away, is by no means extinct even in the most civilized countries.[203] Superstition of this kind will of course be strongest, either where medical knowledge is most backward, or where disease is

the Hindus deprive lepers of caste and of the right of possessing property, because they are objects of 'Heaven's wrath.' *Heber's Journey through India*, vol. ii. p. 330. On the Jewish opinion, see *Le Clerc, Bibliothèque Universelle*, vol. iv. p. 402, Amsterdam, 1702. And as to the early Christians, see *Maury, Légendes Pieuses*, p. 68, Paris, 1843: though M. Maury ascribes to 'les idées orientales reçues par le christianisme,' what is due to the operation of a much wider principle.

[203] Under the influence of the inductive philosophy, the theological theory of disease was seriously weakened before the middle of the seventeenth century; and by the middle, or at all events the latter half, of the eighteenth century, it had lost all its partisans among scientific men. At present it still lingers on among the vulgar; and traces of it may be found in the writings of the clergy, and in the works of other persons little acquainted with physical knowledge. When the cholera broke out in England, attempts were made to revive the old notion; but the spirit of the age was too strong for such efforts to succeed: and it may be safely predicted that men will never return to their former opinions, unless they first return to their former ignorance. As a specimen of the ideas which the cholera tended to excite, and of their antagonism to all scientific investigation, I may refer to a letter written in 1832 by Mrs. Grant, a woman of some accomplishments, and not devoid of influence (*Correspondence of Mrs. Grant*, London, 1844, vol. iii. pp. 216, 217), where she states that 'it appears to me great presumption to indulge so much as people do in speculation and conjecture about a disease so evidently a peculiar infliction, and different from all other modes of suffering hitherto known.' This desire to limit human speculation, is precisely the feeling which long retained Europe in darkness; since it effectually prevented those free inquiries to which we are indebted for all the real knowledge we possess. The doubts of Boyle upon this subject, supply a curious instance of the transitionary state through which the mind was passing in the seventeenth century, and by which the way was prepared for the great liberating movement of the next age. Boyle, after stating both sides of the question, namely the theological and the scientific, adds, 'and it is the less likely that these sweeping and contagious maladies should be always sent for the punishment of impious men, because I remember to have read in good authors, that as some plagues destroyed both men and beasts, so some other did peculiarly destroy brute animals of very little consideration or use to men, as cats,' &c.

'Upon these and the like reasons, I have sometimes suspected that in the controversy about the origin of the plague, namely whether it be natural or supernatural, neither of the contending parties is altogether in the right; since it is very possible that some pestilences may not break forth without an extraordinary, though perhaps not immediate, interposition of Almighty God, provoked by the sins of men; and yet other plagues may be produced by a tragical concourse of merely natural causes.' *Discourse on the Air*, in *Boyle's Works*, vol. iv. pp. 288, 289. '*Neither of the contending parties is altogether in the right!*'—an instructive passage towards understanding the compromising spirit of the seventeenth century; standing midway, as it did, between the credulity of the sixteenth, and the scepticism of the eighteenth.

most abundant. In countries where both these conditions are fulfilled, the superstition is supreme; and even where only one of the conditions exists, the tendency is so irresistible, that, I believe, there are no barbarous people who do not ascribe to their good or evil deities, not only extraordinary diseases, but even many of the ordinary ones to which they are liable.[204]

Here, then, we have another specimen of the unfavourable influence which, in the old civilizations, external phenomena exercised over the human mind. For those parts

[204] To the historian of the human mind, the whole question is so full of interest, that I shall refer in this note to all the evidence I have been able to collect: and whoever will compare the following passages may satisfy himself that there is in every part of the world an intimate relation between ignorance respecting the nature and proper treatment of a disease, and the belief that such disease is caused by supernatural power, and is to be cured by it. *Burton's Sindh*, p. 146, London, 1851; *Ellis's Polynesian Researches*, vol. i. p. 395, vol. iii. pp. 36, 41, vol. iv. pp. 293, 334, 375; *Cullen's Works*, Edinb. 1827, vol. ii. pp. 414, 434; *Esquirol, Maladies Mentales*, vol. i. pp. 274, 482; *Cabanis, Rapports du Physique et du Moral*, p. 277; *Volney, Voyage en Syrie*, vol. i. p. 426; *Turner's Embassy to Tibet*, p. 104; *Syme's Embassy to Ava*, vol. ii. p. 211; *Ellis's Tour through Hawaii*, pp. 282, 283, 332, 333; *Renouard, Histoire de la Médecine*, vol. i. p. 398; *Broussais, Examen des Doctrines Médicales*, vol. i. pp. 261, 262; *Grote's History of Greece*, vol. i. p. 485 (compare p. 251, and vol. vi. p. 213); *Grieve's History of Kamtschatka*, p. 217; *Journal of Statist. Soc.* vol. x. p. 10; *Buchanan's North-American Indians*, pp. 256, 257; *Halkett's North-American Indians*, pp. 36, 37, 388, 393, 394; *Catlin's North-American Indians*, vol. i. pp. 35–41; *Briggs on the Aboriginal Tribes of India*, in *Report of Brit. Assoc. for* 1850, p. 172; *Transactions of Soc. of Bombay*, vol. ii. p. 30; *Percival's Ceylon*, p. 201; *Buchanan's Journey through the Mysore*, vol. ii. pp. 27, 152, 286, 528, vol. iii. pp. 23, 188, 253 (so, too, M. Geoffroy Saint Hilaire, *Anomalies de l'Organisation*, vol. iii. p. 380, says that when we were quite ignorant of the cause of monstrous births, the phenomenon was ascribed to the Deity,—'de là aussi l'intervention supposée de la divinité;' and for an exact verification of this, compare *Burdach, Traité de Physiologie*, vol. ii. p. 247, with *Journal of Geog. Soc.* vol. xvi. p. 113); *Ellis's History of Madagascar*, vol. i. pp. 224, 225; *Prichard's Physical History*, vol. i. p. 207, vol. v. p. 492; *Journal of Asiatic Society*, vol. iii. p. 230, vol. iv. p. 158; *Asiatic Researches*, vol. iii. pp. 29, 156, vol. iv. pp. 56, 58, 74, vol. xvi. pp. 215, 280; *Neander's History of the Church*, vol. iii. p. 119; *Crawfurd's History of the Indian Archipelago*, vol. i. p. 328; *Low's Sarawak*, pp. 174, 261; *Cook's Voyages*, vol. i. p. 229; *Mariner's Tonga Islands*, vol. i. pp. 194, 350–360, 374, 438, vol. ii. pp. 172, 230; *Huc's Travels in Tartary and Thibet*, vol. i. pp. 74–77; *Richardson's Travels in the Sahara*, vol. i. p. 27; *M'Culloh's Researches*, p. 105; *Journal of Geog. Soc.* vol. i. p. 41, vol iv. p. 260, vol. xiv. p. 37. And in regard to Europe, compare *Spence, Origin of the Laws of Europe*, p. 322; *Turner's Hist. of England*, vol. iii. p. 443; *Phillips on Scrofula*, p. 255; *Otter's Life of Clarke*, vol. i. pp. 265, 266, which may be illustrated by the 'sacred' disease of Cambyses, no doubt epilepsy: see *Herodot.* lib. iii. chap. xxxiv. vol. ii. p. 63.

of Asia where the highest refinement was reached, are, from various physical causes, much more unhealthy than the most civilized parts of Europe.[205] This fact alone must have produced a considerable effect on the national character,[206] and the more so, as it was aided by those other circumstances which I have pointed out, all tending in the same direction. To this may be added, that the great plagues by which Europe has at different periods been scourged, have, for the most part, proceeded from the East, which is their natural birthplace, and where they are most fatal. Indeed, of those cruel diseases now existing in Europe, scarcely one is indigenous; and the worst of them were imported from tropical countries in and after the first century of the Christian era.[207]

Summing up these facts, it may be stated, that in the civilizations exterior to Europe, all nature conspired to increase the authority of the imaginative faculties, and weaken the authority of the reasoning ones. With the materials now existing, it would be possible to follow this vast law to its remotest consequences, and show how in Europe it is opposed by another law diametrically opposite, and by virtue of which the tendency of natural phenomena is, on the whole, to limit the imagination, and embolden the understanding: thus inspiring Man with

[205] Heat, moisture, and consequent rapid decomposition of vegetable matter, are certainly among the causes of this; and to them may perhaps be added the electrical state of the atmosphere in the tropics. Compare *Holland's Medical Notes*, p. 477; *M'William's Medical Expedition to the Niger*, pp. 157, 185; *Simon's Pathology*, p. 269; *Forry's Climate and its Endemic Influences*, p. 158. M. Lepelletier says, rather vaguely (*Physiologie Médicale*, vol. iv. p. 527), that the temperate zones are 'favorables à l'exercice complet et régulier des phénomènes vitaux.'

[206] And must have strengthened the power of the clergy; for, as Charlevoix says with great frankness, 'pestilences are the harvests of the ministers of God.' *Southey's History of Brazil*, vol. ii. p. 254.

[207] For evidence of the extra-European origin of European diseases, some of which, such as the small-pox, have passed from epidemics into endemics, compare *Encyclop. of the Medical Sciences*, 4to, 1847, p. 728; *Transactions of Asiatic Society*, vol. ii. pp. 54, 55; *Michaelis on the Laws of Moses*, vol. iii. p. 313; *Sprengel, Histoire de la Médicine*, vol. ii. pp. 33, 195; *Wallace's Dissertation on the Numbers of Mankind*, pp. 81, 82; *Huetiana*, Amst. 1723, pp. 132–135; *Sanders on the Small-Pox*, Edinb. 1813, pp. 3-4; *Wilks's Hist. of the South of India*, vol iii. pp. 16-21; *Clot-Bey de la Peste*, Paris, 1840, p. 227.

confidence in his own resources, and facilitating the increase of his knowledge, by encouraging that bold, inquisitive, and scientific spirit, which is constantly advancing, and on which all future progress must depend.

It is not to be supposed that I can trace in detail the way in which, owing to these peculiarities, the civilization of Europe has diverged from all others that preceded it. To do this, would require a learning and a reach of thought to which hardly any single man ought to pretend; since it is one thing to have a perception of a large and general truth, and it is another thing to follow out that truth in all its ramifications, and prove it by such evidence as will satisfy ordinary readers. Those, indeed, who are accustomed to speculations of this character, and are able to discern in the history of man something more than a mere relation of events, will at once understand that in these complicated subjects, the wider any generalization is, the greater will be the chance of apparent exceptions; and that when the theory covers a very large space, the exceptions may be innumerable, and yet the theory remain perfectly accurate. The two fundamental propositions which I hope to have demonstrated, are, 1st, That there are certain natural phenomena which act on the human mind by exciting the imagination; and 2dly, That those phenomena are much more numerous out of Europe than in it. If these two propositions are admitted, it inevitably follows, that in those countries where the imagination has received the stimulus, some specific effects must have been produced; unless, indeed, the effects have been neutralized by other causes. Whether or not there have been antagonistic causes, is immaterial to the truth of the theory, which is based on the two propositions just stated. In a scientific point of view, therefore, the generalization is complete; and it would perhaps be prudent to leave it as it now stands, rather than attempt to confirm it by further illustrations, since all particular facts are liable to be erroneously stated, and are sure to be contradicted by those who dislike the conclusions they corroborate. But in order to familiarize the reader with the principles I have put

forward, it does seem advisable that a few instances should be given of their actual working: and I will, therefore, briefly notice the effects they have produced in the three great divisions of Literature, Religion, and Art. In each of these departments, I will endeavour to indicate how the leading features have been affected by the Aspects of Nature; and with a view of simplifying the inquiry, I will take the two most conspicuous instances on each side, and compare the manifestations of the intellect of Greece with those of the intellect of India: these being the two countries respecting which the materials are most ample, and in which the physical contrasts are most striking.

If, then, we look at the ancient literature of India, even during its best period, we shall find the most remarkable evidence of the uncontrolled ascendency of the imagination. In the first place, we have the striking fact that scarcely any attention has been paid to prose composition; all the best writers having devoted themselves to poetry, as being most congenial to the national habits of thought. Their works on grammar, on law, on history, on medicine, on mathematics, on geography, and on metaphysics, are nearly all poems, and are put together according to a regular system of versification.[208] The con-

[208] 'So verwandelt das geistige Leben des Hindu sich in wahre Poesie, und das bezeichnende Merkmal seiner ganzen Bildung ist: Herrschaft der Einbildungskraft über den Verstand; im geraden Gegensatz mit der Bildung des Europaers, deren allgemeiner Charakter in der Herrschaft des Verstandes über die Einbildungskraft besteht. Es wird dadurch begreiflich, dass die Literatur der Hindus nur eine poetische ist; dass sie überreich an Dichterwerken, aber arm am wissenschaftlichen Schriften sind; dass ihre heiligen Schriften, ihre Gesetze und Sagen poetisch, und grösstentheils in Versen geschrieben sind; ja dass Lehrbücher der Grammatik, der Heilkunde, der Mathematik und Erdbeschreibung in Versen verfasst sind.' *Rhode, Religiöse Bildung der Hindus*, vol ii. p. 626. Thus, too, we are told respecting one of their most celebrated metaphysical systems, that 'the best text of the Sanchya is a short treatise in verse.' *Colebrooke on the Philosophy of the Hindus*, in *Transactions of Asiatic Society*, vol. i. p. 23. And in another place the same high authority says (*Asiatic Researches*, vol. x. p. 439), 'the metrical treatises on law and other sciences are almost entirely composed in this easy verse.' M. Klaproth, in an analysis of a Sanscrit history of Cashmere, says, 'comme presque toutes les compositions hindoues, il est écrit en vers.' *Journal Asiatique*, I. série, vol. vii. p. 8, Paris, 1825. See also, in vol. vi. pp. 175, 176, the remarks of M. Burnouf: 'Les philosophes indiens, comme s'ils ne pouvaient échapper aux influences poétiques de leur climat, traitent les questions de la métaphysique le plus abstraite par

sequence is, that while prose-writing is utterly despised, the art of poetry has been cultivated so assiduously, that the Sanscrit can boast of metres more numerous and more complicated than have ever been possessed by any of the European languages.[209]

This peculiarity in the form of Indian literature is accompanied by a corresponding peculiarity in its spirit. For it is no exaggeration to say, that in that literature every thing is calculated to set the reason of man at open defiance. An imagination, luxuriant even to disease, runs riot on every occasion. This is particularly seen in those productions which are most eminently national, such as the Ramayana, the Mahabharat, and the Puranas in general. But we also find it even in their geographical and chronological systems, which of all others might be supposed least liable to imaginative flights. A few examples of the statements put forward in the most authoritative books, will supply the means of instituting a comparison with the totally opposite condition of the European intellect, and will give the reader some idea of the extent to which credulity can proceed, even among a civilized people.[210]

Of all the various ways in which the imagination has distorted truth, there is none that has worked so much harm as an exaggerated respect for past ages. This reverence for antiquity is repugnant to every maxim of

similitudes et métaphores.' Compare vol. vi. p. 4, 'le génie indien si poétique et si religieux,' and see *Cousin, Hist. de la Philosophie*, II. série, vol. i. p. 27.

[209] Mr. Yates says of the Hindus, that no other people have ever 'presented an equal variety of poetic compositions. The various metres of Greece and Rome have filled Europe with astonishment; but what are these, compared with the extensive range of Sanscrit metres under its three classes of poetical writing?' *Yates on Sanscrit Alliteration*, in *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xx. p. 159, Calcutta, 1836. See also on the Sanscrit metres, p. 321, and an Essay by Colebrooke, vol. x. pp. 389-474. On the metrical system of the Vedas, see Mr. Wilson's note in the *Rig Veda Sanhita*, vol. ii. p. 135.

[210] In Europe, as we shall see in the sixth chapter of this volume, the credulity was at one time extraordinary; but the age was then barbarous, and barbarism is always credulous. On the other hand, the examples gathered from Indian literature, will be taken from the works of a lettered people, written in a language extremely rich, and so highly polished, that some competent judges have declared it equal, if not superior, to the Greek.

reason, and is merely the indulgence of a poetic sentiment in favour of the remote and unknown. It is, therefore, natural that, in periods when the intellect was comparatively speaking inert, this sentiment should have been far stronger than it now is; and there can be little doubt that it will continue to grow weaker, and that in the same proportion the feeling of progress will gain ground; so that veneration for the past will be succeeded by hope for the future. But formerly the veneration was supreme, and innumerable traces of it may be found in the literature and popular creed of every country. It is this, for instance, which inspired the poets with their notion of a golden age, in which the world was filled with peace, in which evil passions were stilled, and crimes were unknown. It is this, again, which gave to theologians their idea of the primitive virtue and simplicity of man, and of his subsequent fall from that high estate. And it is this same principle which diffused a belief that in the olden times, men were not only more virtuous and happy, but also physically superior in the structure of their bodies; and that by this means they attained to a larger stature, and lived to a greater age, than is possible for us, their feeble and degenerate descendants.

Opinions of this kind, being adopted by the imagination in spite of the understanding, it follows that the strength of such opinions becomes, in any country, one of the standards by which we may estimate the predominance of the imaginative faculties. Applying this test to the literature of India, we shall find a striking confirmation of the conclusions already drawn. The marvellous feats of antiquity with which the Sanscrit books abound, are so long and so complicated, that it would occupy too much space to give even an outline of them; but there is one class of these singular fictions which is well worth attention, and admits of being briefly stated. I allude to the extraordinary age which man was supposed to have attained in former times. A belief in the longevity of the human race at an early period of the world, was the natural product of those feelings which ascribed to the

ancients an universal superiority over the moderns; and this we see exemplified in some of the Christian, and in many of the Hebrew writings. But the statements in these works are tame and insignificant when compared with what is preserved in the literature of India. On this, as on every subject, the imagination of the Hindus distanced all competition. Thus, among an immense number of similar facts, we find it recorded that in ancient times the duration of the life of common men was 80,000 years,[211] and that holy men lived to be upwards of 100,000.[212] Some died a little sooner, others a little later; but in the most flourishing period of antiquity, if we take all classes together, 100,000 years was the average.[213] Of one king, whose name was Yudhishthir, it is casually mentioned that he reigned 27,000 years;[214] while another, called Alarka, reigned 66,000.[215] They were cut off in their prime, since there are several instances of the early poets living to be about half-a-million.[216] But the most remarkable case is that of a very shining character in Indian history, who united in his single person the functions of a king and a saint. This eminent man lived in a pure and virtuous age, and his days were, indeed, long in the land; since, when he was made king, he was two million years old: he then reigned 6,300,000 years;

[211] 'The limit of life was 80,000 years.' *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xvi. p. 456, Calcutta, 1828. This was likewise the estimate of the Tibetan divines, according to whom men formerly 'parvenaient à l'âge de 80,000 ans.' *Journal Asiatique*, I. série, vol. iii. p. 199, Paris, 1823.

[212] 'Den Hindu macht dieser Widerspruch nicht verlegen, da er seine Heiligen 100,000 Jahre und länger leben lässt.' *Rhode, Relig. Bildung der Hindus*, vol. i. p. 175.

[213] In the *Dabistan*, vol. ii. p. 47, it is stated of the earliest inhabitants of the world, that 'the duration of human life in this age extended to one hundred thousand common years.'

[214] Wilford (*Asiatic Researches*, vol. v. p. 242) says, 'When the Puranics speak of the kings of ancient times, they are equally extravagant. According to them, King Yudhishthir reigned seven-and-twenty thousand years.'

[215] 'For sixty thousand and sixty hundred years no other youthful monarch except Alarka reigned over the earth.' *Vishnu Purana*, p. 408.

[216] And sometimes more. In the Essay on Indian Chronology in *Works of Sir W. Jones*, vol. i. p. 325. we hear of 'a conversation between Valmic and Vyasa, ... two bards whose ages were separated by a period of 864,000 years.' This passage is also in *Asiatic Researches*, vol. ii. p. 399.

having done which, he resigned his empire, and lingered on for 100,000 years more.[217]

The same boundless reverence for antiquity, made the Hindus refer every thing important to the most distant periods; and they frequently assign a date which is absolutely bewildering.[218] Their great collection of laws, called the *Institutes of Menu*, is certainly less than 3000 years old; but the Indian chronologists, so far from being satisfied with this, ascribe to them an age that the sober European mind finds a difficulty even in conceiving. According to the best native authorities, these Institutes were revealed to man about two thousand million years before the present era.[219]

All this is but a part of that love of the remote, that straining after the infinite, and that indifference to the present, which characterizes every branch of the Indian intellect. Not only in literature, but also in religion and in art, this tendency is supreme. To subjugate the understanding, and exalt the imagination, is the universal principle. In the dogmas of their theology, in the character of their gods, and even in the forms of their temples, we see how the sublime and threatening aspects of the external world have filled the mind of the people with those images of the grand and the terrible, which they strive to reproduce in a visible form, and to which they owe the leading peculiarities of their national culture.

Our view of this vast process may be made clearer by

[217] 'He was the first king, first anchoret, and first saint; and is therefore entitled Prathama-Raja, Prathama Bhicshacara, Prathama Jina, and Prathama Tirthancara. At the time of his inauguration as king, his age was 2,000,000 years. He reigned 6,300,000 years, and then resigned his empire to his sons: and having employed 100,000 years in passing through the several stages of austerity and sanctity, departed from this world on the summit of a mountain named Ashtapada.' *Asiatic Researches*, vol. ix. p. 305.

[218] 'Speculationen über Zahlen sind dem Inder so geläufig, dass selbst die Sprache einen Ausdruck hat für eine Unität mit 63 Nullen, nämlich Asanke, eben weil die Berechnung der Weltperioden diese enorme Grössen nothwendig machte, denn jene einfachen 12,000 Jahre schienen einem Volke, welches so gerne die höchstmögliche Potenz auf seine Gottheit übertragen mögte, viel zu geringe zu seyn.' *Bohlen, das alte Indien*, vol. ii. p. 298.

[219] *Elphinstone's History of India*, p. 136, 'a period exceeding 4,320,000 multipled by six times seventy-one.'

comparing it with the opposite condition of Greece. In Greece, we see a country altogether the reverse of India. The works of nature, which in India are of startling magnitude, are in Greece far smaller, feebler, and in every way less threatening to man. In the great centre of Asiatic civilization, the energies of the human race are confined, and as it were intimidated, by the surrounding phenomena. Besides the dangers incidental to tropical climates, there are those noble mountains, which seem to touch the sky, and from whose sides are discharged mighty rivers, which no art can divert from their course, and which no bridge has ever been able to span. There too are impassable forests, whole countries lined with interminable jungle, and beyond them, again, dreary and boundless deserts; all teaching Man his own feebleness, and his inability to cope with natural forces. Without, and on either side, there are great seas, ravaged by tempests far more destructive than any known in Europe, and of such sudden violence, that it is impossible to guard against their effects. And as if in those regions every thing combined to cramp the activity of Man, the whole line of coast, from the mouth of the Ganges, to the extreme south of the peninsula, does not contain a single safe and capacious harbour, not one port that affords a refuge, which is perhaps more necessary there than in any other part of the world.[220]

But in Greece, the aspects of nature are so entirely different, that the very conditions of existence are changed. Greece, like India, forms a peninsula; but while in the Asiatic country every thing is great and terrible, in the European country every thing is small and feeble. The whole of Greece occupies a space somewhat less than the kingdom of Portugal,[221] that is, about a fortieth part

[220] Symes (*Embassy to Ava*, vol. iii. p. 278) says: 'From the mouth of the Ganges to Cape Comorin, the whole range of our continental territory, there is not a single harbour capable of affording shelter to a vessel of 500 tons burden.' Indeed according to Percival, there is, with the exception of Bombay, no harbour, 'either on the Coromandel or Malabar coasts, in which ships can moor in safety at all seasons of the year.' *Percival's Account of Ceylon*, pp. 2, 15, 66.

[221] 'Altogether its area is somewhat less than that of Portugal.' *Grote's*

of what is now called Hindostan.[222] Situated in the most accessible part of a narrow sea, it had easy contact on the east with Asia Minor, on the west with Italy, on the south with Egypt. Dangers of all kinds were far less numerous than in the tropical civilizations. The climate was more healthy;[223] earthquakes were less frequent; hurricanes were less disastrous; wild-beasts and noxious animals less abundant. In regard to the other great features, the same law prevails. The highest mountains in Greece are less than one-third of the Himalaya, so that nowhere do they reach the limit of perpetual snow.[224] As to rivers, not only is there nothing approaching those imposing volumes which are poured down from the mountains of Asia, but nature is so singularly sluggish, that neither in Northern nor in Southern Greece do we find any thing beyond a few streams, which are easily forded, and which, indeed, in the summer season, are frequently dried up.[225]

These striking differences in the material phenomena of the two countries, gave rise to corresponding differences in their mental associations. For as all ideas must arise partly from what are called spontaneous operations in the mind, and partly from what is suggested to the mind by

History of Greece, vol. ii. p. 302; and the same remark in *Thirlwall's History of Greece*, vol. i. p. 2, and in *Heeren's Ancient Greece*, 1845, p. 16. M. Heeren says, 'But even if we add all the islands, its square contents are a third less than those of Portugal.'

[222] The area of Hindostan being, according to Mr. M'Culloch (*Geog. Dict.* 1849, vol. i. p. 993), 'between 1,200,000 and 1,300,000 square miles.'

[223] In the best days of Greece, those alarming epidemics by which the country was subsequently ravaged, were comparatively little known: see *Thirlwall's History of Greece*, vol. iii. p. 134, vol. viii. p. 471. This may be owing to large cosmical causes, or to the simple fact that the different forms of pestilence had not yet been imported from the East by actual contact. On the vague accounts we possess of the earlier plagues, see *Clot-Bey de la Peste*, Paris, 1840, pp. 21, 46, 184. The relation even of Thucydides is more satisfactory to scholars than to pathologists.

[224] 'Mount Guiona, the highest point in Greece, and near its northern boundary, is 8,239 feet high. . . . No mountain in Greece reaches the limit of perpetual snow.' *M'Culloch's Geog. Dict.* 1849, vol. i. p. 924. Compare the table of mountains in Baker's Memoir on North Greece, in *Journal of Geographical Society*, vol. vii. p. 94, with *Bakewell's Geology*, pp. 621, 622.

[225] 'Greece has no navigable river.' *M'Culloch's Geog. Dict.* vol. i. p. 924. 'Most of the rivers of Greece are torrents in early spring, and dry before the end of the summer.' *Grote's History of Greece*, vol. ii. p. 286.

the external world, it was natural that so great an alteration in one of the causes should produce an alteration in the effects. The tendency of the surrounding phenomena was, in India, to inspire fear; in Greece, to give confidence. In India, Man was intimidated; in Greece he was encouraged. In India, obstacles of every sort were so numerous, so alarming, and apparently so inexplicable, that the difficulties of life could only be solved by constantly appealing to the direct agency of supernatural causes. Those causes being beyond the province of the understanding, the resources of the imagination were incessantly occupied in studying them; the imagination itself was overworked, its activity became dangerous, it encroached on the understanding, and the equilibrium of the whole was destroyed. In Greece, opposite circumstances were followed by opposite results. In Greece, Nature was less dangerous, less intrusive, and less mysterious than in India. In Greece, therefore, the human mind was less appalled, and less superstitious; natural causes began to be studied; physical science first became possible; and Man, gradually waking to a sense of his own power, sought to investigate events with a boldness not to be expected in those other countries, where the pressure of Nature troubled his independence, and suggested ideas with which knowledge is incompatible.

The effect of these habits of thought on the national religion, must be very obvious to whoever has compared the popular creed of India with that of Greece. The mythology of India, like that of every tropical country, is based upon terror, and upon terror too of the most extravagant kind. Evidence of the universality of this feeling abounds in the sacred books of the Hindus, in their traditions, and even in the very form and appearance of their gods. And so deeply is all this impressed on the mind, that the most popular deities are invariably those with whom images of fear are most intimately associated. Thus, for example, the worship of Siva is more general than any other; and as to its antiquity, there is reason to believe that it was borrowed by the Brahmins

from the original Indians.[226] At all events, it is very ancient, and very popular; and Siva himself forms, with Brahma and Vishnu, the celebrated Hindu Triad. We need not, therefore, be surprised that with this god are connected images of terror, such as nothing but a tropical imagination could conceive. Siva is represented to the Indian mind as a hideous being, encircled by a girdle of snakes, with a human skull in his hand, and wearing a necklace composed of human bones. He has three eyes; the ferocity of his temper is marked by his being clothed in a tiger's skin; he is represented as wandering about like a madman, and over his left shoulder the deadly cobra di capella rears its head. This monstrous creation of an awe-struck fancy has a wife, Doorga, called sometimes Kali, and sometimes by other names.[227] She has a body of dark blue; while the palms of her hands are red, to indicate her insatiate appetite for blood. She has four arms, with one of which she carries the skull of a giant; her tongue protrudes, and hangs lollingly from her mouth; round her waist are the hands of her victims; and her neck is adorned with human heads strung together in a ghastly row.[228]

If we now turn to Greece, we find, even in the infancy

[226] See Stevenson on *The Anti-Brahmanical Religion of the Hindus*, in *Journal of Asiatic Society*, vol. viii. pp. 331, 332, 336, 338. Mr. Wilson (*Journal*, vol. iii. p, 204) says, 'The prevailing form of the Hindu religion in the south of the peninsula was, at the commencement of the Christian era, and some time before it most probably, that of Siva.' See also vol. v. p. 85, where it is stated that Siva 'is the only Hindu god to whom honour is done at Ellora.' Compare *Transac. of Soc. of Bombay*, vol. iii. p. 521; *Heeren's Asiatic Nations*, 1846, vol. ii. pp. 62, 66. On the philosophical relation between the followers of Siva and those of Vishnu, see *Ritter's Hist. of Ancient Philosophy*, vol. iv. pp. 334, 335; and the noticeable fact (*Buchanan's Mysore*, vol. ii. p. 410), that even the Naimar caste, whose 'proper deity' is Vishnu, 'wear on their foreheads the mark of Siva.' As to the worship of Siva in the time of Alexander the Great, see *Thirlwall's History of Greece*, vol. vii. p. 36; and for further evidence of its extent, *Bohlen, das alte Indien*, vol. i. pp. 29, 147, 206, and *Transac. of Asiatic Society*, vol. ii. pp. 50, 294.

[227] So it is generally stated by the Hindu theologians; but, according to Rammohun Roy, Siva had two wives. See *Rammohun Roy on the Veds*, p. 90.

[228] On these attributes and representations of Siva and Doorga, see *Rhode, Religiöse Bildung der Hindus*, vol. ii. p. 241; *Coleman's Mythology of the Hindus*, pp. 63, 92; *Bohlen, das alte Indien*, vol. i. p. 207; *Ward's Religion of the Hindoos*, vol. i. pp. xxxvii. 27, 145; *Transac. of Society of Bombay*,

of its religion, not the faintest trace of any thing approaching to this. For in Greece, the causes of fear being less abundant, the expression of terror was less common. The Greeks, therefore, were by no means disposed to incorporate into their religion those feelings of dread natural to the Hindus. The tendency of Asiatic civilization was to widen the distance between men and their deities; the tendency of Greek civilization was to diminish it. Thus it is, that in Hindostan all the gods had something monstrous about them; as Vishnu with four hands, Brahma with five heads, and the like.[229] But the gods of Greece were always represented in forms entirely human.[230] In that country, no artist would have gained attention, if he had presumed to portray them in any other shape. He might make them stronger than men, he might make them more beautiful; but still they must be men. The analogy between God and man, which excited the religious feelings of the Greeks, would have been fatal to those of the Hindus.

This difference between the artistic expressions of the two religions, was accompanied by an exactly similar difference between their theological traditions. In the Indian books, the imagination is exhausted in relating the feats of the gods; and the more obviously impossible any achievement is, the greater the pleasure with which it was ascribed to them. But the Greek gods had not only human forms, but also human attributes, human

vol. i. pp. 215, 221. Compare the curious account of an image supposed to represent Mahadeo, in *Journal Asiatique*, I. série, vol. i. p. 354, Paris, 1822.

[229] *Ward on the Religion of the Hindoos*, vol. i. p. 35; *Transac. of Society of Bombay*, vol. i. p. 223. Compare the gloss in the *Dabistan*, vol ii. p. 202.

[230] 'The Greek gods were formed like men, with greatly increased powers and faculties, and acted as men would do if so circumstanced, but with a dignity and energy suited to their nearer approach to perfection. The Hindu gods, on the other hand, though endued with human passions, have always something monstrous in their appearance, and wild and capricious in their conduct. They are of various colours, red, yellow, and blue; some have twelve heads, and most have four hands. They are often enraged without a cause, and reconciled without a motive.' *Elphinstone's History of India*, pp. 96, 97. See also *Erskine on the Temple of Elephanta*, in *Transac. of Soc. of Bombay*, vol. i. p. 246; and the *Dabistan*, vol. i. p. cxi.

pursuits, and human tastes.[231] The men of Asia, to whom every object of nature was a source of awe, acquired such habits of reverence, that they never dared to assimilate their own actions with the actions of their deities. The men of Europe, encouraged by the safety and inertness of the material world, did not fear to strike a parallel, from which they would have shrunk had they lived amid the dangers of a tropical country. It is thus, that the Greek divinities are so different from those of the Hindus, that in comparing them we seem to pass from one creation into another. The Greeks generalized their observations upon the human mind, and then applied them to the gods.[232] The coldness of women was figured in Diana; their beauty and sensuality in Venus; their pride in Juno; their accomplishments in Minerva. To the ordinary avocations of the gods, the same principle was applied. Neptune was a sailor; Vulcan was a smith; Apollo was sometimes a fiddler, sometimes a poet, sometimes a keeper of oxen. As to Cupid, he was a wanton boy, who played with his bow and arrows; Jupiter was an amorous and good-natured king; while Mercury was indifferently represented either as a trust-

[231] 'In the material polytheism of other leading ancient nations, the Egyptians, for example, the incarnation of the Deity was chiefly, or exclusively, confined to animals, monsters, or other fanciful emblems. . . . . In Greece, on the other hand, it was an almost necessary result of the spirit and grace with which the deities were embodied in human forms, that they should also be burdened with human interests and passions. Heaven, like earth, had its courts and palaces, its trades and professions, its marriages, intrigues, divorces.' *Mure's History of the Literature of Ancient Greece*, vol. i. pp. 471, 472. So, too, Tennemann (*Geschichte der Philosophie*, vol. iii. p. 419): 'Diese Götter haben Menschengestalt. . . . . Haben die Götter aber nicht nur menschliche Gestalt, sondern auch einen menschlichen Körper, so sind sie als Menschen auch denselben Unvollkommenheiten, Krankheiten und dem Tode unterworfen; dieses streitet mit dem Begriffe' *i. e.* of Epicurus. Compare *Grote's History of Greece*, vol. i. p. 596: 'The mythical age was peopled with a mingled aggregate of gods, heroes, and men, so confounded together that it was often impossible to distinguish to which class any individual name belonged.' See also the complaint of Xenophanes, in *Müller's Hist. of Lit. of Greece*, London, 1856, p. 251.

[232] The same remark applies to beauty of form, which they first aimed at in the statues of men, and then brought to bear upon the statues of the gods. This is well put in Mr. Grote's important work, *History of Greece*, vol. iv. pp. 133, 134, edit. 1847.

worthy messenger, or else as a common and notorious thief.

Precisely the same tendency to approximate human forces towards superhuman ones, is displayed in another peculiarity of the Greek religion. I mean, that in Greece we for the first time meet with hero-worship, that is, the deification of mortals. According to the principles already laid down, this could not be expected in a tropical civilization, where the Aspects of Nature filled Man with a constant sense of his own incapacity. It is, therefore, natural that it should form no part of the ancient Indian religion;[233] neither was it known to the Egyptians,[234] nor to the Persians,[235] nor, so far as I am aware, to the Arabians.[236] But in Greece, Man being less humbled, and, as it were, less eclipsed, by the external world, thought more of his own powers, and human nature did not fall into that discredit in which it elsewhere sank. The consequence was, that the deification of mortals was a recognized part of the national religion at a very early period in the history of Greece;[237] and this has been found so natural to Europeans, that the same custom was after-

[233] 'But the worship of deified heroes is no part of that system.' *Colebrooke on the Vedas*, in *Asiatic Researches*, vol. viii. p. 495.

[234] *Mackay's Religious Development*, vol. ii. p. 53, Lond. 1850. Compare *Wilkinson's Ancient Egyptians*, vol. iv. pp. 148, 318; and *Matter*, *Histoire de l'Ecole d'Alexandrie*, vol. i. p. 2; the 'culte des grands hommes,' which afterwards arose in Alexandria (*Matter*, vol. i. p. 54), must have been owing to Greek influence.

[235] There are no indications of it in the Zendavesta; and Herodotus says, that the Persians were unlike the Greeks, in so far as they disbelieved in a god having a human form; book i. chap. cxxxi. vol. i. p. 308: *οὐκ ἀνθρωποφυέας ἐνόμισαν τοὺς θεοὺς, κατάπερ οἱ Ἕλληνες εἶναι.*

[236] I am not acquainted with any evidence connecting this worship with the old Arabian religion; and it was certainly most alien to the spirit of Mohammedanism.

[237] *Mure's History of the Literature of Greece*, vol. i. pp. 28, 500, vol. ii. p. 402: very good remarks on a subject handled unsatisfactorily by Coleridge; *Literary Remains*, vol. i. p. 185. Thirlwall (*History of Greece*, vol. i. p. 207) admits that 'the views and feelings out of which it (the worship of heroes) arose, seem to be clearly discernible in the Homeric poems.' Compare *Cudworth's Intellectual System*, vol. ii. pp. 226, 372. In the Cratylus, chap. xxxiii., Socrates is represented as asking, *Οὐκ οἶσθα ὅτι ἡμίθεοι οἱ ἥρωες;* *Platonis Opera*, vol. iv. p. 227, edit. Bekker, Lond. 1826. And in the next century, Alexander obtained for his friend Hephæstion the right of being 'worshipped as a hero.' *Grote's History of Greece*, vol. xii. p. 339.

wards renewed with eminent success by the Romish Church. Other circumstances, of a very different character, are gradually eradicating this form of idolatry; but its existence is worth observing, as one of the innumerable illustrations of the way in which European civilization has diverged from all those that preceded it.[238]

It is thus, that in Greece every thing tended to exalt the dignity of man, while in India every thing tended to depress it.[239] To sum up the whole, it may be said that the Greeks had more respect for human powers; the Hindus for superhuman. The first dealt more with the known and available; the other with the unknown and mysterious.[240] And by a parity of reasoning, the imagination, which the Hindus, being oppressed by the pomp and majesty of nature, never sought to control, lost its supremacy in the little peninsula of ancient Greece. In Greece, for the first time in the history of the world, the imagination was, in some degree, tempered and confined by the understanding. Not that its strength was impaired, or its vitality diminished. It was broken-in and tamed; its exuberance was checked, its follies were chastised. But that its energy remained, we have ample proof in those productions of the Greek mind which have survived to our own time. The gain, therefore, was complete; since the inquiring and sceptical faculties of the human understanding were cultivated, without destroying the reverential and poetic instincts of the imagination.

[238] The adoration of the dead, and particularly the adoration of martyrs, was one great point of opposition between the orthodox church and the Manichæans (*Beausobre, Histoire Critique de Manichée*, vol. i. p. 316, vol. ii. pp. 651, 669); and it is easy to understand how abhorrent such a practice must have been to the Persian heretics.

[239] M. Cousin, in his eloquent and ingenious work (*Histoire de la Philosophie*, II. série, vol. i. pp. 183, 187), has some judicious observations on what he calls 'l'époque de l'infini' of the East, contrasted with that 'du fini,' which began in Europe. But as to the physical causes of this, he only admits the grandeur of nature, overlooking those natural elements of mystery and of danger by which religious sentiments were constantly excited.

[240] A learned orientalist says, that no people have made such efforts as the Hindus 'to solve, exhaust, comprehend, what is insolvable, inexhaustible, incomprehensible.' *Troyer's Preliminary Discourse on the Dabistan*, vol. i. p. cviii.

Whether or not the balance was accurately adjusted, is another question; but it is certain that the adjustment was more nearly arrived at in Greece than in any previous civilization.[241] There can, I think, be little doubt that, notwithstanding what was effected, too much authority was left to the imaginative faculties, and that the purely reasoning ones did not receive, and never have received, sufficient attention. Still, this does not affect the great fact, that the Greek literature is the first in which this deficiency was somewhat remedied, and in which there was a deliberate and systematic attempt to test all opinions by their consonance with human reason, and thus vindicate the right of Man to judge for himself on matters which are of supreme and incalculable importance.

I have selected India and Greece as the two terms of the preceding comparison, because our information respecting those countries is most extensive, and has been most carefully arranged. But every thing we know of the other tropical civilizations, confirms the views I have advocated respecting the effects produced by the Aspects of Nature. In Central America, extensive excavations have been made; and what has been brought to light proves that the national religion was, like that of India, a system of complete and unmitigated terror.[242] Neither

[241] This is noticed by Tennemann, who, however, has not attempted to ascertain the cause: 'Die Einbildungskraft des Griechen war schöpferisch, sie schuf in seinem Innern neue Ideenwelten; aber er wurde doch nie verleitet, die idealische Welt mit der wirklichen zu verwechseln, weil sie immer mit einem richtigen Verstande und gesunder Beurtheilungskraft verbunden war.' *Geschichte der Philosophie*, vol. i. p. 8; and vol. vi. p. 490, he says, 'Bei allen diesen Mängeln und Fehlern sind doch die Griechen die einzige Nation der alten Welt, welche Sinn für Wissenschaft hatte, und zu diesem Behufe forschte. Sie haben doch die Bahn gebrochen, und den Weg zur Wissenschaft geebnet.' To the same effect, *Sprengel, Histoire de la Médecine*, vol. i. p. 215. And on this difference between the Eastern and the European mind, see *Matter, Histoire du Gnosticisme*, vol. i. pp. 18, 233, 234. So, too, Kant (*Logik*, in *Kant's Werke*, vol. i. p. 350), 'Unter allen Völkern haben also die Griechen erst angefangen zu philosophiren. Denn sie haben zuerst versucht, nicht an dem Leitfaden der Bilder die Vernunfterkenntnisse zu cultiviren, sondern *in abstracto*; statt dass die anderen Völker sich die Begriffe immer nur durch Bilder *in concreto* verständlich zu machen suchten.'

[242] Thus, of one of the idols at Copan, 'The intention of the sculptor

there nor in Mexico, nor in Peru, nor in Egypt, did the people desire to represent their deities in human forms, or ascribe to them human attributes. Even their temples are huge buildings, often constructed with great skill, but showing an evident wish to impress the mind with fear, and offering a striking contrast to the lighter and smaller structures which the Greeks employed for religious purposes. Thus, even in the style of architecture do we see the same principle at work; the dangers of the tropical civilization being more suggestive of the infinite, while the safety of the European civilization was more suggestive of the finite. To follow out the consequences of this great antagonism, it would be necessary to indicate how the infinite, the imaginative, the synthetic, and the deductive, are all connected; and are opposed, on the other hand, by the finite, the sceptical, the analytic, and the inductive. A complete illustration of this, would carry me beyond the plan of this Introduction, and would perhaps exceed the resources of my own knowledge; and I must now leave to the candour of the reader what I am conscious is but an imperfect sketch, but what may, nevertheless, suggest to him materials for future thought, and, if I might indulge the hope, may open to historians a new field, by reminding them that every where the hand of Nature is upon us, and that the history of the human mind can only be understood by connecting with it the history and the aspects of the material universe.

seems to have been to excite terror.' *Stephens's Central America*, vol. i. p. 152; at p. 159, 'The form of sculpture most generally used was a death's head.' At Mayapan (vol. iii. p. 133), 'representations of human figures, or animals with hideous features and expressions, in producing which the skill of the artist seems to have been expended;' and again, p. 412, 'unnatural and grotesque faces.'

Note 36 to p. 56.

As these views have a social and economical importance quite independent of their physiological value, I will endeavour, in this note, to fortify them still further, by showing that the connexion between carbonized food and the respiratory functions may be illustrated by a wider survey of the animal kingdom.

The gland most universal among the different classes of animals is the liver;[a] and its principal business is to relieve the system of its superfluous carbon, which it accomplishes by secreting bile, a highly carbonized fluid.[b] Now, the connexion between this process and the respiratory functions is highly curious. For if we take a general view of animal life, we shall find that the liver and lungs are nearly always compensatory; that is to say, when one organ is small and inert, the other is large and active. Thus, reptiles have feeble lungs, but a considerable liver;[c] and thus too in fishes, which have no lungs, in the ordinary sense ot the word, the size of the liver is often enormous.[d] On the other hand, insects have a very large and complicated system of air tubes; but their liver is minute, and its functions are habitually sluggish.[e] If, instead of comparing the different classes of animals, we compare the different stages through which the same animal passes, we shall find further confirmation of this wide and striking principle. For the law holds good even before birth; since in the unborn infant the lungs have scarcely any activity, but there is an immense liver, which is full of energy and pours out bile in profusion.[f] And so invariable is this relation,

[a] 'The most constant gland in the animal kingdom is the liver.' *Grant's Comp. Anat.* p. 576. See also *Béclard, Anat. Gén.* p. 18, and *Burdach, Traité de Physiol.* vol. ix. p. 580. Burdach says, 'Il existe dans presque tout le règne animal;' and the latest researches have detected the rudiments of a liver even in the Entozoa and Rotifera. *Rymer Jones's Animal Kingdom*, 1855, p. 183, and *Owen's Invertebrata*, 1855, p. 104.

[b] Until the analysis made by Demarçay in 1837, hardly anything was known of the composition of bile; but this accomplished chemist ascertained that its essential constituent is choleate of soda, and that the choleic acid contains nearly sixty-three per cent of carbon. Compare *Thomson's Animal Chemistry*, pp. 59, 60, 412, 602, with *Simon's Chemistry*, vol. ii. pp. 17–21.

[c] 'The size of the liver and the quantity of the bile are not proportionate to the quantity of the food and frequency of eating; but inversely to the size and perfection of the lungs. . . . . The liver is proportionately larger in reptiles, which have lungs with large cells incapable of rapidly decarbonizing the blood.' *Good's Study of Medicine*, 1829, vol. i. pp. 32, 33. See *Cuvier, Règne Animal*, vol. ii. p. 2, on 'la petitesse des vaisseaux pulmonaires' of reptiles.

[d] *Carus's Comparative Anatomy*, vol. ii. p. 230; *Grant's Comp. Anat.* pp. 385, 596; *Rymer Jones's Animal Kingdom*, p. 616.

[e] Indeed it has been supposed by M. Gaëde that the 'vaisseaux biliaires' of some insects were not 'sécréteurs;' but this opinion appears to be erroneous. See Latreille, in *Cuvier Règne Animal*, vol. iv. pp. 297, 298.

[f] 'La prédominance du foie avant la naissance' is noticed by Bichat (*Anatomie Générale*, vol. ii. p. 272), and by many other physiologists; but Dr. Elliotson appears to have been one of the first to understand a fact, the explanation of which we might vainly seek for in the earlier writers. 'The hypothesis, that one great use of the liver was, like that of the lungs, to remove carbon from the system, with this difference, that the alteration of the capacity of the air caused a reception of caloric into the blood, in the case of the lungs, while the hepatic excretion takes place without introduction of caloric, was, I recollect, a great favourite with me when a student. . . . The Heidelberg professors have adduced many arguments to the same effect. In the fœtus, for whose temperature the mother's heat must be sufficient, the lungs perform no function; but the liver is of great size, and bile is secreted abundantly, so that the meconium accumulates

that in man, the liver is the first organ which is formed: it is preponderant during the whole period of fœtal life; but it rapidly diminishes, when, after birth, the lungs come into play, and a new scheme of compensation is established in the system.[g]

These facts, interesting to the philosophic physiologist, are of great moment in reference to the doctrines advocated in this chapter. Inasmuch as the liver and lungs are compensatory in the history of their organization, it is highly probable that they are also compensatory in the functions they perform; and that what is left undone by one, will have to be accomplished by the other. The liver, therefore, fulfilling the duty, as chemistry teaches us, of decarbonizing the system by secreting a carbonized fluid, we should expect, even in the absence of any further evidence, that the lungs would be likewise decarbonizing; in other words, we should expect that if, from any cause, we are surcharged with carbon, our lungs must assist in remedying the evil. This brings us, by another road, to the conclusion that highly carbonized food has a tendency to tax the lungs; so that the connexion between a carbonized diet and the respiratory functions, instead of being, as some assert, a crude hypothesis, is an eminently scientific theory, and is corroborated not only by chemistry, but by the general scheme of the animal kingdom, and even by the observation of embryological phenomena. The views of Liebig, and of his followers, are indeed supported by so many analogies, and harmonize so well with other parts of our knowledge, that nothing but a perverse hatred of generalization, or an incapacity for dealing with large speculative truths, can explain the hostility directed against conclusions which have been gradually forcing themselves upon us since Lavoisier, seventy years ago, attempted to explain the respiratory functions by subjecting them to the laws of chemical combination.

In this, and previous notes (see in particular notes 30, 31, 35), I have considered the connexion between food, respiration, and animal heat, at a length which will appear tedious to readers uninterested in physiological pursuits; but the investigation has become necessary, on account of the difficulties raised by experimenters, who, not having studied the subject comprehensively, object to certain parts of it. To mention what, from the ability and reputation of the author, is a conspicuous instance of this, Sir Benjamin Brodie has recently published a volume (*Physiological Researches*, 1851) containing some ingeniously contrived experiments on dogs and rabbits, to prove that heat is generated rather by the nervous system than by the respiratory organs. Without following this eminent surgeon into all his details, I may be permitted to observe, 1st, That as a mere matter of history, no great physiological truth has ever yet been discovered, nor has any great physiological fallacy been destroyed, by such limited experiments

considerably during the latter months of pregnancy.' *Elliotson's Human Physiology*, 1840, p. 102. In *Lepelletier's Physiologie Médicale*, vol. i. p. 466, vol. ii. pp. 14, 546, 550, all this is sadly confused.

[g] 'The liver is the first-formed organ in the embryo. It is developed from the alimentary canal, and at about the third week fills the whole abdomen, and is one-half the weight of the entire embryo. . . . . At birth it is of very large size, and occupies the whole upper part of the abdomen. . . . The liver diminishes rapidly after birth, probably from obliteration of the umbilical vein.' *Wilson's Human Anatomy*, 1851, p. 638. Compare *Burdach's Physiologie*, vol. iv. p. 447, where it is said of the liver in childhood, 'Cet organe croît avec lenteur, surtout comparativement aux poumons; le rapport de ceux-ci au foie étant à peu près de 1: 3 avant la respiration, il était de 1 · 1·86 après l'établissement de cette dernière fonction.' See also p. 91, and vol. iii. p. 488; and on the predominance of the liver in fœtal life, see the remarks of Serres (*Geoffroy Saint Hilaire, Anomalies de l'Organisation*, vol. ii. p. 11), whose generalization is perhaps a little premature.

on a single class of animals; and this is partly because in physiology a crucial instance is impracticable, owing to the fact that we deal with resisting and living bodies, and partly because every experiment produces an abnormal condition, and thus lets in fresh causes, the operation of which is incalculable; unless, as often happens in the inorganic world, we can control the whole phenomenon. 2d, That the other department of the organic world, namely, the vegetable kingdom, has, so far as we are aware, no nervous system, but nevertheless possesses heat; and we moreover know that the heat is a product of oxygen and carbon (see note 32 to chapter ii.). 3d, That the evidence of travellers respecting the different sorts of food, and the different quantities of food, used in hot countries and in cold ones, is explicable by the respiratory and chemical theories of the origin of animal heat, but is inexplicable by the theory of the nervous origin of heat.

CHAPTER III.

EXAMINATION OF THE METHOD EMPLOYED BY METAPHYSICIANS FOR DISCOVERING MENTAL LAWS.

THE evidence that I have collected, seems to establish two leading facts, which, unless they can be impugned, are the necessary basis of universal history. The first fact is, that in the civilizations out of Europe, the powers of nature have been far greater than in those in Europe. The second fact is, that those powers have worked immense mischief; and that while one division of them has caused an unequal distribution of wealth, another division of them has caused an unequal distribution of thought, by concentrating attention upon subjects which inflame the imagination. So far as the experience of the past can guide us, we may say, that in all the extra European civilizations, these obstacles were insuperable; certainly no nation has ever yet overcome them. But Europe, being constructed upon a smaller plan than the other quarters of the world—being also in a colder region, having a less exuberant soil, a less imposing aspect, and displaying in all her physical phenomena much greater feebleness—it was easier for Man to discard the superstitions which Nature suggested to his imagination; and it was also easier for him to effect, not, indeed, a just division of wealth, but something nearer to it, than was practicable in the older countries.

Hence it is that, looking at the history of the world as a whole, the tendency has been, in Europe, to subordinate nature to man; out of Europe, to subordinate man to nature. To this there are, in barbarous countries, several exceptions; but in civilized countries the rule has been universal. The great division, therefore, between European civilization and non-European civilization, is

the basis of the philosophy of history, since it suggests the important consideration, that if we would understand, for instance, the history of India, we must make the external world our first study, because it has influenced man more than man has influenced it. If, on the other hand, we would understand the history of a country like France or England, we must make man our principal study, because nature being comparatively weak, every step in the great progress has increased the dominion of the human mind over the agencies of the external world. Even in those countries where the power of man has reached the highest point, the pressure of nature is still immense; but it diminishes in each succeeding generation, because our increasing knowledge enables us not so much to control nature, as to foretell her movements, and thus obviate many of the evils she would otherwise occasion. How successful our efforts have been, is evident from the fact, that the average duration of life constantly becomes longer, and the number of inevitable dangers fewer; and what makes this the more remarkable is, that the curiosity of men is keener, and their contact with each other closer, than in any former period; so that while apparent hazards are multiplied, we find from experience that real hazards are, on the whole, diminished.[1]

If, therefore, we take the largest possible view of the history of Europe, and confine ourselves entirely to the primary cause of its superiority over other parts of the world, we must resolve it into the encroachment of the mind of man upon the organic and inorganic forces of nature. To this all other causes are subordinate.[2] For

[1] This diminution of casualties is undoubtedly one cause, though a slight one, of the increased duration of life; but the most active cause is a general improvement in the physical condition of man: see *Sir B. Brodie's Lectures on Pathology and Surgery*, p. 212; and for proof that civilized men are stronger than uncivilized ones, see *Quetelet sur l'Homme*, vol. ii. pp. 67, 272; *Lawrence's Lectures on Man*, pp. 275, 276; *Ellis's Polynesian Researches*, vol. i. p. 98; *Whately's Lectures on Political Economy*, 8vo. 1831, p. 59; *Journal of the Statistical Society*, vol. xvii. pp. 32, 33; *Dufau, Traité de Statistique*, p. 107; *Hawkins's Medical Statistics*, p. 232.

[2] The general social consequences of this I shall hereafter consider; but he mere economical consequences are well expressed by Mr. Mill: 'Of the

we have seen that wherever the powers of nature reached a certain height, the national civilization was irregularly developed, and the advance of the civilization stopped. The first essential was, to limit the interference of these physical phenomena; and that was most likely to be accomplished where the phenomena were feeblest and least imposing. This was the case with Europe; it is accordingly in Europe alone, that man has really succeeded in taming the energies of nature, bending them to his own will, turning them aside from their ordinary course, and compelling them to minister to his happiness, and subserve the general purposes of human life.

All around us are the traces of this glorious and successful struggle. Indeed, it seems as if in Europe there was nothing man feared to attempt. The invasions of the sea repelled, and whole provinces, as in the case of Holland, rescued from its grasp; mountains cut through, and turned into level roads; soils of the most obstinate sterility becoming exuberant, from the mere advance of chemical knowledge; while, in regard to electric phenomena, we see the subtlest, the most rapid, and the most mysterious of all forces, made the medium of thought, and obeying even the most capricious behests of the human mind.

In other instances, where the products of the external world have been refractory, man has succeeded in destroying what he could hardly hope to subjugate. The most cruel diseases, such as the plague, properly so called, and the leprosy of the Middle Ages,[3] have entirely dis-

features which characterize this progressive economical movement of civilized nations, that which first excites attention, through its intimate connexion with the phenomena of Production, is the perpetual, and, so far as human foresight can extend, the unlimited, growth of man's power over nature. Our knowledge of the properties and laws of physical objects shows no sign of approaching its ultimate boundaries; it is advancing more rapidly, and in a greater number of directions at once, than in any previous age or generation, and affording such frequent glimpses of unexplored fields beyond, as to justify the belief that our acquaintance with nature is still almost in its infancy.' *Mill's Principles of Polit. Economy*, vol. ii. pp. 246-7.

[3] What this horrible disease once was, may be estimated from the fact, 'qu'au treizième siècle on comptait en France seulement, deux mille léproseries, et que l'Europe entière renfermait environ dix-neuf mille établisse-

appeared from the civilized parts of Europe; and it is scarcely possible that they should ever again be seen there. Wild beasts and birds of prey have been extirpated, and are no longer allowed to infest the haunts of civilized men. Those frightful famines, by which Europe used to be ravaged several times in every century,[4] have ceased; and so successfully have we grappled with them, that there is not the slightest fear of their ever returning with any thing like their former severity. Indeed, our resources are now so great, that we could, at worst, only suffer from a slight and temporary scarcity; since, in the present state of knowledge, the evil would be met at the outset by remedies which chemical science could easily suggest.[5]

It is hardly necessary to notice how, in numerous other instances, the progress of European civilization has been marked by the diminished influence of the external world: I mean, of course, those peculiarities of the external world which have an existence independent of the wishes of man, and were not created by him. The most advanced nations do, in their present state, owe comparatively little to those original features of nature which, in every civilization out of Europe, exercised unlimited power. Thus, in Asia and elsewhere, the course of trade, the extent of commerce, and many similar circumstances, were determined by the existence of rivers, by the facility with which they could be navigated, and by the number

mens semblables.' *Sprengel, Histoire de la Médecine*, vol. ii. p. 374. As to the mortality caused by the plague, see *Clot-Bey de la Peste*, Paris, 1840, pp. 62, 63, 185, 292.

[4] For a curious list of famines, see an essay by Mr. Farr, in *Journal of the Statistical Society*, vol. ix. pp. 159–163. He says, that in the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries, the average was, in England, one famine every fourteen years.

[5] In the opinion of one of the highest living authorities, famine is, even in the present state of chemistry, 'next to impossible.' *Herschel's Discourse on Natural Philosophy*, p. 65. Cuvier (*Recueil des Eloges*, vol. i. p. 10) says that we have succeeded 'à rendre toute famine impossible.' See also *Godwin on Population*, p. 500; and for a purely economical argument to prove the impossibility of famine, see *Mill's Principles of Political Economy*, vol. ii. p. 258; and compare a note in *Ricardo's Works*, p. 191. The Irish famine may seem an exception: but it could have been easily baffled except for the poverty of the people, which frustrated our efforts to reduce it to a dearth.

and goodness of the adjoining harbours. But in Europe, the determining cause is, not so much these physical peculiarities, as the skill and energy of man. Formerly the richest countries were those in which nature was most bountiful; now the richest countries are those in which man is most active. For in our age of the world, if nature is parsimonious, we know how to compensate her deficiencies. If a river is difficult to navigate, or a country difficult to traverse, our engineers can correct the error, and remedy the evil. If we have no rivers, we make canals; if we have no natural harbours, we make artificial ones. And so marked is this tendency to impair the authority of natural phenomena, that it is seen even in the distribution of the people, since, in the most civilized parts of Europe, the population of the towns is every where outstripping that of the country; and it is evident that the more men congregate in great cities, the more they will become accustomed to draw their materials of thought from the business of human life, and the less attention they will pay to those peculiarities of nature, which are the fertile source of superstition, and by which, in every civilization out of Europe, the progress of man was arrested.

From these facts it may be fairly inferred, that the advance of European civilization is characterized by a diminishing influence of physical laws, and an increasing influence of mental laws. The complete proof of this generalization can be collected only from history; and therefore I must reserve a large share of the evidence on which it is founded, for the future volumes of this work. But that the proposition is fundamentally true, must be admitted by whoever, in addition to the arguments just adduced, will concede two premisses, neither of which seem susceptible of much dispute. The first premiss is, that we are in possession of no evidence that the powers of nature have ever been permanently increased; and that we have no reason to expect that any such increase can take place. The other premiss is, that we have abundant evidence that the resources of the human mind have become more powerful, more numerous, and more able to

grapple with the difficulties of the external world; because every fresh accession to our knowledge supplies fresh means, with which we can either control the operations of nature, or, failing in that, can foresee the consequences, and thus avoid what it is impossible to prevent; in both instances, diminishing the pressure exercised on us by external agents.

If these premisses are admitted, we are led to a conclusion which is of great value for the purpose of this Introduction. For if the measure of civilization is the triumph of the mind over external agents, it becomes clear, that of the two classes of laws which regulate the progress of mankind, the mental class is more important than the physical. This, indeed, is assumed by one school of thinkers as a matter of course, though I am not aware that its demonstration has been hitherto attempted by any thing even approaching an exhaustive analysis. The question, however, as to the originality of my arguments, is one of very trifling moment; but what we have to notice is, that in the present stage of our inquiry, the problem with which we started has become simplified, and a discovery of the laws of European history is resolved, in the first instance, into a discovery of the laws of the human mind. These mental laws, when ascertained, will be the ultimate basis of the history of Europe; the physical laws will be treated as of minor importance, and as merely giving rise to disturbances, the force and the frequency of which have, during several centuries, perceptibly diminished.

If we now inquire into the means of discovering the laws of the human mind, the metaphysicians are ready with an answer; and they refer us to their own labours as supplying a satisfactory solution. It therefore becomes necessary to ascertain the value of their researches, to measure the extent of their resources, and, above all, to test the validity of that method which they always follow, and by which alone, as they assert, great truths can be elicited.

The metaphysical method, though necessarily branching into two divisions, is, in its origin, always the same,

and consists in each observer studying the operations of his own mind.[6] This is the direct opposite of the historical method; the metaphysician studying one mind, the historian studying many minds. Now, the first remark to make on this is, that the metaphysical method is one by which no discovery has ever yet been made in any branch of knowledge. Every thing we at present know, has been ascertained by studying phenomena, from which all casual disturbances having been removed, the law remains as a conspicuous residue.[7] And this can only be done by observations so numerous as to eliminate the disturbances, or else by experiments so delicate as to isolate the phenomena. One of these conditions is essential to all inductive science; but neither of them does the metaphysician obey. To isolate the phenomenon is for him an impossibility; since no man, into whatever state of reverie he may be thrown, can entirely cut himself off from the influence of external events, which must produce an effect on his mind, even when he is unconscious of their presence. As to the other condition, it is by the metaphysician set at open defiance; for his whole system is based on the supposition that, by studying a single mind, he can get the laws of all minds; so that while he, on the one hand, is unable to isolate his observations from disturbances, he, on the other hand, refuses to adopt the only remaining precaution—he refuses so to enlarge his survey as to eliminate the disturbances by which his observations are troubled.[8]

[6] 'As the metaphysician carries within himself the materials of his reasoning, he is not under a necessity of looking abroad for subjects of speculation or amusement.' *Stewart's Philosophy of the Mind*, vol. i. p. 462; and the same remark, almost literally repeated, at vol. iii. p. 260. Locke makes what passes in each man's mind the sole source of metaphysics, and the sole test of their truth. *Essay concerning Human Understanding*, in *Locke's Works*, vol. i. pp. 18, 76, 79, 121, 146, 152, 287, vol. ii. pp. 141, 243.

[7] The deductive sciences form, of course, an exception to this; but the whole theory of metaphysics is founded on its inductive character, and on the supposition that it consists of generalized observations, and that from them alone the science of mind can be raised.

[8] These remarks are only applicable to those who follow the purely metaphysical method of investigation. There is, however, a very small number of metaphysicians, among whom M. Cousin is the most eminent in France, in whose works we find larger views, and an attempt to connect historical

This is the first and fundamental objection to which metaphysicians are exposed, even on the threshold of their science. But if we penetrate a little deeper, we shall meet with another circumstance, which, though less obvious, is equally decisive. After the metaphysician has taken for granted that, by studying one mind, he can discover the laws of all minds, he finds himself involved in a singular difficulty as soon as he begins to apply even this imperfect method. The difficulty to which I allude is one which, not being met with in any other pursuit, seems to have escaped the attention of those who are unacquainted with metaphysical controversies. To understand, therefore, its nature, it is requisite to give a short account of those two great schools, to one of which all metaphysicians must necessarily belong.

In investigating the nature of the human mind, according to the metaphysical scheme, there are two methods of proceeding, both of which are equally obvious, and yet both of which lead to entirely different results. According to the first method, the inquirer begins by examining his sensations. According to the other method, he begins by examining his ideas. These two methods always have led, and always must lead, to conclusions diametrically opposed to each other. Nor are the reasons of this difficult to understand. In metaphysics, the mind is the instrument, as well as the material on which the instrument is employed. The means by which the science must be worked out, being thus the same as the object upon which it works, there arises a difficulty of a very peculiar kind. This difficulty is, the impossibility of taking a comprehensive view of the whole of the mental

inquiries with metaphysical ones; thus recognizing the necessity of verifying their original speculations. To this method there can be no objection, provided the metaphysical conclusions are merely regarded as hypotheses, which require verification to raise them to theories. But instead of this cautious proceeding, the almost invariable plan is, to treat the hypothesis as if it were a theory already proved, and as if there remained nothing to do but to give historical illustrations of truths established by the psychologist. This confusion between illustration and verification, appears to be the universal failing of those who, like Vico and Fichte, speculate upon historical phenomena *à priori*.

phenomena; because, however extensive such a view may be, it must exclude the state of the mind by which, or in which, the view itself is taken. Hence we may perceive what, I think, is a fundamental difference between physical and metaphysical inquiries. In physics, there are several methods of proceeding, all of which lead to the same results. But in metaphysics, it will invariably be found, that if two men of equal ability, and equal honesty, employ different methods in the study of the mind, the conclusions which they obtain will also be different. To those who are unversed in these matters, a few illustrations will set this in a clearer light. Metaphysicians who begin by the study of ideas, observe in their own minds an idea of space. Whence, they ask, can this arise? It cannot, they say, owe its origin to the senses, because the senses only supply what is finite and contingent; whereas the idea of space is infinite and necessary.[9] It is infinite, since we cannot conceive that space has an end; and it is necessary, since we cannot conceive the possibility of its non-existence. Thus far the idealist. But the sensualist, as he is called,[10]—he who begins, not with ideas,

[9] Compare *Stewart's Philosophy of the Mind*, vol. ii. p. 194, with *Cousin, Hist. de la Philosophie*, II. série, vol. ii. p. 92. Among the Indian metaphysicians, there was a sect which declared space to be the cause of all things. *Journal of Asiatic Soc.* vol. vi. pp. 268, 290. See also the *Dabistan*, vol. ii. p. 40; which, however, was contrary to the Vedas. *Rammohun Roy on the Veds*, 1832, pp. 8, 111. In Spain, the doctrine of the infinity of space is heretical. *Doblado's Letters*, p. 96; which should be compared with the objection of Irenæus against the Valentinians, in *Beausobre, Histoire de Manichée*, vol. ii. p. 275. For the different theories of space, I may, moreover, refer to *Ritter's Hist. of Ancient Philosophy*, vol. i. pp. 451, 473, 477, vol. ii. p. 314, vol. iii. pp. 195-204; *Cudworth's Intellectual System*, vol. i. p. 191, vol. iii. pp. 230, 472; *Kritik der reinen Vernunft*, in *Kant's Werke*, vol. ii. pp. 23, 62, 81, 120, 139, 147, 256, 334, 347; *Tennemann, Geschichte der Philosophie*, vol. i. p. 109, vol. ii. p. 303, vol. iii. pp. 130-137, vol. iv. p. 284, vol. v. pp. 384-387, vol. vi. p. 99, vol. viii. pp. 87, 88, 683, vol. ix. pp. 257, 355, 410, vol. x. p. 79, vol. xi. pp. 195, 385-389.

[10] This is the title conferred by M. Cousin upon nearly all the greatest English metaphysicians, and upon Condillac and all his disciples in France, their system having 'le nom mérité de sensualisme.' *Cousin, Histoire de la Philosophie*, II. série, vol. ii. p. 88. The same name is given to the same school, in *Feuchtersleben's Medical Psychology*, p. 52, and in *Renouard's Histoire de la Médecine*, vol. i. p. 346, vol. ii. p. 368. In *Jobert's New System of Philosophy*, vol. ii. p. 334, 8vo, 1849, it is called 'sensationalism,' which seems a preferable expression.

but with sensations, arrives at a very different conclusion. He remarks that we can have no idea of space, until we have first had an idea of objects; and that the ideas of objects can only be the results of the sensations which those objects excite. As to the idea of space being necessary, this, he says, only results from the circumstance that we never can perceive an object which does not bear a certain position to some other object. This forms an indissoluble association between the idea of position and the idea of an object; and as this association is constantly repeated before us, we at length find ourselves unable to conceive an object without position, or, in other words, without space.[11] As to space being infinite, this, he says, is a notion we get by conceiving a continual addition to lines, or to surfaces, or to bulk, which are the three modifications of extension.[12] On innumerable other points, we find the same discrepancy between the two schools. The idealist,[13] for example, asserts that our notions of cause, of time, of personal identity, and of substance, are universal and necessary; that they are simple; and that not being susceptible of analysis, they must be referred to the original constitution of the mind.[14] On the other

[11] This is very ably argued by Mr. James Mill in his *Analysis of the Phenomena of the Human Mind*, vol. ii. pp. 32, 93-95, and elsewhere. Compare *Essay concerning Human Understanding*, in *Locke's Works*, vol. i. pp. 147, 148, 154, 157, and the ingenious distinction, p. 198, 'between the idea of the infinity of space, and the idea of a space infinite.' At p. 208, Locke sarcastically says, 'But yet, after all this, there being men who persuade themselves that they have clear, positive, comprehensive ideas of infinity, it is fit they enjoy their privilege; and I should be very glad (with some others that I know, who acknowledge they have none such) to be better informed by their communication.'

[12] *Mill's Analysis of the Mind*, vol. ii. pp. 96, 97. See also the *Examination of Malebranche*, in *Locke's Works*, vol. viii. pp. 248, 249; and *Müller's Elements of Physiology*, vol. ii. p. 1081, which should be compared with *Comte, Philosophie Positive*, vol. i. p. 354.

[13] I speak of idealists in opposition to sensationalists; though the word idealist is often used by metaphysicians in a very different sense. On the different kinds of idealism, see *Kritik der reinen Vernunft*, and *Prolegomena zu jeder künftigen Metaphysik*, in *Kant's Werke*, vol. ii. pp. 223, 389, vol. iii. pp. 204, 210, 306, 307. According to him, the Cartesian idealism is empirical.

[14] Thus, Dugald Stewart (*Philosophical Essays*, Edin. 1810, p. 33) tells us of 'the simple idea of personal identity.' And Reid (*Essays on the Powers of the Mind*, vol. i. p. 354) says, 'I know of no ideas or notions

hand, the sensationalist, so far from recognizing the simplicity of these ideas, considers them to be extremely complex, and looks upon their universality and necessity as merely the result of a frequent and intimate association.[15]

This is the first important difference which is inevitably consequent on the adoption of different methods. The idealist is compelled to assert, that necessary truths and contingent truths have a different origin.[16] The sensationalist is bound to affirm that they have the same origin.[17] The further these two great schools advance, the more marked does their divergence become. They are at open war in every department of morals, of philosophy, and of art. The idealists say that all men have essentially the same notion of the good, the true, and the beautiful. The sensationalists affirm that there is no such standard, because ideas depend upon sensations, and be-

that have a better claim to be accounted simple and original than those of space and time.' In the Sanscrit metaphysics, time is 'an independent cause.' See the *Vishnu Purana*, pp. 10, 216.

[15] 'As Space is a comprehensive word, including all positions, or the whole of synchronous order, so Time is a comprehensive word, including all successions, or the whole of successive order.' *Mill's Analysis of the Mind*, vol. ii. p. 100; and on the relation of time to memory, vol. i. p. 252. In *Jobert's New System of Philosophy*, vol. i. p. 33, it is said that 'time is nothing but the succession of events, and we know events by experience only.' See also p. 133, and compare respecting time *Condillac, Traité des Sensations*, pp. 104-114, 222, 223, 331-333. To the same effect is *Essay concerning Human Understanding*, book ii. chap. xiv., in *Locke's Works*, vol. i, p. 163; and see his second reply to the Bishop of Worcester, in *Works*, vol. iii. pp. 414-416; and as to the idea of substance, see vol. i. pp. 285-290, 292, 308, vol. iii. pp. 5, 10, 17.

[16] Reid (*Essays on the Powers of the Mind*, vol. i. p. 281) says, that necessary truths 'cannot be the conclusions of the senses; for our senses testify only what is, and not what must necessarily be.' See also vol. ii. pp. 53, 204, 239, 240, 281. The same distinction is peremptorily asserted in *Whewell's Philosophy of the Inductive Sciences*, 8vo, 1847, vol. i. pp. 60-73, 140; and see *Dugald Stewart's Philosophical Essays*, pp. 123, 124. Sir W. Hamilton (*Additions to Reid's Works*, p. 754) says, that non-contingent truths 'have their converse absolutely incogitable.' But this learned writer does not mention how we are to know when any thing is 'absolutely incogitable.' That we cannot cogitate an idea, is certainly no proof of its being incogitable; for it may be cogitated at some later period, when knowledge is more advanced.

[17] This is asserted by all the followers of Locke; and one of the latest productions of that school declares, that 'to say that necessary truths cannot be acquired by experience, is to deny the most clear evidence of our senses and reason.' *Jobert's New System of Philosophy*, vol. i. p. 58.

cause the sensations of men depend upon the changes in their bodies, and upon the external events by which their bodies are affected.

Such is a short specimen of the opposite conclusions to which the ablest metaphysicians have been driven, by the simple circumstance that they have pursued opposite methods of investigation. And this is the more important to observe, because after these two methods have been employed, the resources of metaphysics are evidently exhausted.[18] Both parties agree that mental laws can only be discovered by studying individual minds, and that there is nothing in the mind which is not the result either of reflection or of sensation. The only choice, therefore, they have to make, is between subordinating the results of sensation to the laws of reflection, or else subordinating the results of reflection to the laws of sensation. Every system of metaphysics has been constructed according to one of these schemes; and this must always continue to be the case, because when the two schemes are added together, they include the totality of metaphysical phenomena. Each process is equally plausible;[19] the supporters of each are equally confident; and by the very nature of the dispute, it is impossible that any middle term should be found; nor can there ever be an umpire,

[18] To avoid misapprehension, I may repeat, that, here and elsewhere, I mean by metaphysics, that vast body of literature which is constructed on the supposition that the laws of the human mind can be generalized *solely* from the facts of individual consciousness. For this scheme, the word 'metaphysics' is rather inconvenient, but it will cause no confusion if this definition of it is kept in view by the reader.

[19] What a celebrated historian of philosophy says of Platonism, is equally true of all the great metaphysical systems: 'Dass sie ein zusammenhängendes harmonisches Ganzes ausmachen (i. e. the leading propositions of it) fällt in die Augen.' *Tennemann, Geschichte der Philosophie*, vol. ii. p. 527. And yet he confesses (vol. iii. p. 52) of it and the opposite system: 'und wenn man auf die Beweise siehet, so ist der Empirismus des Aristoteles nicht besser begründet als der Rationalismus des Plato.' Kant admits that there can be only one true system, but is confident that he has discovered what all his predecessors have missed. *Die Metaphysik der Sitten*, in *Kant's Werke*, vol. v. p. 5, where he raises the question, 'ob es wohl mehr, als eine Philosophie geben könne.' In the *Kritik*, and in the *Prolegomena zu jeder künftigen Metaphysik*, he says that metaphysics have made no progress, and that the study can hardly be said to exist. *Werke*, vol. ii. pp. 49, 50 vol. iii. pp. 166, 246.

because no one can mediate between metaphysical controversies without being a metaphysician, and no one can be a metaphysician without being either a sensationalist or an idealist; in other words, without belonging to one of those very parties whose claims he professes to judge.[20]

On these grounds, we must, I think, arrive at the conclusion, that as metaphysicians are unavoidably, and by the very nature of their inquiry, broken up into two completely antagonistic schools, the relative truth of which there are no means of ascertaining; as they, moreover, have but few resources, and as they use those resources according to a method by which no other science has ever been developed,—we, looking at these things, ought not to expect that they can supply us with sufficient data for solving those great problems which the history of the human mind presents to our view. And whoever will take the pains fairly to estimate the present condition of mental philosophy, must admit that, notwithstanding the influence it has always exercised over some of the most powerful minds, and through them over society at large, there is, nevertheless, no other study which has been so zealously prosecuted, so long continued, and yet remains so barren of results. In no other department has there

[20] We find a curious instance of this, in the attempt made by M. Cousin to found an eclectic school; for this very able and learned man has been quite unable to avoid the one-sided view which is to every metaphysician an essential preliminary; and he adopts that fundamental distinction between necessary ideas and contingent ideas, by which the idealist is separated from the sensationalist: 'la grande division des idées aujourd'hui établie est la division des idées contingentes et des idées nécessaires.' *Cousin, Hist. de la Philosophie*, II. série, vol. i. p. 82: see also vol ii. p. 92, and the same work, I. série, vol. i. pp. 249, 267, 268, 311, vol. iii. pp. 51-54. M. Cousin constantly contradicts Locke, and then says he has refuted that profound and vigorous thinker; while he does not even state the arguments of James Mill, who, as a metaphysician, is the greatest of our modern sensationalists, and whose views, whether right or wrong, certainly deserve notice from an eclectic historian of philosophy.

Another eclectic, Sir. W. Hamilton, announces (*Discussions on Philosophy*, p. 597) 'an undeveloped philosophy, which, I am confident, is founded upon truth. To this confidence I have come, not merely through the convictions of my own consciousness, but by finding in this system a centre and conciliation for the most opposite of philosophical opinions.' But at p. 589, he summarily disposes of one of the most important of these philosophical opinions as 'the superficial edifice of Locke.'

been so much movement, and so little progress. Men of eminent abilities, and of the greatest integrity of purpose, have in every civilized country, for many centuries, been engaged in metaphysical inquiries; and yet at the present moment their systems, so far from approximating towards truth, are diverging from each other with a velocity which seems to be accelerated by the progress of knowledge. The incessant rivalry of the hostile schools, the violence with which they have been supported, and the exclusive and unphilosophic confidence with which each has advocated its own method,—all these things have thrown the study of the mind into a confusion only to be compared to that in which the study of religion has been thrown by the controversies of theologians.[21] The consequence is, that if we except a very few of the laws of association, and perhaps I may add the modern theories of vision and of touch,[22] there is not to be found in the whole compass of metaphysics a single principle of importance, and at the same time of incontestable truth. Under these circumstances, it is impossible to avoid a suspicion that there is some fundamental error in the manner in which these inquiries have been prosecuted. For my own part, I believe that, by mere observation of our own minds, and even by such rude experiments as we are able to make upon them, it will be impossible to raise psychology to a science; and I entertain very little doubt that metaphysics can only be successfully studied by an investigation of history so comprehensive as to

[21] Berkeley, in a moment of candour, inadvertently confesses what is very damaging to the reputation of his own pursuits: 'Upon the whole, I am inclined to think that the far greater part, if not all, of those difficulties which have hitherto amused philosophers, and blocked up the way to knowledge, are entirely owing to ourselves. That we have first raised a dust, and then complain we cannot see.' *Principles of Human Knowledge*, in *Berkeley's Works*, vol. i. p. 74. Every metaphysician and theologian should get this sentence by heart: 'That we have first raised a dust, and then complain we cannot see.'

[22] Some of the laws of association, as stated by Hume and Hartley, are capable of historical verification, which would change the metaphysical hypothesis into a scientific theory. Berkeley's theory of vision, and Brown's theory of touch, have, in the same way, been verified physiologically; so that we now know, what otherwise we could only have suspected.

enable us to understand the conditions which govern the movements of the human race.[23]

[23] In regard to one of the difficulties stated in this chapter as impeding metaphysicians, it is only just to quote the remarks of Kant: 'Wie aber das Ich, der ich denke, von dem Ich, das sich selbst anschaut, unterschieden (indem ich mir noch andere Anschauungsart wenigstens als möglich vorstellen kann), und doch mit diesem letzteren als dasselbe Subject einerlei sei, wie ich also sagen könne: Ich als Intelligenz und denkend Subject, erkenne mich selbst als gedachtes Object, so fern ich mir noch über das in der Anschauung gegeben bin, nur, gleich anderen Phänomenen, nicht wie ich vor dem Verstande bin, sondern wie ich mir erscheine, hat nicht mehr auch nicht weniger Schwierigkeit bei sich, als wie ich mir selbst überhaupt ein Object und zwar der Anschauung und innerer Wahrnehmungen sein könne.' *Kritik der reinen Vernunft*, in *Kant's Werke*, vol. ii. p. 144. I am very willing to let the question rest on this: for to me it appears that both cases are not only equally difficult, but, in the present state of our knowledge, are equally impossible.

CHAPTER IV.

MENTAL LAWS ARE EITHER MORAL OR INTELLECTUAL. COMPARISON OF MORAL AND INTELLECTUAL LAWS, AND INQUIRY INTO THE EFFECT PRODUCED BY EACH ON THE PROGRESS OF SOCIETY.

In the preceding chapter, it has, I trust, been made apparent, that, whatever may hereafter be the case, we, looking merely at the present state of our knowledge, must pronounce the metaphysical method to be unequal to the task, often imposed upon it, of discovering the laws which regulate the movements of the human mind. We are, therefore, driven to the only remaining method, according to which mental phenomena are to be studied, not simply as they appear in the mind of the individual observer, but as they appear in the actions of mankind at large. The essential opposition between these two plans is very obvious: but it may perhaps be well to bring forward further illustration of the resources possessed by each for the investigation of truth; and for this purpose, I will select a subject which, though still imperfectly understood, supplies a beautiful instance of the regularity with which, under the most conflicting circumstances, the great Laws of Nature are able to hold their course.

The case to which I refer, is that of the proportion kept up in the births of the sexes; a proportion which if it were to be greatly disturbed in any country, even for a single generation, would throw society into the most serious confusion, and would infallibly cause a great increase in the vices of the people.[1] Now, it has always

[1] Thus we find that the Crusades, by diminishing the proportion of men to women in Europe, increased licentiousness. See a curious passage in *Sprengel, Histoire de la Médecine,* vol. ii. p. 376. In Yucatan, there is generally a considerable excess of women, and the result is prejudicial to morals. *Stephens's Central America,* vol. iii. pp. 380, 429. On the other hand, respecting the state of society produced by an excess of males, see *Mallet's Northern*

been suspected that, on an average, the male and female births are tolerably equal; but, until very recently, no one could tell whether or not they are precisely equal, or, if unequal, on which side there is an excess.[2] The births being the physical result of physical antecedents, it was clearly seen that the laws of the births must be in those antecedents; that is to say, that the causes of the proportion of the sexes must reside in the parents themselves.[3] Under these circumstances, the question arose, if it was not possible to elucidate this difficulty by our knowledge of animal physiology; for it was plausibly said, 'Since physiology is a study of the laws of the body,[4] and since all births are products resulting from the body, it follows that if we know the laws of the body, we shall know the laws of the birth.' This was the view taken by physiologists of our origin;[5] and this

Antiquities, p. 259; *Journal of Geographical Society*, vol. xv. p. 45, vol. xvi. p. 307; *Southey's Commonplace Book*, third series, p. 579.

[2] On this question, a variety of conflicting statements may be seen in the older writers. Goodman, early in the seventeenth century, supposed that more females were born than males. *Southey's Commonplace Book*, third series, p. 696. Turgot (*Œuvres*, vol. ii. p 247) rightly says, 'il naît un peu plus d'hommes que de femmes:' but the evidence was too incomplete to make this more than a lucky guess; and I find that even Herder, writing in 1785, takes for granted that the proportion was about equal: 'ein ziemliches Gleichmass in den Geburten beider Geschlechter' (*Ideen zur Geschichte*, vol. ii. p. 149), and was sometimes in favour of girls, 'ja die Nachrichten mehrerer Reisenden machen es wahrscheinlich, dass in manchen dieser Gegenden wirklich mehr Töchter als Söhne geboren werden.'

[3] A question, indeed, has been raised as to the influence exercised by the state of the mind during the period of orgasm. But whatever this influence may be, it can only affect the subsequent birth through and by physical antecedents, which in every case must be regarded as the proximate cause. If, therefore, the influence were proved to exist, we should still have to search for physical laws: though such laws would of course be considered merely as secondary ones, resolvable into some higher generalization.

[4] Some writers treat physiology as a study of the laws of life. But this, looking at the subject as it now stands, is far too bold a step, and several branches of knowledge will have to be raised from their present empirical state, before the phenomena of life can be scientifically investigated. The more rational mode seems to be, to consider physiology and anatomy as correlative: the first forming the dynamical, and the second forming the statical part of the study of organic structure.

[5] 'Voulez-vous savoir de quoi dépend le sexe des enfants? Fernel vous répond, sur la foi des anciens, qu'il dépend des qualités de la semence du père et de la mère.' *Renouard, Histoire de la Médecine*, Paris, 1846, vol. ii. p. 106; see also, at p. 185, the opinion of Hippocrates, adopted by Galen; and similar

is precisely the view taken by metaphysicians of our history. Both parties believed that it was possible at once to rise to the cause of the phenomenon, and by studying its laws predict the phenomenon itself. The physiologist said, 'By studying individual bodies, and thus ascertaining the laws which regulate the union of the parents, I will discover the proportion of the sexes, because the proportion is merely the result to which the union gives rise.' Just in the same way, the metaphysician says, 'By studying individual minds, I will ascertain the laws which govern their movements; and in that way I will predict the movements of mankind, which are obviously compounded of the individual movements.'[6] These are the expectations which have been confidently held out, by physiologists respecting the laws of the sexes, and by metaphysicians respecting the laws of history. Towards the fulfilment, however, of these promises the metaphysicians have done absolutely nothing; nor have the physiologists been more successful, although their views have the support of anatomy, which admits of the employment of direct experiment, a resource unknown to metaphysics. But towards settling the present question, all this availed

views in *Lepelletier, Physiologie Médicale*, vol. iv. p. 332, and *Sprengel, Hist. de la Médecine*, vol. i. pp. 252, 310, vol. ii. p. 115, vol. iv. p. 62. For further information as to the opinions which have been held respecting the origin of sexes, see *Beausobre, Histoire de Manichée*, vol. ii. p. 417; *Asiatic Researches*, vol. iii. pp. 358, 361; *Vishnu Purana*, p. 349; *Works of Sir William Jones*, vol. iii. p. 126; *Ritter's History of Ancient Philosophy*, vol. iii. p. 191; *Denham and Clapperton's Africa*, pp. 323, 324; *Maintenon, Lettres Inédites*, vol. ii. p. 62; and the view of Hohl (*Burdach's Physiologie*, vol. ii. p. 472), 'que les femmes chez lesquelles prédomine le système artériel procréent des garçons, au lieu que celles dont le système veineux a la prédominance mettent au monde des filles.' According to Anaxagoras, the question was extremely simple: καὶ ἄρρενα μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν δεξιῶν, θήλεα δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀριστερῶν. *Diog. Laert.* ii. 9, vol i. p. 85.

[6] 'Le métaphysicien se voit comme la source de l'évidence et le confident de la nature: Moi seul, dit-il, je puis généraliser les idées, et découvrir le germe des événements qui se développent journellement dans le monde physique et moral; et c'est par moi seul que l'homme peut être éclairé.' *Helvetius de l'Esprit*, vol. i. p. 86. Compare *Herder, Ideen zur Geschichte der Menschheit*, vol. ii. p. 105. Thus too M. Cousin (*Hist. de la Philosophie*, II. série, vol. i. p. 131) says, 'Le fait de la conscience transporté de l'individu dans l'espèce et dans l'histoire, est la clef de tous les développements de l'humanité.'

them nothing; and physiologists are not yet possessed of a single fact which throws any light on this problem: Is the number of male births equal to female births, is it greater, or is it less?

These are questions to which all the resources of physiologists, from Aristotle down to our own time, afford no means of reply.[7] And yet at the present day we, by the employment of what now seems a very natural method, are possessed of a truth which the united abilities of a long series of eminent men failed to discover. By the simple expedient of registering the number of births and their sexes; by extending this registration over several years, in different countries,—we have been able to eliminate all casual disturbances, and ascertain the existence of a law which, expressed in round numbers, is, that for every twenty girls there are born twenty-one boys: and we may confidently say, that although the operations of this law are of course liable to constant aberrations, the law itself is so powerful, that we know of no country in

[7] Considering the very long period during which physiology has been studied, it is remarkable how little the physiologists have contributed towards the great and final object of all science, namely, the power of predicting events. To me it appears that the two principal causes of this are, the backwardness of chemistry, and the still extremely imperfect state of the microscope, which even now is so inaccurate an instrument, that when a high power is employed, little confidence can be placed in it; and the examination, for instance, of the spermatozoa has led to the most contradictory results. In regard to chemistry, MM. Robin and Verdeil, in their recent great work, have ably proved what manifold relations there are between it and the further progress of our knowledge of the animal frame; though I venture to think that these eminent writers have shown occasionally an undue disposition to limit the application of chemical laws to physiological phenomena. See *Robin et Verdeil, Chimie Anatomique et Physiologique*, Paris, 1853, vol. i. pp. 20, 34, 167, 337, 338, 437, 661, vol. ii. pp. 136, 137, 508, vol. iii. pp. 135, 144, 183, 281, 283, 351, 547. The increasing tendency of chemistry to bring under its control what are often supposed to be purely organic phenomena, is noticed cautiously in *Turner's Chemistry*, vol. ii. p. 1308, London, 1847; and boldly in *Liebig's Letters on Chemistry*, 1851, pp. 250, 251. The connexion between chemistry and physiology is touched on rather too hastily in *Bouilland, Philosophie Médicale*, pp. 160, 257; *Broussais, Examen des Doctrines Médicales*, vol. iii. p. 166; *Brodie's Lectures on Pathology*, p. 48; *Henle, Traité d'Anatomie*, vol. i. pp. 25, 26; *Feuchtersleben's Medical Psychology*, p. 88; but better in *Holland's Medical Notes*, 1839, p. 270, a thoughtful and suggestive work. On the necessity of chemistry for increasing our knowledge of embryology, compare *Wagner's Physiology*, pp. 131, 132 note, with *Burdach, Traité de Physiologie*, vol. iv. pp. 59, 168.

which during a single year the male births have not been greater than the female ones.[8]

The importance and the beautiful regularity of this law, make us regret that it still remains an empirical truth, not having yet been connected with the physical phenomena by which its operations are caused.[9] But this is immaterial to my present purpose, which is only to notice the method by which the discovery has been made. For this method is obviously analogous to that by which I propose to investigate the operations of the human

[8] It used to be supposed that some of the eastern countries formed an exception to this; but more precise observations have contradicted the loose statements of the earlier travellers, and in no part of the world, so far as our knowledge extends, are more girls born than boys; while in every part of the world for which we have statistical returns, there is a slight excess on the side of male births. Compare *Marsden's History of Sumatra*, p. 234; *Raffles' History of Java*, vol. i. pp. 81, 82; *Sykes on the Statistics of the Deccan*, in *Reports of British Association*, vol. vi. pp. 246, 261, 262; *Niebuhr, Description de l'Arabie*, p. 63; *Humboldt, Nouv. Espagne*, vol. i. p. 139; *M'William, Medical History of Expedition to the Niger*, p. 113; *Elliotson's Human Physiology*, p. 795; *Thomson's Hist. of Royal Society*, p. 531; *Sadler's Law of Population*, vol. i. pp. 507, 511, vol. ii. pp. 324, 335; *Paris and Fonblanque's Medical Jurisprudence*, vol. i. p. 259; *Journal of Statist. Soc.* vol. iii. pp. 263, 264, vol. xvii. pp. 46, 123; *Journal of Geographical Soc.* vol. xx. p. 17; *Fourth Report of British Association*, pp. 687, 689, *Report for* 1842, pp. 144, 145; *Transac. of Sections for* 1840, p. 174, *for* 1847, p. 96, *for* 1849, p. 87; *Dufau, Traité de Statistique*, pp. 24, 209, 210; *Burdach, Traité de Physiologie*, vol. ii. pp. 56, 57, 273, 274, 281, vol. v. p. 373; *Hawkins's Medical Statistics*, pp. 221, 222.

[9] In *Müller's Physiology*, vol. ii. p. 1657, a work of great authority, it is said, that 'the causes which determine the sex of the embryo are unknown, although it appears that the relative age of the parents has some influence over the sex of the offspring.' That the relative age of the parents does affect the sex of their children, may, from the immense amount of evidence now collected, be considered almost certain; but M. Müller, instead of referring to physiological writers, ought to have mentioned that the statisticians, and not the physiologists, were the first to make this discovery. On this curious question, see *Carpenter's Human Physiology*, p. 746; *Sadler's Law of Population*, vol. ii. pp. 333, 336, 342; *Journal of Statistical Society*, vol. iii. pp. 263, 264. In regard to animals below man, we find from numerous experiments, that among sheep and horses the age of the parents 'has a very great general influence upon the sex' of the offspring. *Elliotson's Physiology*, pp. 708, 709; and see *Cuvier, Progrès des Sciences Naturelles*, vol. ii. p. 406. As to the relation between the origin of sex and the laws of arrested development, compare *Geoffroy Saint Hilaire, Hist. des Anomalies de l'Organisation*, vol. ii. pp. 33, 34, 73, vol. iii. p. 278, with *Lindley's Botany*, vol. ii. p. 81. In *Esquirol, Maladies Mentales*, vol. i. p. 302, there is a singular case recorded by Lamotte, which would seem to connect this question with pathological phenomena, though it is uncertain whether the epilepsy was an effect or a cognate symptom.

mind; while the old and unsuccessful method is analogous to that employed by the metaphysicians. As long as physiologists attempted to ascertain the laws of the proportion of sexes by individual experiments, they effected absolutely nothing towards the end they hoped to achieve. But when men became dissatisfied with these individual experiments, and instead of them, began to collect observations less minute, but more comprehensive, then it was that the great law of nature, for which during many centuries they had vainly searched, first became unfolded to their view. Precisely in the same way, as long as the human mind is only studied according to the narrow and contracted method of metaphysicians, we have every reason for thinking that the laws which regulate its movements will remain unknown. If, therefore, we wish to effect any thing of real moment, it becomes necessary that we should discard those old schemes, the insufficiency of which is demonstrated by experience as well as by reason; and that we should substitute in their place such a comprehensive survey of facts as will enable us to eliminate those disturbances which, owing to the impossibility of experiment, we shall never be able to isolate.

The desire that I feel to make the preliminary views of this Introduction perfectly clear, is my sole apology for having introduced a digression which, though adding nothing to the strength of the argument, may be found useful as illustrating it, and will at all events enable ordinary readers to appreciate the value of the proposed method. It now remains for us to ascertain the manner in which, by the application of this method, the laws of mental progress may be most easily discovered.

If, in the first place, we ask what this progress is, the answer seems very simple: that it is a twofold progress, Moral and Intellectual; the first having more immediate relation to our duties, the second to our knowledge. This is a classification which has been frequently laid down, and with which most persons are familiar. And so far as history is a narration of results, there can be no doubt that the division is perfectly accurate. There can be no

doubt that a people are not really advancing, if on the one hand, their increasing ability is accompanied by increasing vice, or if on the other hand, while they are becoming more virtuous, they likewise become more ignorant. This double movement, moral and intellectual, is essential to the very idea of civilization, and includes the entire theory of mental progress. To be willing to perform our duty is the moral part; to know how to perform it is the intellectual part: while the closer these two parts are knit together, the greater the harmony with which they work; and the more accurately the means are adapted to the end, the more completely will the scheme of our life be accomplished, and the more securely shall we lay a foundation for the further advancement of mankind.

A question, therefore, now arises of great moment: namely, which of these two parts or elements of mental progress is the more important. For the progress itself being the result of their united action, it becomes necessary to ascertain which of them works more powerfully, in order that we may subordinate the inferior element to the laws of the superior one. If the advance of civilization, and the general happiness of mankind, depend more on their moral feelings than on their intellectual knowledge, we must of course measure the progress of society by those feelings; while if, on the other hand, it depends principally on their knowledge, we must take as our standard the amount and success of their intellectual activity. As soon as we know the relative energy of these two components, we shall treat them according to the usual plan for investigating truth; that is to say, we shall look at the product of their joint action as obeying the laws of the more powerful agent, whose operations are casually disturbed by the inferior laws of the minor agent.

In entering into this inquiry, we are met by a preliminary difficulty, arising from the loose and careless manner in which ordinary language is employed on subjects that require the greatest nicety and precision. For

the expression, Moral and Intellectual Progress, is suggestive of a serious fallacy. In the manner in which it is generally used, it conveys an idea that the moral and intellectual faculties of men are, in the advance of civilization, naturally more acute and more trustworthy than they were formerly. But this, though it may possibly be true, has never been proved. It may be that, owing to some physical causes still unknown, the average capacity of the brain is, if we compare long periods of time, becoming gradually greater; and that therefore the mind, which acts through the brain, is, even independently of education, increasing in aptitude and in the general competence of its views.[10] Such, however, is still our ignorance of physical laws, and so completely are we in the dark as to the circumstances which regulate the hereditary transmission of character, temperament,[11] and

[10] That the natural powers of the human brain are improving because they are capable of transmission, is a favourite doctrine with the followers of Gall, and is adopted by M. A. Comte (*Philosophie Positive*, vol. iv. pp. 384, 385); who, however, admits that it has never been sufficiently verified: 'sans que toutefois l'expérience ait encore suffisamment prononcé.' Dr. Prichard, whose habits of thought were very different, seems, nevertheless, inclined to lean in this direction; for his comparison of skulls led him to the conclusion, that the present inhabitants of Britain, 'either as the *result of many ages of greater intellectual cultivation*, or from some other cause, have, as I am persuaded, much more capacious brain-cases than their forefathers.' *Prichard's Physical History of Mankind*, vol. i. p. 305. Even if this were certain, it would not prove that the contents of the crania were altered, though it might create a presumption; and the general question must, I think, remain unsettled until the researches begun by Blumenbach, and recently continued by Morton, are carried out upon a scale far more comprehensive than has hitherto been attemptad. Compare *Burdach, Traité de Physiologie*, vol. ii. p. 253; where, however, the question is not stated with sufficient caution.

[11] None of the laws of hereditary descent connected with the formation of character, have yet been generalized; nor is our knowledge much more advanced respecting the theory of temperaments, which still remains the principal obstacle in the way of the phrenologists. The difficulties attending the study of temperaments, and the obscurity in which this important subject is shrouded, may be estimated by whoever will compare what has been said upon it by the following writers: *Müller's Physiology*, vol. ii. pp. 1406-1410; *Elliotson's Human Physiology*, pp. 1059-1062; *Blainville, Physiologie Générale et Comparée*, vol. i. pp. 168, 264, 265, vol. ii. pp. 43, 130, 214, 328, 329, vol. iii. pp. 54, 74, 118, 148, 149, 284, 285; *Williams's Principles of Medicine*, pp. 16, 17, 112, 113; *Geoffroy Saint Hilaire, Anomalies de l'Organisation*, vol. i. pp. 186, 190; *Broussais, Examen des Doctrines Médicales*, vol. i. pp. 204, 205, vol. iii. p. 276; *Renouard, Hist. de la Médecine*, vol. i. p. 326; *Sprengel, Hist. de la Médecine*, vol. i. p. 380; vol. ii.

other personal peculiarities, that we must consider this alleged progress as a very doubtful point; and, in the present state of our knowledge, we cannot safely assume that there has been any permanent improvement in the moral or intellectual faculties of man, nor have we any decisive ground for saying that those faculties are likely to be greater in an infant born in the most civilized part of Europe, than in one born in the wildest region of a barbarous country.[12]

Whatever, therefore, the moral and intellectual pro-

p. 408, vol. iii. p. 21, vol. v. p. 325, vol. vi. p. 492; *Esquirol, Maladies Mentales*, vol. i. pp. 39, 226, 429, 594, vol. ii. p. 29: *Lepelletier, Physiol. Médicale*, vol. i. pp. 139, 281, vol. iii. pp. 372-429, vol. iv. pp. 93, 123, 133, 143, 148, 177; *Henle, Anatomie Générale*, vol. i. p. 474, vol. ii. pp. 288, 289, 316; *Bichat, Anatomie Générale*, vol. i. p. 207, vol. ii. p. 444, vol. iii. pp. 310, 507, vol. iv. pp. 281, 399, 400, 504; *Bichat sur la Vie*, pp. 80, 81, 234, 235; *Phillips on Scrofula*, p. 9; *Feuchtersleben's Medical Psychology*, pp. 143-145; *Œuvres de Fontenelle*, Paris, 1766, vol. v. p. 110; *Cullen's Works*, Edinb. 1827, vol. i. pp. 214-221; *Cabanis, Rapports du Physique et du Moral*, pp. 76-83, 229-261, 520-533; *Noble on the Brain*, pp. 370-376; *Combe's North America*, vol. i. pp. 126-128. Latterly, attention has been paid to the chemistry of the blood as it varies in the various temperaments; and this seems a more satisfactory method than the old plan of merely describing the obvious symptoms of the temperament. *Clark on Animal Physiology*, in *Fourth Report of the British Association*, p. 126; *Simon's Animal Chemistry*, vol. i. p. 236; *Wagner's Physiology*, p. 262.

[12] We often hear of hereditary talents, hereditary vices, and hereditary virtues; but whoever will critically examine the evidence will find that we have no proof of their existence. The way in which they are commonly proved is in the highest degree illogical; the usual course being for writers to collect instances of some mental peculiarity found in a parent and in his child, and then to infer that the peculiarity was bequeathed. By this mode of reasoning we might demonstrate any proposition; since in all large fields of inquiry there are a sufficient number of empirical coincidences to make a plausible case in favour of whatever view a man chooses to advocate. But this is not the way in which truth is discovered; and we ought to inquire not only how many instances there are of hereditary talents, &c., but how many instances there are of such qualities not being hereditary. Until something of this sort is attempted, we can know nothing about the matter inductively; while, until physiology and chemistry are much more advanced, we can know nothing about it deductively.

These considerations ought to prevent us from receiving statements (*Taylor's Medical Jurisprudence*, pp. 644, 678, and many other books) which positively affirm the existence of hereditary madness and hereditary suicide; and the same remark applies to hereditary disease (on which see some admirable observations in *Phillips on Scrofula*, pp. 101-120, London, 1846): and with still greater force does it apply to hereditary vices and hereditary virtues; inasmuch as ethical phenomena have not been registered as carefully as physiological ones, and therefore our conclusions respecting them are even more precarious.

gress of men may be, it resolves itself not into a progress of natural capacity,[13] but into a progress, if I may so say, of opportunity; that is; an improvement in the circumstances under which that capacity after birth comes into play. Here, then, lies the gist of the whole matter. The progress is one, not of internal power, but of external advantage. The child born in a civilized land, is not likely, as such, to be superior to one born among barbarians; and the difference which ensues between the acts of the two children will be caused, so far as we know, solely by the pressure of external circumstances; by which I mean the surrounding opinions, knowledge, associations, in a word, the entire mental atmosphere in which the two children are respectively nurtured.

On this account it is evident, that if we look at mankind in the aggregate, their moral and intellectual conduct is regulated by the moral and intellectual notions prevalent in their own time. There are, of course, many persons who will rise above those notions, and many others who will sink below them. But such cases are exceptional, and form a very small proportion of the total amount of those who are nowise remarkable either for good or for evil. An immense majority of men must always remain in a middle state, neither very foolish nor very able, neither very virtuous nor very vicious, but slumbering on in a peaceful and decent mediocrity, adopting without much difficulty the current opinions of the day, making no inquiry, exciting no scandal, causing no wonder, just holding themselves on a level with their generation, and noiselessly conforming to the standard of

[13] To what has been already stated, I will add the opinions of two of the most profound among modern thinkers. 'Men, I think, have been much the same for natural endowments in all times.' *Conduct of the Understanding*, in *Locke's Works*, vol. ii. p. 361. 'Les dispositions primitives agissent également chez les peuples barbares et chez les peuples policés; ils sont vraisemblablement les mêmes dans tous les lieux et dans tous les tems. . . . Plus il y aura d'hommes, et plus vous aurez de grands hommes ou d'hommes propres à devenir grands.' *Progrès de l'Esprit Humain*, in *Œuvres de Turgot*, vol. ii. p. 264. The remarks of Dr. Brown (*Lectures on the Mind*, p. 57), if I rightly understand his rhetorical language, apply not to natural capacity, but to that which is acquired: see the end of his ninth Lecture.

morals and of knowledge common to the age and country in which they live.

Now, it requires but a superficial acquaintance with history to be aware that this standard is constantly changing, and that it is never precisely the same even in the most similar countries, or in two successive generations in the same country. The opinions which are popular in any nation, vary in many respects almost from year to year; and what in one period is attacked as a paradox or a heresy, is in another period welcomed as a sober truth; which, however, in its turn is replaced by some subsequent novelty. This extreme mutability in the ordinary standard of human actions, shows that the conditions on which the standard depends must themselves be very mutable; and those conditions, whatever they may be, are evidently the originators of the moral and intellectual conduct of the great average of mankind.

Here, then, we have a basis on which we can safely proceed. We know that the main cause of human actions is extremely variable; we have only, therefore, to apply this test to any set of circumstances which are supposed to be the cause, and if we find that such circumstances are not very variable, we must infer that they are not the cause we are attempting to discover.

Applying this test to moral motives, or to the dictates of what is called moral instinct, we shall at once see how extremely small is the influence those motives have exercised over the progress of civilization. For there is, unquestionably, nothing to be found in the world which has undergone so little change as those great dogmas of which moral systems are composed. To do good to others; to sacrifice for their benefit your own wishes; to love your neighbour as yourself; to forgive your enemies; to restrain your passions; to honour your parents; to respect those who are set over you: these, and a few others, are the sole essentials of morals; but they have been known for thousands of years, and not one jot or tittle has been added to them by all the sermons, homi-

lies, and text-books which moralists and theologians have been able to produce.[14]

But if we contrast this stationary aspect of moral truths with the progressive aspect of intellectual truths, the difference is indeed startling.[15] All the great moral systems which have exercised much influence, have been

[14] That the system of morals propounded in the New Testament contained no maxim which had not been previously enunciated, and that some of the most beautiful passages in the Apostolic writings are quotations from Pagan authors, is well known to every scholar; and so far from supplying, as some suppose, an objection against Christianity, it is a strong recommendation of it, as indicating the intimate relation between the doctrines of Christ and the moral sympathies of mankind in different ages. But to assert that Christianity communicated to man moral truths previously unknown, argues, on the part of the assertor, either gross ignorance or else wilful fraud. For evidence of the knowledge of moral truths possessed by barbarous nations, independently of Christianity and for the most part previous to its promulgation, compare *Mackay's Religious Development*, vol. ii. pp. 376-380; *Mure's Hist. of Greek Literature*, vol. ii. p. 398, vol. iii. p. 380; *Prescott's History of Mexico*, vol. i. p. 31; *Elphinstone's History of India*, p. 47; *Works of Sir W. Jones*, vol. i. pp. 87, 168, vol. iii. pp. 105, 114; *Mill's History of India*, vol. i. p. 419; *Bohlen, das alte Indien*, vol. i. pp. 364-366; *Beausobre, Histoire de Manichée*, vol. i. pp. 318, 319; *Coleman's Mythology of the Hindus*, p. 193; *Transac. of Soc. of Bombay*, vol. iii. p. 198; *Transac. of Asiatic Society*, vol. i. p. 5, vol. iii. pp. 283, 284; *Asiatic Researches*, vol. vi. p. 271, vol. vii. p. 40, vol. xvi. pp. 130, 277, vol. xx. pp. 460, 461; *The Dabistan*, vol. i. pp. 328, 338; *Catlin's North-American Indians*, vol. ii. p. 243; *Syme's Embassy to Ava*, vol. ii. p. 389; *Davis's Chinese*, vol. i. p. 196, vol. ii. pp. 136, 233; *Journal Asiatique*, I. série, vol. iv. p. 77, Paris, 1824.

[15] Sir James Mackintosh was so struck by the stationary character of moral principles, that he denies the possibility of their advance, and boldly affirms that no further discoveries can be made in morals: 'Morality admits no discoveries. . . . . More than three thousand years have elapsed since the composition of the Pentateuch; and let any man, if he is able, tell me in what important respect the rule of life has varied since that distant period. Let the Institutes of Menu be explored with the same view; we shall arrive at the same conclusion. Let the books of false religion be opened; it will be found that their moral system is, in all its grand features, the same. . . . . The fact is evident, that no improvements have been made in practical morality. . . . . The facts which lead to the formation of moral rules are as accessible, and must be as obvious, to the simplest barbarian as to the most enlightened philosopher. . . . . The case of the physical and speculative sciences is directly opposite. There the facts are remote and scarcely accessible. . . . . . From the countless variety of the facts with which they are conversant, it is impossible to prescribe any bounds to their future improvement. It is otherwise with morals. They have hitherto been stationary; and, in my opinion, they are likely for ever to continue so.' *Life of Mackintosh, edited by his Son*, London, 1835, vol. i. pp. 119-122. Condorcet (*Vie de Turgot*, p. 180) says, 'La morale de toutes les nations a été la même;' and Kant (*Logik*, in *Kant's Werke*, vol. i. p. 356), 'In der Moralphilosophie sind wir nicht weiter gekommen, als die Alten.'

fundamentally the same; all the great intellectual systems have been fundamentally different. In reference to our moral conduct, there is not a single principle now known to the most cultivated Europeans, which was not likewise known to the ancients. In reference to the conduct of our intellect, the moderns have not only made the most important additions to every department of knowledge that the ancients ever attempted to study, but besides this, they have upset and revolutionized the old methods of inquiry; they have consolidated into one great scheme all those resources of induction which Aristotle alone dimly perceived; and they have created sciences, the faintest idea of which never entered the mind of the boldest thinker antiquity produced.

These are, to every educated man, recognized and notorious facts; and the inference to be drawn from them is immediately obvious. Since civilization is the product of moral and intellectual agencies, and since that product is constantly changing, it evidently cannot be regulated by the stationary agent; because, when surrounding circumstances are unchanged, a stationary agent can only produce a stationary effect. The only other agent is the intellectual one; and that this is the real mover may be proved in two distinct ways: first, because being, as we have already seen, either moral or intellectual, and being, as we have also seen, not moral, it must be intellectual; and secondly, because the intellectual principle has an activity and a capacity for adaptation, which, as I undertake to show, is quite sufficient to account for the extraordinary progress that, during several centuries, Europe has continued to make.

Such are the main arguments by which my view is supported; but there are also other and collateral circumstances which are well worthy of consideration. The first is, that the intellectual principle is not only far more progressive than the moral principle, but is also far more permanent in its results. The acquisitions made by the intellect are, in every civilized country, carefully preserved, registered in certain well-understood formulas,

and protected by the use of technical and scientific language; they are easily handed down from one generation to another, and thus assuming an accessible, or, as it were, a tangible form, they often influence the most distant posterity, they become the heirlooms of mankind, the immortal bequest of the genius to which they owe their birth. But the good deeds effected by our moral faculties are less capable of transmission; they are of a more private and retiring character; while, as the motives to which they owe their origin are generally the result of self-discipline and of self-sacrifice, they have to be worked out by every man for himself; and thus, begun by each anew, they derive little benefit from the maxims of preceding experience, nor can they well be stored up for the use of future moralists. The consequence is, that although moral excellence is more amiable, and to most persons more attractive, than intellectual excellence, still, it must be confessed that, looking at ulterior results, it is far less active, less permanent, and, as I shall presently prove, less productive of real good. Indeed, if we examine the effects of the most active philanthropy, and of the largest and most disinterested kindness, we shall find that those effects are, comparatively speaking, short-lived; that there is only a small number of individuals they come in contact with and benefit; that they rarely survive the generation which witnessed their commencement; and that, when they take the more durable form of founding great public charities, such institutions invariably fall, first into abuse, then into decay, and after a time are either destroyed, or perverted from their original intention, mocking the effort by which it is vainly attempted to perpetuate the memory even of the purest and most energetic benevolence.

These conclusions are no doubt very unpalatable; and what makes them peculiarly offensive is, that it is impossible to refute them. For the deeper we penetrate into this question, the more clearly shall we see the superiority of intellectual acquisitions over moral feeling.[16] There is no

[16] One part of the argument is well stated by Cuvier, who says, 'Le bien que l'on fait aux hommes, quelque grand qu'il soit, est toujours passager;

instance on record of an ignorant man who, having good intentions, and supreme power to enforce them, has not done far more evil than good. And whenever the intentions have been very eager, and the power very extensive, the evil has been enormous. But if you can diminish the sincerity of that man, if you can mix some alloy with his motives, you will likewise diminish the evil which he works. If he is selfish as well as ignorant, it will often happen that you may play off his vice against his ignorance, and by exciting his fears restrain his mischief. If, however, he has no fear, if he is entirely unselfish, if his sole object is the good of others, if he pursues that object with enthusiasm, upon a large scale, and with disinterested zeal, then it is that you have no check upon him, you have no means of preventing the calamities which, in an ignorant age, an ignorant man will be sure to inflict. How entirely this is verified by experience, we may see in studying the history of religious persecution. To punish even a single man for his religious tenets, is assuredly a crime of the deepest dye; but to punish a large body of men, to persecute an entire sect, to attempt to extirpate opinions, which, growing out of the state of society in which they arise, are themselves a manifestation of the marvellous and luxuriant fertility of the human mind,—to do this is not only one of the most pernicious, but one of the most foolish acts that can possibly be conceived. Nevertheless, it is an undoubted fact that an overwhelming majority of religious persecutors have been men of the purest intentions, of the most admirable and unsullied morals. It is impossible that this should be otherwise. For they are not bad-intentioned men, who seek to enforce opinions which they believe to be good. Still less are they bad men, who are so regardless of temporal considerations as to employ all the resources of their power, not for their own benefit, but for the purpose of propagating a religion which they think necessary to the future happiness of mankind. Such men as these are not bad, they

les vérités qu'on leur laisse sont éternelles.' *Cuvier, Eloges Historiques*, vol. ii. p. 304.

are only ignorant; ignorant of the nature of truth, ignorant of the consequences of their own acts. But in a moral point of view, their motives are unimpeachable. Indeed, it is the very ardour of their sincerity which warms them into persecution. It is the holy zeal by which they are fired, that quickens their fanaticism into a deadly activity. If you can impress any man with an absorbing conviction of the supreme importance of some moral or religious doctrine; if you can make him believe that those who reject that doctrine are doomed to eternal perdition; if you then give that man power, and by means of his ignorance blind him to the ulterior consequences of his own act,—he will infallibly persecute those who deny his doctrine; and the extent of his persecution will be regulated by the extent of his sincerity. Diminish the sincerity, and you will diminish the persecution: in other words, by weakening the virtue you may check the evil. This is a truth of which history furnishes such innumerable examples, that to deny it would be not only to reject the plainest and most conclusive arguments, but to refuse the concurrent testimony of every age. I will merely select two cases, which, from the entire difference in their circumstances, are very apposite as illustrations: the first being from the history of Paganism, the other from the history of Christianity; and both proving the inability of moral feelings to control religious persecution.

I. The Roman emperors, as is well known, subjected the early Christians to persecutions, which, though they have been exaggerated, were frequent and very grievous. But what to some persons must appear extremely strange, is, that among the active authors of these cruelties, we find the names of the best men who ever sat on the throne; while the worst and most infamous princes were precisely those who spared the Christians, and took no heed of their increase. The two most thoroughly depraved of all the emperors were certainly Commodus and Elagabalus; neither of whom persecuted the new religion, or indeed adopted any measures against it. They were too reckless of the future, too selfish, too absorbed in their

own infamous pleasures, to mind whether truth or error prevailed; and being thus indifferent to the welfare of their subjects, they cared nothing about the progress of a creed, which they, as Pagan emperors, were bound to regard as a fatal and impious delusion. They, therefore, allowed Christianity to run its course, unchecked by those penal laws which more honest, but more mistaken, rulers would assuredly have enacted.[17] We find, accordingly, that the great enemy of Christianity was Marcus Aurelius, a man of kindly temper, and of fearless, unflinching honesty, but whose reign was characterized by a persecution from which he would have refrained had he been less in earnest about the religion of his fathers.[18] And to complete the argument, it may be added, that the last and one of the most strenuous of the opponents of Christianity, who occupied the throne of the Cæsars, was Julian; a prince of eminent probity, whose opinions are often attacked, but against whose moral conduct even calumny itself has hardly breathed a suspicion.[19]

[17] 'The first year of Commodus must be the epocha of the toleration. From all these authorities, it appears beyond exception, that Commodus put a stop to the persecution in the first year of his reign. . . . . . Not one writer, either heathen or Christian, makes Commodus a persecutor.' *Letters concerning the Thundering Legion*, in *Moyle's Works*, vol. ii. p. 266, London, 1726. 'Heliogabalus also, though in other respects the most infamous of all princes, and perhaps the most odious of all mortals, showed no marks of bitterness or aversion to the disciples of Jesus.' *Mosheim's Eccl. History*, vol. i. p. 66: see also *Milman's Hist. of Christianity*, Lond. 1840, vol. ii. p. 225.

[18] Dr. Milman (*History of Christianity*, 1840, vol. ii. p. 159) says, 'A blameless disciple in the severest school of philosophic morality, the austerity of Marcus rivalled that of the Christians in its contempt of the follies and diversions of life; yet his native kindliness of disposition was not hardened or embittered by the severity or the pride of his philosophy. With Aurelius, nevertheless, Christianity found not only a fair and high-minded competitor for the command of the human mind; not only a rival in the exaltation of the soul of man to higher views and more dignified motives; but a violent and intolerant persecutor.' M. Guizot compares him with Louis IX. of France; and certainly there was in both an evident connexion between sincerity and persecution: 'Marc Aurèle et saint Louis sont peut-être les deux seuls princes qui, en toute occasion, aient fait de leurs croyances morales la première règle de leur conduite: Marc Aurèle, stoicien; saint Louis, chrétien.' *Guizot, Civilisation en France*, vol. iv. p. 142. Even Duplessis Mornay (*Mém.* vol. iv. p. 374) calls him 'le meilleur des empereurs payens;' and Ritter (*Hist. of Philos.* vol. iv. p. 222), 'the virtuous and noble emperor.'

[19] Neander (*History of the Church*, vol. i. p. 122) observes, that the best emperors opposed Christianity, and that the worst ones were indifferent to its encroachments. The same remark, in regard to Marcus and Commodus,

II. The second illustration is supplied by Spain; a country of which it must be confessed, that in no other have religious feelings exercised such sway over the affairs of men. No other European nation has produced so many ardent and disinterested missionaries, zealous self-denying martyrs, who have cheerfully sacrificed their lives in order to propagate truths which they thought necessary to be known. Nowhere else have the spiritual classes been so long in the ascendant; nowhere else are the people so devout, the churches so crowded, the clergy so numerous. But the sincerity and the honesty of purpose by which the Spanish people, taken as a whole, have always been marked, have not only been unable to prevent religious persecution, but have proved the means of encouraging it. If the nation had been more lukewarm, it would have been more tolerant. As it was, the preservation of the faith became the first consideration; and everything being sacrificed to this one object, it naturally happened that zeal begat cruelty, and the soil was prepared in which the Inquisition took root and flourished. The supporters of that barbarous institution were not hypocrites, but enthusiasts. Hypocrites are for the most part too supple to be cruel. For cruelty is a stern and unbending passion; while hypocrisy is a fawning and flexible art, which accommodates itself to human feelings, and flatters the weakness of men in order that it may gain its own ends. In Spain, the earnestness of the nation, being concentrated on a single topic, carried everything before it; and hatred of heresy becoming a habit, persecution of heresy was thought a duty. The conscientious energy with which that duty was fulfilled is seen in the history of the Spanish Church. Indeed, that the inquisitors were remarkable for an undeviating and incorruptible integrity, may be proved in a variety of ways, and from different and independent sources of evidence. This is a question to which I shall

is made by Gibbon; *Decline and Fall*, chap. xvi. p. 220, Lond. 1836. Another writer, of a very different character, ascribes this peculiarity to the wiles of the devil: 'In the primitive times, it is observed that the best emperors were some of them stirred up by Satan to be the bitterest persecutors of the Church.' *Memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson*, p. 85.

hereafter return; but there are two testimonies which I cannot omit, because, from the circumstances attending them, they are peculiarly unimpeachable. Llorente, the great historian of the Inquisition, and its bitter enemy, had access to its private papers; and yet, with the fullest means of information, he does not even insinuate a charge against the moral character of the inquisitors; but while execrating the cruelty of their conduct, he cannot deny the purity of their intentions.[20] Thirty years earlier, Townsend, a clergyman of the Church of England, published his valuable work on Spain;[21] and though, as a Protestant and an Englishman, he had every reason to be prejudiced against the infamous system which he describes, he also can bring no charge against those who upheld it; but having occasion to mention its establishment at Barcelona, one of its most important branches, he makes the remarkable admission, that all its members are men of worth, and that most of them are of distinguished humanity.[22]

These facts, startling as they are, form a very small part of that vast mass of evidence which history contains, and which decisively proves the utter inability of moral feelings to diminish religious persecution. The way in which the diminution has been really effected by the mere progress of intellectual acquirements, will be pointed out in another part of this volume; when we shall see that the great antagonist of intolerance is not humanity, but knowledge. It is to the diffusion of knowledge, and to that alone, that we owe the comparative cessation of what is unquestionably the greatest evil men have ever

[20] By which, indeed, he is sorely puzzled. 'On reconnaîtra mon impartialité dans quelques circonstances où je fais remarquer chez les inquisiteurs des dispositions généreuses; ce qui me porte à croire que les atroces sentences rendues par le Saint-Office, sont plutôt une conséquence de ses lois organiques, qu'un effet du caractère particulier de ses membres.' *Llorente, Histoire Critique de l'Inquisition d'Espagne,* vol. i. p. xxiii.: compare vol. ii. pp. 267, 268, vol. iv. p. 153.

[21] Highly spoken of by the late Blanco White, a most competent judge. See *Doblado's Letters from Spain,* p. 5.

[22] 'It is, however, universally acknowledged, for the credit of the corps at Barcelona, that all its members are men of worth, and most of them distinguished for humanity.' *Townsend's Journey through Spain, in* 1786 *and* 1787, vol. i. p. 122, Lond. 1792.

inflicted on their own species. For that religious persecution is a greater evil than any other, is apparent, not so much from the enormous and almost incredible number of its known victims,[23] as from the fact that the unknown must be far more numerous, and that history gives no account of those who have been spared in the body, in order that they might suffer in the mind. We hear much of martyrs and confessors—of those who were slain by the sword, or consumed in the fire; but we know little of that still larger number who, by the mere threat of persecution, have been driven into an outward abandonment of their real opinions; and who, thus forced into an apostasy the heart abhors, have passed the remainder of their life in the practice of a constant and humiliating hypocrisy. It is this which is the real curse of religious persecution. For in this way, men being constrained to mask their thoughts, there arises a habit of securing safety by falsehood, and of purchasing impunity with deceit. In this way, fraud becomes a necessary of life; insincerity is made a daily custom; the whole tone of public feeling is vitiated, and the gross amount of vice and of error fearfully increased. Surely, then, we have reason to say, that, compared to this, all other crimes are of small account; and we may well be grateful for that increase of intellectual pursuits, which has destroyed an evil that some among us would even now willingly restore.

The principle I am advocating is of such immense importance in practice as well as in theory, that I will

[23] In 1546, the Venetian ambassador at the court of the Emperor Charles V. stated, in an official report to his own government on his return home, 'that in Holland and in Friesland, more than 30,000 persons have suffered death at the hands of justice for Anabaptist errors.' *Correspondence of Charles V. and his Ambassadors*, edited by William Bradford, Lond. 8vo, 1850, p. 471. In Spain, the Inquisition, during the eighteen years of Torquemada's ministry, punished, according to the lowest estimate, upwards of 105,000 persons, of whom 8800 were burned. *Prescott's History of Ferdinand and Isabella*, vol. i. p. 265. In Andalusia alone, during a single year, the Inquisition put to death 2000 Jews, 'besides 17,000 who underwent some form of punishment less severe than that of the stake.' *Ticknor's History of Spanish Literature*, vol. i. p. 410. For other statistical evidence on this horrible subject, see *Llorente, Histoire de l'Inquisition*, vol. i. pp. 160, 229, 238, 239, 279, 280, 406, 407, 455, vol. ii. pp. 77, 116, 376, vol. iv. p. 31; and, above all, the summary at pp. 242-273.

give yet another instance of the energy with which it works. The second greatest evil known to mankind—the one by which, with the exception of religious persecution, most suffering has been caused—is, unquestionably, the practice of war. That this barbarous pursuit is, in the progress of society, steadily declining, must be evident, even to the most hasty reader of European history.[24] If we compare one century with another, we shall find that for a very long period, wars have been becoming less frequent; and now so clearly is the movement marked, that until the late commencement of hostilities, we had remained at peace for nearly forty years: a circumstance unparalleled, not only in our own country, but also in the annals of every other country which has been important enough to play a leading part in the affairs of the world.[25] The question arises, as to what share our moral feelings have had in bringing about this great improvement. And if this question is answered, not according to preconceived opinions, but according to the evidence we possess, the answer will certainly be, that those feelings have had no share at all. For it surely will not be pretended that the moderns have made any discoveries respecting the moral evils of war. On this head, nothing is now known that has not been known for many centuries. That defensive wars are just, and that offensive wars are unjust, are the only two principles which, on this subject, moralists are able to teach. These two principles were as clearly laid down, as well understood, and as universally admitted, in the Middle Ages, when there was never a week without war, as they are at the present moment, when war is deemed a rare and singular

[24] On the diminished love of war, which is even more marked than the actual diminution of war, see some interesting remarks in *Comte, Philosophie Positive*, vol. iv. pp. 488, 713, vol. vi. pp. 68, 424-436, where the antagonism between the military spirit and the industrial spirit is, on the whole, well worked out; though some of the leading phenomena have escaped the attention of this eminent philosopher, from his want of acquaintance with the history and present state of political economy.

[25] In *Pellew's Life of Sidmouth*, 1847, vol. iii. p. 137, this prolonged peace is gravely ascribed to 'the wisdom of the adjustment of 1815;' in other words, to the proceedings of the Congress of Vienna!

occurrence. Since, then, the actions of men respecting war have been gradually changing, while their moral knowledge respecting it has not been changing, it is palpably evident that the changeable effect has not been produced by the unchangeable cause. It is impossible to conceive an argument more decisive than this. If it can be proved that, during the last thousand years, moralists or theologians have pointed out a single evil caused by war, the existence of which was unknown to their predecessors,—if this can be proved, I will abandon the view for which I am contending. But if, as I most confidently assert, this cannot be proved, then it must be conceded, that, no additions having been made on this subject to the stock of morals, no additions can have been made to the result which the morals produce.[26]

Thus far as to the influence exercised by moral feelings in increasing our distaste for war. But if, on the other hand, we turn to the human intellect, in the narrowest sense of the term, we shall find that every great increase in its activity has been a heavy blow to the warlike spirit. The full evidence for this, I shall hereafter detail at considerable length; and in this Introduction I can only pretend to bring forward a few of those promi-

[26] Unless more zeal has been displayed in the diffusion of moral and religious principles; in which case it would be possible for the principles to be stationary, and yet their effects be progressive. But so far from this, it is certain that in the Middle Ages there were, relatively to the population, more churches than there are now; the spiritual classes were far more numerous, the proselyting spirit far more eager, and there was a much stronger determination to prevent purely scientific inferences from encroaching on ethical ones. Indeed, during the Middle Ages, the moral and religious literature outweighed all the profane literature put together; and surpassed it, not only in bulk, but also in the ability of its cultivators. Now, however, the generalizations of moralists have ceased to control the affairs of men, and have made way for the larger doctrine of expediency, which includes all interests and all classes. Systematic writers on morals reached their zenith in the thirteenth century; fell off rapidly after that period; were, as Coleridge well says, opposed by 'the genius of Protestantism:' and, by the end of the seventeenth century, became extinct in the most civilized countries; the *Ductor Dubitantium* of Jeremy Taylor being the last comprehensive attempt of a man of genius to mould society solely according to the maxims of moralists. Compare two interesting passages in *Mosheim's Ecclesiast. Hist.*, vol. i. p. 338, and *Coleridge's Friend*, vol. iii. p. 104.

nent points, which, being on the surface of history, will be at once understood.

Of these points, one of the most obvious is, that every important addition made to knowledge increases the authority of the intellectual classes, by increasing the resources which they have to wield. Now, the antagonism between these classes and the military class is evident: it is the antagonism between thought and action, between the internal and the external, between argument and violence, between persuasion and force; or, to sum up the whole, between men who live by the pursuits of peace and those who live by the practice of war. Whatever, therefore, is favourable to one class, is manifestly unfavourable to the other. Supposing the remaining circumstances to be the same, it must happen, that as the intellectual acquisitions of a people increase, their love of war will diminish; and if their intellectual acquisitions are very small, their love of war will be very great.[27] In perfectly barbarous countries, there are no intellectual acquisitions; and the mind being a blank and dreary waste, the only resource is external activity,[28] the only merit personal courage. No account is made of any man, unless he has killed an enemy; and the more he

[27] Herder boldly asserts that man originally, and by virtue of his organization, is peaceably disposed; but this opinion is decisively refuted by the immense additions which, since the time of Herder, have been made to our knowledge of the feelings and habits of savages. 'Indessen ist's wahr, dass der Bau des Menschen vorzüglich auf die Vertheidigung, nicht auf den Angriff gerichtet ist: in diesem muss ihm die Kunst zu Hülfe kommen, in jener aber ist er von Natur das kräftigste Geschöpf der Erde. Seine Gestalt selbst lehret ihn also Friedlichkeit, nicht räuberische Mordverwüstung,—der Humanität erstes Merkmal.' *Ideen zur Geschichte*, vol. i. p. 185.

[28] Hence, no doubt, that acuteness of the senses, natural, and indeed necessary, to an early state of society, and which, being at the expense of the reflecting faculties, assimilates man to the lower animals. See *Carpenter's Human Physiology*, p. 404; and a fine passage in *Herder's Ideen zur Geschichte*, vol. ii. p. 12: 'Das abstehende thierische Ohr, das gleichsam immer lauscht und horchet, das kleine scharfe Auge, das in der weitesten Ferne den kleinsten Rauch oder Staub gewahr wird, der weisse hervorbleckende, knochenbenagende Zahn, der dicke Hals und die zurückgebogene Stellung ihres Kopfes auf demselben.' Compare *Prichard's Physical Hist. of Mankind*, vol. i. pp. 202, 293; *Azara, Amérique Méridionale*, vol. ii. p. 18; *Wrangel's Polar Expedition*, p. 384; *Pallme's Travels in Kordofan*, pp. 132, 133.

has killed, the greater the reputation he enjoys.[29] This is the purely savage state; and it is the state in which military glory is most esteemed, and military men most respected.[30] From this frightful debasement, even up to the summit of civilization, there is a long series of consecutive steps; gradations, at each of which something is taken from the dominion of force, and something given to the authority of thought. Slowly, and one by one, the intellectual and pacific classes begin to arise; at first held in great contempt by warriors, but nevertheless gradually gaining ground, increasing in number and in power, and at each increase weakening that old military spirit, in which all other tendencies had formerly been absorbed. Trade, commerce, manufactures, law, diplomacy, literature, science, philosophy,—all these things, originally unknown, become organized into separate studies, each study having a separate class, and each class insisting on the importance of its own pursuit. Of these classes, some are, no doubt, less pacific than others; but even those

[29] 'Among some Macedonian tribes, the man who had never slain an enemy was marked by a degrading badge.' *Grote's History of Greece*, vol. xi. p. 397. Among the Dyaks of Borneo, 'a man cannot marry until he has procured a human head; and he that has several may be distinguished by his proud and lofty bearing, for it constitutes his patent of nobility.' *Earl's Account of Borneo*, in *Journal of Asiatic Society*, vol. iv. p. 181. See also *Crawfurd on Borneo*, in *Journal of Geog. Soc.*, vol. xxiii. pp. 77, 80. And for similar instances of this absorption of all other ideas into warlike ones, compare *Journal of Geog. Soc.*, vol. x. p. 357; *Mallet's Northern Antiquities*, pp. 158, 159, 195; *Thirlwall's Hist. of Greece*, vol. i. pp. 226, 284, vol. viii. p. 209; *Henderson's History of Brazil*, p. 475; *Southey's History of Brazil*, vol. i. pp. 126, 248; *Asiatic Researches*, vol. ii. p. 188, vol. vii. p. 193; *Transactions of Bombay Society*, vol. ii. pp. 51, 52; *Hoskins's Travels in Ethiopia*, p. 163; *Origines du Droit*, in *Œuvres de Michelet*, vol. ii. pp. 333, 334 note. So also the Thracians: *γῆς δὲ ἐργάτην ἀτιμότατον. τὸ ζῆν ἀπὸ πολέμου καὶ ληϊστύος, κάλλιστον.* *Herodotus*, book v. chap. 6, vol. iii. p. 10, edit. Baehr.

[30] Malcolm (*History of Persia*, vol. i. p. 204) says of the Tartars, 'There is only one path to eminence, that of military renown.' Thus, too, in the *Institutes of Timour*, p. 209: 'He only is equal to stations of power and dignity, who is well acquainted with the military art, and with the various modes of breaking and defeating hostile armies.' The same turn of mind is shown in the frequency and evident delight with which Homer relates battles—a peculiarity noticed in *Mure's Greek Literature*, vol. ii. pp. 63, 64, where an attempt is made to turn it into an argument to prove that the Homeric poems are all by the same author; though the more legitimate inference would be that the poems were all composed in a barbarous age.

which are the least pacific, are, of course, more so than men whose associations are entirely military, and who see in every fresh war that chance of personal distinction, from which, during peace, they are altogether debarred.[31]

Thus it is that, as civilization advances, an equipoise is established, and military ardour is balanced by motives which none but a cultivated people can feel. But among a people whose intellect is not cultivated, such a balance can never exist. Of this we see a good illustration in the history of the present war.[32] For the peculiarity of the great contest in which we are engaged is, that it was produced, not by the conflicting interests of civilized countries, but by a rupture between Russia and Turkey, the two most barbarous monarchies now remaining in Europe. This is a very significant fact. It is highly characteristic of the actual condition of society, that a peace of unexampled length should have been broken, not, as former peaces were broken, by a quarrel between two civilized nations, but by the encroachments of the uncivilized Russians on the still more uncivilized Turks. At an earlier period, the influence of intellectual, and therefore pacific, habits was indeed constantly increasing, but was still too weak, even in the most advanced countries, to control the old warlike habits: hence there arose a desire for conquest, which often outweighed all other feelings, and induced great nations like France and England to attack each other on

[31] To the prospect of personal distinction, there was formerly added that of wealth; and in Europe, during the Middle Ages, war was a very lucrative profession, owing to the custom of exacting heavy ransom for the liberty of prisoners. See Barrington's learned work, *Observations on the Statutes*, pp. 390 393. In the reign of Richard II. 'a war with France was esteemed as almost the only method by which an English gentleman could become rich.' Compare *Turner's Hist. of England*, vol. vi. p. 21. Sainte Palaye (*Mémoires sur l'ancienne Chevalerie*, vol. i. p. 311) says, 'La guerre enrichissoit alors par le butin, et par les rançons, celui qui la faisoit avec le plus de valeur, de vigilance et d'activité. La rançon étoit, ce semble, pour l'ordinaire, une année des revenus du prisonnier.' For an analogy with this, see *Rig Veda Sanhita*, vol. i. p. 208, sec. 3, and vol. ii. p. 265, sec. 13. In Europe, the custom of paying a ransom for prisoners-of-war survived the Middle Ages, and was only put an end to by the peace of Munster, in 1648. *Manning's Commentaries on the Law of Nations*, 1839, p. 162; and on the profits formerly made, pp. 157, 158.

[32] I wrote this in 1855.

the slightest pretence, and seek every opportunity of gratifying the vindictive hatred with which both contemplated the prosperity of their neighbour. Such, however, is now the progress of affairs, that these two nations, laying aside the peevish and irritable jealousy they once entertained, are united in a common cause, and have drawn the sword, not for selfish purposes, but to protect the civilized world against the incursions of a barbarous foe.

This is the leading feature which distinguishes the present war from its predecessors. That a peace should last for nearly forty years, and should then be interrupted, not, as heretofore, by hostilities between civilized states, but by the ambition of the only empire which is at once powerful and uncivilized—is one of many proofs that a dislike to war is a cultivated taste peculiar to an intellectual people. For no one will pretend that the military predilections of Russia are caused by a low state of morals, or by a disregard of religious duties. So far from this, all the evidence we have shows that vicious habits are not more common in Russia than in France or England;[33] and it is certain that the Russians submit to the teachings of the church with a docility greater than that displayed by their civilized opponents.[34] It is, therefore, clear that Russia is a warlike country, not because the inhabitants are immoral, but because they are unintellectual. The fault is in the head, not in the heart. In Russia, the national intellect being little cultivated, the intellectual classes lack influence; the military class, therefore, is supreme. In this early stage of society, there is as yet no middle rank,[35]

[33] Indeed some have supposed that there is less immorality in Russia than in Western Europe; but this idea is probably erroneous. See *Stirling's Russia*, Lond. 1841, pp. 59, 60. The benevolence and charitable disposition of the Russians are attested by Pinkerton, who had good means of information, and was by no means prejudiced in their favour. See *Pinkerton's Russia*, Lond. 1833, pp. 335, 336. Sir John Sinclair also says they are 'prone to acts of kindness and charity.' *Sinclair's Correspondence*, vol. ii. p. 241.

[34] The reverence of the Russian people for their clergy has attracted the attention of many observers, and is, indeed, too notorious to require proof.

[35] A very observing and intelligent writer says, 'Russia has only two ranks—the highest and the lowest.' *Letters from the Baltic*, Lond. 1841, vol. ii. p. 185. 'Les marchands, qui formeraient une classe moyenne, sont

and consequently the thoughtful and pacific habits which spring from the middle ranks have no existence. The minds of men, deprived of mental pursuits,[36] naturally turn to warlike ones, as the only resource remaining to them. Hence it is that in Russia, all ability is estimated by a military standard. The army is considered to be the greatest glory of the country: to win a battle, or outwit an enemy, is valued as one of the noblest achievements of life; and civilians, whatever their merits may be, are despised by this barbarous people, as beings of an altogether inferior and subordinate character.[37]

In England, on the other hand, opposite causes have

en si petit nombre qu'ils ne peuvent marquer dans l'état: d'ailleurs presque tous sont étrangers; . . . . où donc trouver cette classe moyenne qui fait la force des états?' *Custine's Russie*, vol. ii. pp. 125, 126: see also vol. iv. p. 74.

[36] A recent authoress, who had admirable opportunities of studying the society of St. Petersburg, which she estimated with that fine tact peculiar to an accomplished woman, was amazed at this state of things among classes surrounded with every form of luxury and wealth: 'a total absence of all rational tastes or literary topics. . . . . Here it is absolutely *mauvais genre* to discuss a rational subject—mere *pédanterie* to be caught upon any topics beyond dressing, dancing, and a *jolie tournure*.' *Letters from the Baltic*, 1841, vol. ii. p. 233. M. Custine (*La Russie en* 1839, vol. i. p. 321) says, 'Règle générale, personne ne profère jamais un mot qui pourrait intéresser vivement quelqu'un.' At vol. ii. p. 195, 'De toutes les facultés de l'intelligence, la seule qu'on estime ici c'est le tact.' Another writer of repute, M. Kohl, contemptuously observes, that in Russia, 'the depths of science are not even guessed at.' *Kohl's Russia*, 1842, Lond. p. 142.

[37] According to Schnitzler, 'Precedence is determined, in Russia, by military rank; and an ensign would take the *pas* of a nobleman not enrolled in the army, or occupying some situation giving military rank.' *M'Culloch's Geog. Dict.* 1849, vol. ii. p. 614. The same thing is stated in *Pinkerton's Russia*, 1833, p. 321. M. Erman, who travelled through great part of the Russian empire, says, 'In the modern language of St. Petersburg, one constantly hears a distinction of the greatest importance, conveyed in the inquiry which is habitually made respecting individuals of the educated class: Is he a plain-coat or a uniform?' *Erman's Siberia*, vol. i. p. 45. See also on this preponderance of the military classes, which is the inevitable fruit of the national ignorance, *Kohl's Russia*, pp. 28, 194; *Stirling's Russia under Nicholas the First*, p. 7; *Custine's Russie*, vol. i. pp. 147, 152, 252, 266, vol. ii. pp. 71, 128, 309, vol. iii. p. 328, vol. iv. p. 284. Sir A. Alison (*History of Europe*, vol. ii. pp. 391, 392) says, 'The whole energies of the nation are turned towards the army. Commerce, the law, and all civil employments, are held in no esteem; the whole youth of any consideration betake themselves to the profession of arms.' The same writer (vol. x. p. 566) quotes the remark of Bremner, that 'nothing astonishes the Russian or Polish noblemen so much as seeing the estimation in which the civil professions, and especially the bar, are held in Great Britain.'

produced opposite results. With us intellectual progress is so rapid, and the authority of the middle class so great, that not only have military men no influence in the government of the state, but there seemed at one time even a danger lest we should push this feeling to an extreme; and lest, from our detestation of war, we should neglect those defensive precautions which the enmity of other nations makes it advisable to adopt. But this at least we may safely say, that, in our country, a love of war is, as a national taste, utterly extinct. And this vast result has been effected, not by moral teachings, nor by the dictates of moral instinct; but by the simple fact, that in the progress of civilization there have been formed certain classes of society which have an interest in the preservation of peace, and whose united authority is sufficient to control those other classes whose interest lies in the prosecution of war.

It would be easy to conduct this argument further, and to prove how, by an increasing love of intellectual pursuits, the military service necessarily declines, not only in reputation, but likewise in ability. In a backward state of society, men of distinguished talents crowd to the army, and are proud to enroll themselves in its ranks. But as society advances, new sources of activity are opened, and new professions arise, which, being essentially mental, offer to genius opportunities for success more rapid than any formerly known. The consequence is, that in England, where these opportunities are more numerous than elsewhere, it nearly always happens that if a father has a son whose faculties are remarkable, he brings him up to one of the lay professions, where intellect, when accompanied by industry, is sure to be rewarded. If, however, the inferiority of the boy is obvious, a suitable remedy is at hand: he is made either a soldier or a clergyman; he is sent into the army, or hidden in the church. And this, as we shall hereafter see, is one of the reasons why, as society advances, the ecclesiastical spirit and the military spirit never fail to decline. As soon as eminent men grow unwilling to enter any pro-

fession, the lustre of that profession will be tarnished: first its reputation will be lessened, and then its power will be abridged. This is the process through which Europe is actually passing, in regard both to the church and to the army. The evidence, so far as the ecclesiastical profession is concerned, will be found in another part of this work. The evidence respecting the military profession is equally decisive. For although that profession has in modern Europe produced a few men of undoubted genius, their number is so extremely small, as to amaze us at the dearth of original ability. That the military class, taken as a whole, has a tendency to degenerate, will become still more obvious if we compare long periods of time. In the ancient world, the leading warriors were not only possessed of considerable accomplishments, but were comprehensive thinkers in politics as well as in war, and were in every respect the first characters of their age. Thus—to give only a few specimens from a single people —we find that the three most successful statesmen Greece ever produced were Solon, Themistocles, and Epaminondas, —all of whom were distinguished military commanders. Socrates, supposed by some to be the wisest of the ancients, was a soldier; and so was Plato; and so was Antisthenes, the celebrated founder of the Cynics. Archytas, who gave a new direction to the Pythagorean philosophy; and Melissus, who developed the Eleatic philosophy—were both of them well-known generals, famous alike in literature and in war. Among the most eminent orators, Pericles, Alcibiades, Andocides, Demosthenes, and Æschines, were all members of the military profession; as also were the two greatest tragic writers, Æschylus and Sophocles. Archilochus, who is said to have invented iambic verses, and whom Horace took as a model, was a soldier; and the same profession could likewise boast of Tyrtæus, one of the founders of elegiac poetry, and of Alcæus, one of the best composers of lyric poetry. The most philosophic of all the Greek historians was certainly Thucydides; but he, as well as Xenophon and Polybius, held high military appointments, and on more than one occasion

succeeded in changing the fortunes of war. In the midst of the hurry and turmoil of camps, these eminent men cultivated their minds to the highest point that the knowledge of that age would allow: and so wide is the range of their thoughts, and such the beauty and dignity of their style, that their works are read by thousands who care nothing about the sieges and battles in which they were engaged.

These were among the ornaments of the military profession in the ancient world; and all of them wrote in the same language, and were read by the same people. But in the modern world this identical profession, including many millions of men, and covering the whole of Europe, has never been able, since the sixteenth century, to produce ten authors who have reached the first class either as writers or as thinkers. Descartes is an instance of an European soldier combining the two qualities; he being as remarkable for the exquisite beauty of his style as for the depth and originality of his inquiries. This, however, is a solitary case; and there is, I believe, no second one of a modern military writer thus excelling in both departments. Certainly, the English army, during the last two hundred and fifty years, affords no example of it, and has, in fact, only possessed two authors, Raleigh and Napier, whose works are recognized as models, and are studied merely for their intrinsic merit. Still, this is simply in reference to style; and these two historians, notwithstanding their skill in composition, have never been reputed profound thinkers on difficult subjects, nor have they added anything of moment to the stock of our knowledge. In the same way, among the ancients, the most eminent soldiers were likewise the most eminent politicians, and the best leaders of the army were generally the best governors of the state. But here, again, the progress of society has wrought so great a change, that for a long period instances of this have been excessively rare. Even Gustavus Adolphus and Frederick the Great failed ignominiously in their domestic policy, and showed themselves as short-sighted in the arts of peace as they were saga-

cious in the arts of war. Cromwell, Washington, and Napoleon, are, perhaps, the only first-rate modern warriors of whom it can be fairly said, that they were equally competent to govern a kingdom and command an army. And if we look at England as furnishing a familiar illustration, we see this remark exemplified in our two greatest generals, Marlborough and Wellington. Marlborough was a man not only of the most idle and frivolous pursuits, but was so miserably ignorant, that his deficiencies made him the ridicule of his contemporaries; and of politics he had no other idea but to gain the favour of the sovereign by flattering his mistress, to desert the brother of that sovereign at his utmost need, and afterwards, by a double treachery, turn against his next benefactor, and engage in a criminal, as well as a foolish, correspondence with the very man whom a few years before he had infamously abandoned. These were the characteristics of the greatest conqueror of his age, the hero of a hundred fights, the victor of Blenheim and of Ramilies. As to our other great warrior, it is indeed true that the name of Wellington should never be pronounced by an Englishman without gratitude and respect: these feelings are, however, due solely to his vast military services, the importance of which it would ill become us to forget. But whoever has studied the civil history of England during the present century, knows full well that this military chief, who in the field shone without a rival, and who, to his still greater glory be it said, possessed an integrity of purpose, an unflinching honesty, and a high moral feeling, which could not be surpassed, was nevertheless utterly unequal to the complicated exigencies of political life. It is notorious, that in his views of the most important legislative measures he was always in the wrong. It is notorious, and the evidence of it stands recorded in our Parliamentary Debates, that every great measure which was carried, every great improvement, every great step in reform, every concession to the popular wishes, was strenuously opposed by the Duke of Wellington, became law in spite of his opposition, and after his mournful declarations that by such means

the security of England would be seriously imperilled. Yet there is now hardly a forward schoolboy who does not know that to these very measures the present stability of our country is mainly owing. Experience, the great test of wisdom, has amply proved, that those vast schemes of reform, which the Duke of Wellington spent his political life in opposing, were, I will not say expedient or advisable, but were indispensably necessary. That policy of resisting the popular will which he constantly advised, is precisely the policy which has been pursued, since the Congress of Vienna, in every monarchy except our own. The result of that policy is written for our instruction: it is written in that great explosion of popular passion, which in the moment of its wrath upset the proudest thrones, destroyed princely families, ruined noble houses, desolated beautiful cities. And if the counsel of our great general had been followed, if the just demands of the people had been refused—this same lesson would have been written in the annals of our own land; and we should most assuredly have been unable to escape the consequence of that terrible catastrophe, in which the ignorance and selfishness of rulers did, only a few years ago, involve a large part of the civilized world.

Thus striking is the contrast between the military genius of ancient times, and the military genius of modern Europe. The causes of this decay are clearly traceable to the circumstance that, owing to the immense increase of intellectual employments, few men of ability will now enter a profession into which, in antiquity, men of ability eagerly crowded, as supplying the best means of exercising those faculties which, in more civilized countries, are turned to a better account. This, indeed, is a very important change; and thus to transfer the most powerful intellects from the arts of war to the arts of peace, has been the slow work of many centuries, the gradual, but constant, encroachments of advancing knowledge. To write the history of those encroachments, would be to write the history of the human intellect; a task impossible for any single man adequately to perform. But the subject

is one of such interest, and has been so little studied, that though I have already carried this analysis farther than I had intended, I cannot refrain from noticing what appear to me to be the three leading ways in which the warlike spirit of the ancient world has been weakened by the progress of European knowledge.

The first of these arose out of the invention of Gunpowder; which, though a warlike contrivance, has in its results been eminently serviceable to the interests of peace.[38] This important invention is said to have been made in the thirteenth century;[39] but was not in common use until the fourteenth, or even the beginning of the fifteenth century. Scarcely had it come into operation, when it worked a great change in the whole scheme and practice of war. Before this time, it was considered the duty of nearly every citizen to be prepared to enter the military service, for the purpose either of defending his own country, or of attacking others.[40] Standing armies were entirely unknown; and in their place there existed a rude and barbarous militia, always ready for battle, and always unwilling to engage in those peaceful pursuits which were then universally despised. Nearly every man

[38] The consequences of the invention of gunpowder are considered very superficially by Frederick Schlegel (*Lectures on the History of Literature*, vol. ii. pp. 37, 38), and by Dugald Stewart (*Philosophy of the Mind*, vol. i. p. 262). They are examined with much greater ability, though by no means exhaustively, in *Smith's Wealth of Nations*, book v. chap. i. pp. 292, 296, 297; *Herder's Ideen zur Geschichte der Menschheit*, vol. iv. p. 301; *Hallam's Middle Ages*, vol. ii. p. 470.

[39] From the following authorities, it appears impossible to trace it further back than the thirteenth century; and it is doubtful whether the Arabs were, as is commonly supposed, the inventors: *Humboldt's Cosmos*, vol. ii. p. 590; *Koch, Tableaux des Révolutions*, vol. i. p. 242; *Beckmann's History of Inventions*, 1846, vol. ii. p. 505; *Histoire Lit. de la France*, vol. xx. p. 236; *Thomson's History of Chemistry*, vol. i. p. 36; *Hallam's Middle Ages*, vol. i. p. 341. The statements in *Erman's Siberia*, vol. i. pp. 370, 371, are more positive than the evidence we are possessed of will justify; but there can be no doubt that a sort of gunpowder was at an early period used in China, and in other parts of Asia.

[40] *Vattel, le Droit des Gens*, vol. ii. p. 129; *Lingard's History of England*, vol. ii. pp. 356, 357. Among the Anglo-Saxons, 'all free men and proprietors of land, except the ministers of religion, were trained to the use of arms, and always held ready to take the field at a moment's warning.' *Eccleston's English Antiquities*, p. 62. 'There was no distinction between the soldier and the citizen.' *Palgrave's Anglo-Saxon Commonwealth*, vol. i. p. 200.

being a soldier, the military profession, as such, had no separate existence; or, to speak more properly, the whole of Europe composed one great army, in which all other professions were merged. To this the only exception was the ecclesiastical profession; but even that was affected by the general tendency, and it was not at all uncommon to see large bodies of troops led to the field by bishops and abbots, to most of whom the arts of war were in those days perfectly familiar.[41] At all events, between these two professions men were necessarily divided: the only avocations were war and theology; and if you refused to enter the church, you were bound to serve in the army. As a natural consequence, everything of real importance was altogether neglected. There were, indeed, many priests and many warriors, many sermons and many battles.[42] But, on the other hand, there was neither trade, nor commerce, nor manufactures; there was no science, no literature: the useful arts were entirely unknown; and even the highest ranks of society were unacquainted, not only with the most ordinary comforts, but with the commonest decencies of civilized life.

But so soon as gunpowder came into use, there was laid the foundation of a great change. According to the old system, a man had only to possess, what he generally inherited from his father, either a sword or a bow, and he was ready equipped for the field.[43] According to the

[41] On these warlike ecclesiastics, compare *Grose's Military Antiq.* vol. i. pp. 67-8; *Lingard's Hist. of England*, vol. ii. pp. 26, 183, vol. iii. p. 14; *Turner's Hist. of England*, vol. iv. p. 458, vol. v. pp. 92, 402, 406; *Mosheim's Eccl. History*, vol. i. pp. 173, 193, 241; *Crichton's Scandinavia*, Edinb. 1838, vol. i. p. 220. Such opponents were the more formidable, because in those happy days it was sacrilege for a layman to lay hands on a bishop. In 1095 his Holiness the Pope caused a council to declare, 'Quòd qui apprehenderit episcopum omnino exlex fiat.' *Matthæi Paris Historia Major*, p. 18. As the context contains no limitation of this, it would follow that a man became spiritually outlawed if he, even in self-defence, took a bishop prisoner.

[42] As Sharon Turner observes of England under the Anglo-Saxon government, 'war and religion were the absorbing subjects of this period.' *Turner's History of England*, vol. iii. p. 263. And a recent scientific historian says of Europe generally: 'alle Künste und Kenntnisse, die sich nicht auf das edle Kriegs-, Rauf- und Raubhandwerk bezogen, waren überflüssig und schädlich. Nur etwas Theologie war vonnöthen, um die Erde mit dem Himmel zu verbinden.' *Winckler, Geschichte der Botanik*, 1854, p. 56.

[43] In 1181, Henry II. of England ordered that every man should have

new system, new means were required, and the equipment became more costly and more difficult. First, there was the supply of gunpowder;[44] then there was the possession of muskets, which were expensive weapons, and considered difficult to manage.[45] Then, too, there were other contrivances to which gunpowder naturally gave rise, such as pistols, bombs, mortars, shells, mines, and the

either a sword or bow; which he was not to sell, but leave to his heir: 'cæteri autem omnes haberent wanbasiam, capellum ferreum, lanceam et gladium, vel arcum et sagittas: et prohibuit ne aliquis arma sua venderet vel invadiaret; sed cùm moreretur, daret illa propinquiori hæredi suo.' *Rog. de Hov. Annal. in Scriptores post Bedam*, p. 348 rev. In the reign of Edward I., it was ordered that every man possessing land to the value of forty shillings should keep 'a sword, bow and arrows, and a dagger. . . . . Those who were to keep bows and arrows might have them out of the forest.' *Grose's Military Antiquities*, vol. ii. pp. 301, 302. Compare *Geijer's History of the Swedes*, part i. p. 94. Even late in the fifteenth century, there were at the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, 'in each from four to five thousand scholars, all grown up, carrying swords and bows, and in great part gentry.' *Sir William Hamilton on the History of Universities*, in *Hamilton's Philosoph. Discussions*, p. 414. One of the latest attempts made to revive archery, was a warrant issued by Elizabeth in 1596, and printed by Mr. Collier in the *Egerton Papers*, pp. 217-220, edit. Camden Soc. 1840. In the south-west of England, bows and arrows did not finally disappear from the muster-rolls till 1599; and in the mean time the musket gained ground. See *Yonge's Diary*, edit. Camden Soc. 1848, p. xvii.

[44] It is stated by many writers that no gunpowder was manufactured in England until the reign of Elizabeth. *Camden's Elizabeth*, in *Kennett's History*, vol. ii. p. 388, London, 1719; *Strickland's Queens of England*, vol. vi. p. 223, Lond. 1843; *Grose's Military Antiquities*, vol. i. p. 378. But Sharon Turner (*History of England*, vol. vi. pp. 490, 491, Lond. 1839) has shown, from an order of Richard III. in the Harleian manuscripts, that it was made in England in 1483; and Mr. Eccleston (*English Antiquities*, p. 182, Lond. 1847) states, that the English both made and exported it as early as 1411: compare p. 202. At all events, it long remained a costly article; and even in the reign of Charles I., I find a complaint of its dearness, 'whereby the train-bands are much discouraged in their exercising.' *Parliament. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 655. In 1686, it appears from the *Clarendon Correspondence*, vol. i. p. 413, that the wholesale price ranged from about 2*l.* 10*s.* to 3*l.* a barrel. On the expense of making it in the present century, see *Liebig and Kopp's Reports on Chemistry*, vol. iii. p. 325, Lond. 1852.

[45] The muskets were such miserable machines, that, in the middle of the fifteenth century, it took a quarter of an hour to charge and fire one. *Hallam's Middle Ages*, vol. i. p. 342. Grose (*Military Antiquities*, vol. i. p. 146, vol. ii. pp. 292, 337) says, that the first mention of muskets in England is in 1471; and that rests for them did not become obsolete until the reign of Charles I. In the recent edition of *Beckmann's History of Inventions*, Lond. 1846, vol. ii. p. 535, it is strangely supposed that muskets were 'first used at the battle of Pavia.' Compare *Daniel, Histoire de la Milice*, vol. i. p. 464, with *Smythe's Military Discourses*, in *Ellis's Original Letters*, p. 53, edit. Camden Society.

like.[46] All these things, by increasing the complication of the military art, increased the necessity of discipline and practice; while, at the same time, the change that was being effected in the ordinary weapons deprived the great majority of men of the possibility of procuring them. To suit these altered circumstances, a new system was organized: and it was found advisable to train up bodies of men for the sole purpose of war, and to separate them as much as possible from those other employments in which formerly all soldiers were occasionally engaged. Thus it was that there arose standing armies; the first of which were formed in the middle of the fifteenth century,[47] almost immediately after gunpowder was generally known. Thus, too, there arose the custom of employing mercenary troops; of which we find a few earlier instances, though the practice was not fully established until the latter part of the fourteenth century.[48]

The importance of this movement was soon seen, by the change it effected in the classification of European society. The regular troops being, from their discipline, more serviceable against the enemy, and also more immediately under the control of the government, it naturally followed that, as their merits became understood, the old militia should fall, first into disrepute, then be neglected,

[46] Pistols are said to have been invented early in the sixteenth century. *Grose's Military Antiq.* vol. i. pp. 102, 146. Gunpowder was first employed in mining towns in 1487. *Prescott's Hist. of Ferdinand and Isabella*, vol. ii. p. 32; *Koch, Tableau des Révolutions*, vol. i. p. 243; *Daniel, Histoire de la Milice Française*, vol. i. p. 574. Daniel (*Milice Française*, vol. i. pp. 580, 581) says that bombs were not invented till 1588; and the same thing is asserted in *Biographie Universelle*, vol. xv. p. 248: but, according to Grose (*Military Antiq.* vol. i. p. 387), they are mentioned by Valturinus in 1472. On the general condition of the French artillery in the sixteenth century, see *Relations des Ambassadeurs Vénitiens*, vol. i. pp. 94, 476, 478, Paris, 1838, 4to; a curious and valuable publication. There is some doubt as to the exact period in which cannons were first known; but they were certainly used in war before the middle of the fourteenth century. See *Bohlen, das alte Indien*, vol. ii. p. 63; and *Daniel, Histoire de la Milice*, vol. i. pp. 441, 442.

[47] *Blackstone's Commentaries*, vol. i. p. 413; *Daniel, Hist. de la Milice*, vol. i. p. 210, vol. ii. pp. 491, 493; *Œuvres de Turgot*, vol. viii. p. 228.

[48] The leading facts respecting the employment of mercenary troops are indicated with great judgment by Mr. Hallam, in his *Middle Ages*, vol. i. pp. 328-337.

and then sensibly diminish. At the same time, this diminution in the number of undisciplined soldiers deprived the country of a part of its warlike resources, and therefore made it necessary to pay more attention to the disciplined ones, and to confine them more exclusively to their military duties. Thus it was that a division was first broadly established between the soldier and the civilian; and there arose a separate military profession,[49] which, consisting of a comparatively small number of the total amount of citizens, left the remainder to settle in some other pursuit.[50] In this way, immense bodies of men were gradually weaned from their old warlike habits; and being, as it were, forced into civil life, their energies became available for the general purposes of society, and for the cultivation of those arts of peace which had formerly been neglected. The result was, that the European mind, instead of being, as heretofore, solely occupied either with war or with theology, now struck out into a middle path, and created those great branches of knowledge to which modern civilization owes its origin. In each successive generation this tendency towards a separate organization was more marked; the utility of a division of labour became clearly recognized; and as by this means knowledge itself advanced, the authority of this middle or intellectual class correspondingly increased. Each addi-

[49] Grose (*Military Antiquities*, vol. i. pp. 310, 311) says, that until the sixteenth century, English soldiers had no professional dress; but 'were distinguished by badges of their leaders' arms, similar to those now worn by watermen.' It was also early in the sixteenth century that there first arose a separate military literature. *Daniel, Hist. de la Milice*, vol. i. p. 380: 'Les auteurs, qui ont écrit en détail sur la discipline militaire: or ce n'est guères que sous François I, et sous l'Empereur Charles V, que les Italiens, les François, les Espagnols et les Allemans ont commencé à écrire sur ce sujet.'

[50] The change from the time when every layman was a soldier, is very remarkable. Adam Smith (*Wealth of Nations*, book v. chap. i. p. 291) says, 'Among the civilized nations of modern Europe, it is commonly computed, that not more than the one-hundredth part of the inhabitants of any country can be employed as soldiers, without ruin to the country which pays the expense of their service.' The same proportion is given in *Sadler's Law of Population*, vol. i p. 292; and in *Grandeur et Décadence des Romains*, chap. iii.—*Œuvres de Montesquieu*, p. 130: also in *Sharpe's History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 105; and in *Alison's History of Europe*, vol. xii. p. 318.

tion to its power lessened the weight of the other two classes, and checked those superstitious feelings and that love of war, on which, in an early state of society, all enthusiasm is concentrated. The evidence of the growth and diffusion of this intellectual principle is so full and decisive, that it would be possible, by combining all the branches of knowledge, to trace nearly the whole of its consecutive steps. At present, it is enough to say, that, taking a general view, this third, or intellectual, class, first displayed an independent, though still a vague, activity, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; that in the sixteenth century, this activity, assuming a distinct form, showed itself in religious outbreaks; that in the seventeenth century, its energy, becoming more practical, was turned against the abuses of government, and caused a series of rebellions, from which hardly any part of Europe escaped; and finally, that in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, it has extended its aim to every department of public and private life, diffusing education, teaching legislators, controlling kings, and, above all, settling on a sure foundation that supremacy of Public Opinion, to which not only constitutional princes, but even the most despotic sovereigns, are now rendered strictly amenable.

These, indeed, are vast questions; and without some knowledge of them, no one can understand the present condition of European society, or form the least idea of its future prospects. It is, however, sufficient that the reader can now perceive the way in which so slight a matter as the invention of gunpowder diminished the warlike spirit, by diminishing the number of persons to whom the practice of war was habitual. There were, no doubt, other and collateral circumstances which tended in the same direction; but the use of gunpowder was the most effectual, because, by increasing the difficulty and expense of war, it made a separate military profession indispensable; and thus, curtailing the action of the military spirit, left an overplus, an unemployed energy, which soon found its way to the pursuits of peace, infused into

them a new life, and began to control that lust of conquest, which, though natural to a barbarous people, is the great enemy of knowledge, and is the most fatal of those diseased appetites by which even civilized countries are too often afflicted.

The second intellectual movement, by which the love of war has been lessened, is much more recent, and has not yet produced the whole of its natural effects. I allude to the discoveries made by Political Economy; a branch of knowledge with which even the wisest of the ancients had not the least acquaintance, but which possesses an importance it would be difficult to exaggerate, and is, moreover, remarkable, as being the only subject immediately connected with the art of government that has yet been raised to a science. The practical value of this noble study, though perhaps only fully known to the more advanced thinkers, is gradually becoming recognized by men of ordinary education: but even those by whom it is understood, seem to have paid little attention to the way in which, by its influence, the interests of peace, and therefore of civilization, have been directly promoted.[51] The manner in which this has been brought about, I will endeavour to explain, as it will furnish another argument in support of that great principle which I wish to establish.

It is well known, that, among the different causes of war, commercial jealousy was formerly one of the most conspicuous; and there are numerous instances of quarrels respecting the promulgation of some particular tariff, or the protection of some favourite manufacture. Disputes of this kind were founded upon the very ignorant, but the very natural notion, that the advantages of commerce depend upon the balance of trade, and that whatever is gained by one country must be lost by another. It was believed that wealth is composed entirely of money; and that it is, therefore, the essential interest of every people

[51] The pacific tendencies of political economy are touched on very briefly in *Blanqui, Histoire de l'Economie Politique*, vol. ii. p. 207; and in *Twiss's Progress of Political Economy*, p. 240.

to import few commodities and much gold. Whenever this was done, affairs were said to be in a sound and healthy state; but if this was not done, it was declared that we were being drained of our resources, and that some other country was getting the better of us, and was enriching itself at our expense.[52] For this the only remedy was, to negotiate a commercial treaty, which should oblige the offending nation to take more of our commodities, and give us more of their gold: if, however, they refused to sign the treaty, it became necessary to bring them to reason; and for this purpose an armament was fitted out to attack a people who, by lessening our wealth, had deprived us of that money by which alone trade could be extended in foreign markets.[53]

[52] This favourite doctrine is illustrated in a curious 'Discourse,' written in 1578, and printed in *Stow's London*, in which it is laid down, that if our exports exceed our imports, we gain by the trade; but that if they are less, we lose. *Stow's London*, edit. Thoms, 1842, p. 205. Whenever this balance was disturbed, politicians were thrown into an agony of fear. In 1620, James I. said, in one of his long speeches, 'It's strange that my Mint hath not gone this eight or nine years: but I think the fault of the want of money is the uneven balancing of trade. *Parl. History*, vol. i. p. 1179: see also the debate 'On the Scarcity of Money,' pp. 1194-1196. In 1620, the House of Commons, in a state of great alarm, passed a resolution, 'That the importation of tobacco out of Spain is one reason of the scarcity of money in this kingdom.' *Parl. Hist.* vol. i. p. 1198. In 1627, it was actually argued in the House of Commons that the Netherlands were being weakened by their trade with the East Indies, because it carried money out of the country! *Parl. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 220. Half a century later, the same principle was advocated by Sir William Temple in his Letters, and also in his Observations upon the United Provinces, *Temple's Works*, vol. i. p. 175, vol. ii. pp. 117, 118.

[53] In 1672, the celebrated Earl of Shaftesbury, then Lord Chancellor, announced that the time had come when the English must go to war with the Dutch; for that it was 'impossible both should stand upon a balance; and that if we do not master their trade, they will ours. They or we must truckle. One must and will give the law to the other. There is no compounding, where the contest is for the trade of the whole world.' *Somers Tracts*, vol. viii. p. 39. A few months later, still insisting on the propriety of the war, he gave as one of his reasons that it 'was necessary to the trade of England that there should be a fair adjustment of commerce in the East Indies.' *Parl. Hist.* vol. iv. p. 587. In 1701, Stepney, a diplomatist and one of the lords of trade, published an essay, strongly insisting on the benefits which would accrue to English commerce by a war with France. *Somers Tracts*, vol. xi. pp. 199, 217; and he says, p. 205, that one of the consequences of peace with France would be 'the utter ruin and destruction of our trade.' See also, in vol. xiii. p. 688, the remarks on the policy of William III. In 1743, Lord Hardwicke, one of the most eminent men of his

This misconception of the true nature of barter was formerly universal;[54] and being adopted even by the ablest politicians, was not only an immediate cause of war, but increased those feelings of natural hatred by which war is encouraged; each country thinking that it had a direct interest in diminishing the wealth of its neighbours.[55] In the seventeenth, or even late in the sixteenth century, there were, indeed, one or two eminent thinkers who exposed some of the fallacies upon which this opinion was based.[56] But their arguments found no favour with those politicians by whom European affairs were then adminis-

time, said in the House of Lords, 'If our wealth is diminished, it is time to ruin the commerce of that nation which has driven us from the markets of the Continent—by sweeping the seas of their ships, and by blockading their ports.' *Campbell's Lives of the Chancellors*, vol. v. p. 89.

[54] In regard to the seventeenth century, see *Mill's History of India*, vol. i. pp. 41, 42. To this I may add, that even Locke had very confused notions respecting the use of money in trade. See *Essay on Money*, in *Locke's Works*, vol. iv.; and in particular pp. 9, 10, 12, 20, 21, 49-52. Berkeley, profound thinker as he was, fell into the same errors, and assumes the necessity of maintaining the balance of trade, and lessening our imports in proportion as we lessen our exports. See the *Querist*, Nos. xcix. clxi., in *Berkeley's Works*, vol. ii. pp. 246, 250: see also his proposal for a sumptuary law, in *Essay towards preventing the Ruin of Great Britain*, in *Works*, vol. ii. p. 190. The economical views of Montesquieu (*Esprit des Lois*, livre xx. chap. xii. in *Œuvres*, p. 353) are as hopelessly wrong; while Vattel (*Droit des Gens*, vol. i. pp. 111, 117, 118, 206) goes out of his way to praise the mischievous interference of the English government, which he recommends as a pattern to other states.

[55] The Earl of Bristol, a man of some ability, told the House of Lords in 1642, that it was a great advantage to England for other countries to go to war with each other; because by that means we should get their money, or, as he called it, their 'wealth.' See his speech, in *Parl. History*, vol. ii. pp. 1274-1279.

[56] Serra, who wrote in 1613, is said to have been the first to prove the absurdity of discouraging the exportation of the precious metals. See *Twiss on the Progress of Political Economy*, pp. 8, 12, 13. But I believe that the earliest approach towards modern economical discoveries is a striking essay published in 1581, and ascribed to William Stafford. It will be found in the *Harleian Miscellany*, vol. ix. pp. 139-192, edit. Park, 1812; and the title, *Brief Conceipt of English Policy*, gives an inadequate idea of what is, on the whole, the most important work on the theory of politics which had then appeared: since the author not only displays an insight into the nature of price and value, such as no previous thinker possessed, but he points out clearly the causes of that system of enclosures which is the leading economical fact in the reign of Elizabeth, and is intimately connected with the rise of the poor-laws. Some account of this essay is given by Dr. Twiss; but the original is easily accessible, and should be read by every student of English history. Among other heretical propositions, it recommends free trade in corn.

tered. It is doubtful if they were known; and it is certain that, if known, they were despised by statesmen and legislators, who, from the constancy of their practical occupations, cannot be supposed to have sufficient leisure to master each new discovery that is successively made; and who in consequence are, as a body, always in the rear of their age. The result was, that they went blundering on in the old track, believing that no commerce could flourish without their interference, troubling that commerce by repeated and harassing regulations, and taking for granted that it was the duty of every government to benefit the trade of their own people by injuring the trade of others.[57]

But in the eighteenth century, a long course of events, which I shall hereafter trace, prepared the way for a spirit of improvement, and a desire for reform, of which the world had then seen no example. This great movement displayed its energy in every department of knowledge; and now it was that a successful attempt was first made to raise Political Economy to a science, by discovering the laws which regulate the creation and diffusion of wealth. In the year 1776, Adam Smith published his *Wealth of Nations*; which, looking at its ultimate results, is probably the most important book that has ever been written, and is certainly the most valuable contribution ever made by a single man towards establishing the principles on which government should be based. In this great work, the old theory of protection as applied to commerce was destroyed

[57] In regard to the interference of the English legislature, it is stated by Mr. M'Culloch (*Polit. Econ.* p. 269), on the authority of a committee of the House of Commons, that before the year 1820, 'no fewer than two thousand laws with respect to commerce had been passed at different periods.' It may be confidently asserted, that every one of those laws was an unmitigated evil, since no trade, and indeed no interest of any kind, can be protected by government without inflicting immeasurably greater loss upon the unprotected interests and trades; while if the protection is universal, the loss will be universal. Some striking instances of the absurd laws which have been passed respecting trade, are collected in *Barrington's Observations on the Statutes*, pp. 279-285. Indeed, it was considered necessary that every parliament should do something in this way; and Charles II., in one of his speeches, says, 'I pray, contrive any good short bills which may improve the industry of the nation . . . . and so God bless your councils.' *Parl. History*, vol. iv. p. 291. Compare the remarks on the fishery-trade, in *Somers Tracts*, vol. xii. p. 33.

in nearly all its parts;[58] the doctrine of the balance of trade was not only attacked, but its falsehood was demonstrated; and innumerable absurdities, which had been accumulating for ages, were suddenly swept away.[59]

If the *Wealth of Nations* had appeared in any preceding century, it would have shared the fate of the great works of Stafford and Serra; and although the principles which it advocated would, no doubt, have excited the attention of speculative thinkers, they would, in all probability, have produced no effect on practical politicians, or, at all events, would only have exercised an indirect and precarious influence. But the diffusion of knowledge had now become so general, that even our ordinary legislators were, in some degree, prepared for these great truths, which, in a former period, they would have despised as idle novelties. The result was, that the doctrines of Adam Smith soon found their way into the House of Commons;[60] and, being adopted by a few of the leading members, were listened to with astonishment by that great assembly, whose opinions were mainly regulated by the wisdom of their ancestors, and who were loth to believe that anything could be discovered by the moderns which was not already known to the ancients. But it is in vain that such men as these always set themselves up to resist the pressure of advancing knowledge. No great truth which has once been found, has ever afterwards been lost;

[58] To this the only exception of any moment is the view taken of the usury-laws, which Jeremy Bentham has the honour of demolishing.

[59] Before Adam Smith, the principal merit is due to Hume; but the works of that profound thinker were too fragmentary to produce much effect. Indeed Hume, notwithstanding his vast powers, was inferior to Smith in comprehensiveness as well as in industry.

[60] The first notice I have observed of the *Wealth of Nations* in Parliament is in 1783; and between then and the end of the century it is referred to several times, and latterly with increasing frequency. See *Parliamentary History*, vol. xxiii. p. 1152, vol. xxvi. pp. 481, 1035, vol. xxvii. p. 385, vol xxix. pp. 834, 905, 982, 1065, vol. xxx. pp. 330, 333, vol. xxxii. p. 2, vol. xxxiii. pp. 353, 386, 522, 548, 549, 563, 774, 777, 778, 822, 823, 824, 825, 827, 1249, vol. xxxiv. pp. 11, 97, 98, 141, 142, 304, 473, 850, 901, 902, 903. It is possible that one or two passages may have been overlooked; but I believe that these are the only instances of Adam Smith being referred to during seventeen years. From a passage in *Pellew's Life of Sidmouth*, vol. i. p. 51, it appears that even Addington was studying Adam Smith in 1787.

nor has any important discovery yet been made which has not eventually carried everything before it. Even so, the principles of Free Trade, as demonstrated by Adam Smith, and all the consequences which flow from them, were vainly struggled against by the most overwhelming majorities of both Houses of Parliament. Year by year the great truth made its way; always advancing, never receding.[61] The majority was at first deserted by a few men of ability, then by ordinary men, then it became a minority, then even the minority began to dwindle; and at the present day, eighty years after the publication of Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, there is not to be found any one of tolerable education who is not ashamed of holding opinions which, before the time of Adam Smith, were universally received.

Such is the way in which great thinkers control the affairs of men, and by their discoveries regulate the march of nations. And truly the history of this one triumph alone should be enough to repress the presumption of statesmen and legislators, who so exaggerate the importance of their craft, as to ascribe great results to their own shifting and temporary contrivances. For, whence did they derive that knowledge, of which they are always ready to assume the merit? How did they obtain their opinions? How did they get at their principles? These are the elements of their success; and these they can only learn from their masters—from those great teachers, who, moved by the inspiration of genius, fertilize the world with their discoveries. Well may it be said of Adam Smith, and said too without fear of contradiction,

[61] In 1797, Pulteney, in one of his financial speeches, appealed to 'the authority of Dr. Smith, who, it was well said, would persuade the present generation and govern the next.' *Parl. Hist.* vol. xxxiii. p. 778 In 1813, Dugald Stewart (*Philosophy of the Human Mind*, vol. ii. p. 472) announced that the doctrine of free trade 'has now, I believe, become the prevailing creed of thinking men all over Europe.' And in 1816, Ricardo said, 'The reasoning by which the liberty of trade is supported is so powerful, that it is daily obtaining converts. It is with pleasure that I see the progress which this great principle is making amongst those whom we should have expected to cling the longest to old prejudices.' *Proposals for an economical Currency*, in *Ricardo's Works*, p. 407.

that this solitary Scotchman has, by the publication of one single work, contributed more towards the happiness of man, than has been effected by the united abilities of all the statesmen and legislators of whom history has preserved an authentic account.

The result of these great discoveries I am not here concerned to examine, except so far as they aided in diminishing the energy of the warlike spirit. And the way in which they effected this may be easily stated. As long as it was generally believed that the wealth of a country consists of its gold, it was of course also believed that the sole object of trade is to increase the influx of the precious metals; it, therefore, became natural that Government should be expected to take measures by which such influx could be secured. This, however, could only be done by draining other countries of their gold; a result which they, for precisely the same reasons, strenuously resisted. The consequence was, that any idea of real reciprocity was impossible: every commercial treaty was an attempt made by one nation to outwit another;[62] every new tariff was a declaration of hostility; and that which ought to be the most peaceable of all pursuits, became one of the causes of those national jealousies and national animosities, by which war is mainly promoted.[63] But when it was once clearly understood that gold and

[62] Sir Theodore Janson, in his *General Maxims of Trade*, published in 1713, lays it down as a principle universally recognized, that 'All the nations of Europe seem to strive who shall outwit one another in point of trade; and they concur in this maxim, that the less they consume of foreign commodities, the better it is for them.' *Somers Tracts*, vol. xiii. p. 292. Thus, too, in a *Dialogue between an Englishman and a Dutchman*, published in 1700, the Dutchman is represented as boasting that his government had 'forced treaties of commerce exclusive to all other nations.' *Somers Tracts*, vol. xi. p. 376. This is the system of 'narrow selfishness' denounced by Dr. Story, in his noble work, *Conflict of Laws*, 1841, p. 32.

[63] 'It cannot, indeed, be denied, that mistaken views of commerce, like those so frequently entertained of religion, have been the cause of many wars and of much bloodshed.' *M'Culloch's Principles of Political Economy*, p. 140. See also pp. 37, 38: 'It has made each nation regard the welfare of its neighbours as incompatible with its own: hence the reciprocal desire of injuring and impoverishing each other; and hence that spirit of commercial rivalry, which has been the immediate or remote cause of the greater number of modern wars.'

silver are not wealth, but are merely the representatives of wealth; when men began to see that wealth itself solely consists of the value which skill and labour can add to the raw material, and that money is of no possible use to a nation except to measure and circulate their riches; when these great truths were recognized,[64] all the old notions respecting the balance of trade, and the supreme importance of the precious metals, at once fell to the ground. These enormous errors being dispersed, the true theory of barter was easily worked out. It was perceived, that if commerce is allowed to be free, its advantages will be shared by every country which engages in it; that, in the absence of monopoly, the benefits of trade are of necessity reciprocal; and that, so far from depending on the amount of gold received, they simply arise from the facility with which a nation gets rid of those commodities which it can produce most cheaply, and receives in return those commodities which it could only produce at a great expense, but which the other nation can, from the skill of its workmen, or from the bounty of nature, afford to supply at a lower rate. From this it followed, that, in a mercantile point of view, it would be as absurd to attempt to impoverish a people with whom we trade, as it would be in a tradesman to wish for the insolvency of a rich and frequent customer. The result is, that the commercial spirit, which formerly was often warlike, is now invariably pacific.[65] And although it is perfectly true that not one merchant out of a hundred is familiar with

[64] On the rapid diffusion during the present century of the principles worked out by the economists, compare *Laing's Sweden*, pp. 356-358, with a note to the last edition of *Malthus on Population*, 1826, vol. ii. pp. 354, 355.

[65] 'The feelings of rival tradesmen, prevailing among nations, overruled for centuries all sense of the general community of advantage which commercial countries derive from the prosperity of one another; and that commercial spirit, which is now one of the strongest obstacles to wars, was during a certain period of European history their principal cause.' *Mill's Political Economy*, 1849, vol. ii. p. 221. This great change in the feelings of the commercial classes did not begin before the present century, and has not been visible to ordinary observers until the last five-and-twenty or thirty years; but it was foretold in a remarkable passage written by Herder in 1787; see his *Ideen zur Geschichte*, vol. iii. pp. 292, 293.

the arguments on which these economical discoveries are founded, that does not prevent the effect which the discoveries themselves produce on his own mind. The mercantile class is, like every other, acted upon by causes which only a few members of that class are able to perceive. Thus, for instance, of all the innumerable opponents of protection, there are very few indeed who can give valid reasons to justify their opposition. But this does not prevent the opposition from taking place. For an immense majority of men always follow with implicit submission the spirit of their own time; and the spirit of the time is merely its knowledge, and the direction that knowledge takes. As, in the ordinary avocations of daily life, every one is benefited, in the increase of his comforts, and of his general security, by the progress of many arts and sciences, of which perhaps he does not even know the name, just so is the mercantile class benefited by those great economical discoveries which, in the course of two generations, have already effected a complete change in the commercial legislation of this country, and which are now operating slowly, but steadily, upon those other European states, where public opinion being less powerful, it is more difficult to establish great truths and extirpate old abuses. While, therefore, it is perfectly true, that among merchants, a comparatively small number are acquainted with political economy, it is not the less true that they owe a large part of their wealth to the political economists; who, by removing the obstacles with which the ignorance of successive governments had impeded trade, have now settled on a solid foundation that commercial prosperity which is by no means the least of our national glories. Most assuredly is it also true, that this same intellectual movement has lessened the chance of war, by ascertaining the principles which ought to regulate our commercial relations with foreign countries: by proving, not only the inutility, but the positive mischief, caused by interfering with them; and finally, by exploding those long-established errors, which, inducing men to believe that nations are the na-

tural enemies of each other, encouraged those evil feelings, and fostered those national jealousies, to the strength of which the military spirit owed no small share of its former influence.

The third great cause by which the love of war has been weakened, is the way in which discoveries respecting the application of Steam to the purposes of travelling have facilitated the intercourse between different countries, and thus aided in destroying that ignorant contempt which one nation is too apt to feel for another. Thus, for instance, the miserable and impudent falsehoods which a large class of English writers formerly directed against the morals and private character of the French, and, to their shame be it said, even against the chastity of French women, tended not a little to embitter the angry feelings then existing between the two first countries of Europe; irritating the English against French vices, irritating the French against English calumnies. In the same way, there was a time when every honest Englishman firmly believed that he could beat ten Frenchmen; a class of beings whom he held in sovereign contempt, as a lean and stunted race, who drank claret instead of brandy, who lived entirely off frogs; miserable infidels, who heard mass every Sunday, who bowed down before idols, and who even worshipped the Pope. On the other hand, the French were taught to despise us, as rude unlettered barbarians, without either taste or humanity; surly, ill-conditioned men, living in an unhappy climate, where a perpetual fog, only varied by rain, prevented the sun from ever being seen; suffering from so deep and inveterate a melancholy, that physicians had called it the English spleen; and, under the influence of this cruel malady, constantly committing suicide, particularly in November, when we were well known to hang and shoot ourselves by thousands.[66]

[66] That there are more suicides in gloomy weather than in fine weather, used always to be taken for granted, and was a favourite topic with the French wits, who were never weary of expatiating on our love of self-murder, and on the relation between it and our murky climate. Unfortunately for such speculations, the fact is exactly opposite to what is generally supposed, and

Whoever has looked much into the older literature of France and England, knows that these were the opinions which the two first nations of Europe, in the ignorance and simplicity of their hearts, held respecting each other. But the progress of improvement, by bringing the two countries into close and intimate contact, has dissipated these foolish prejudices, and taught each people to admire, and, what is still more important, to respect each other. And the greater the contact, the greater the respect. For, whatever theologians may choose to assert, it is certain that mankind at large has far more virtue than vice, and that in every country good actions are more frequent than bad ones. Indeed, if this were otherwise, the preponderance of evil would long since have destroyed the human race, and not even have left a single man to lament the degeneracy of his species. An additional proof of this is the fact, that the more nations associate with each other, and the more they see and know of their fellow-creatures, the more quickly do ancient enmities disappear. This is because an enlarged experience proves that mankind is not so radically bad as we from our infancy are taught to believe. But if vices were really more frequent than virtues, the result would be, that the increasing amalgamation of society would increase our bad opinion of others; because, though we may love our own vices, we do not generally love the vices of our neighbours. So far, however, is this from being the actual consequence, that it has always been found, that those whose extensive knowledge makes them best acquainted with the general course of human actions, are precisely those who take the most favourable view of them. The greatest observer and the most profound thinker is invariably the most lenient judge. It is the solitary misanthrope, brooding over his fancied wrongs, who is most prone to depreciate the good qualities of our nature, and exaggerate its bad ones. Or else

we have decisive evidence that there are more suicides in summer than in winter. See *Quetelet sur l'Homme*, vol. ii. pp. 152, 158; *Tissot de la Manie du Suicide*, Paris, 1840, pp. 50, 149, 150; *Journal of Statistical Society*, vol. i. p. 102; *Winslow's Anatomy of Suicide*, 1840, pp. 131, 132; *Hawkins's Medical Statistics*, p. 170.

it is some foolish and ignorant monk, who, dreaming away his existence in an idle solitude, flatters his own vanity by denouncing the vices of others; and thus declaiming against the enjoyments of life, revenges himself on that society from which by his own superstition he is excluded. These are the sort of men who insist most strongly on the corruption of our nature, and on the degeneracy into which we have fallen. The enormous evil which such opinions have brought about, is well understood by those who have studied the history of countries in which they are, and have been, most prevalent. Hence it is that, among the innumerable benefits derived from advancing knowledge, there are few more important than those improved facilities of communication,[67] which, by increasing the frequency with which nations and individuals are brought into contact, have, to an extraordinary extent, corrected their prejudices, raised the opinion which each forms of the other, diminished their mutual hostility, and thus diffusing a more favourable view of our common nature, have stimulated us to develop those boundless resources of the human understanding, the very existence of which it was once considered almost a heresy to assert.

This is precisely what has occurred in modern Europe. The French and English people have, by the mere force of increased contact, learned to think more favourably of each other, and to discard that foolish contempt in which both nations formerly indulged. In this, as in all cases, the better one civilized country is acquainted with another, the more it will find to respect and to imitate. For of all the causes of national hatred, ignorance is the most powerful. When you increase the contact, you remove the ignorance, and thus you diminish the hatred.[68]

[67] Respecting which I will only mention one fact, in regard to our own country. By the returns of the Board of Trade, it appears that the passengers annually travelling by railway amounted in 1842 to nineteen millions; but in 1852 they had increased to more than eighty-six millions. *Journal of Statistical Society*, vol. xvi. p. 292.

[68] Of this, Mr. Stephens (in his valuable work, *Central America*, vol. i. pp. 247-8) relates an interesting instance in the case of that remarkable man Carrera: 'Indeed, in no particular had he changed more than in his opinion of foreigners; a happy illustration of the effect of personal intercourse in

This is the true bond of charity; and it is worth all the lessons which moralists and divines are able to teach. They have pursued their vocation for centuries, without producing the least effect in lessening the frequency of war. But it may be said without the slightest exaggeration, that every new railroad which is laid down, and every fresh steamer which crosses the Channel, are additional guarantees for the preservation of that long and unbroken peace which, during forty years, has knit together the fortunes and the interests of the two most civilized nations of the earth.

I have thus, so far as my knowledge will permit, endeavoured to indicate the causes which have diminished religious persecution and war; the two greatest evils with which men have yet contrived to afflict their fellow-creatures. The question of the decline of religious persecution I have only briefly noticed, because it will be more fully handled in a subsequent part of this volume. Enough, however, has been advanced to prove how essentially it is an intellectual process, and how little good can be effected on this subject by the operation of moral feelings. The causes of the decline of the warlike spirit I have examined at considerable, and, perhaps, to some readers, at tedious length, and the result of that examination has been, that the decline is owing to the increase of the intellectual classes, to whom the military classes are necessarily antagonistic. In pushing the inquiry a little deeper, we have, by still further analysis, ascertained the existence of three vast though subsidiary causes, by which the general movement has been accelerated. These are—the invention of Gunpowder, the discoveries of Political Economy, and the discovery of improved means of Locomotion. Such are the three great modes or channels by which the progress of knowledge has weakened the old warlike spirit; and

breaking down prejudices against individuals or classes.' Mr. Elphinstone (*History of India*, p. 195) says, 'Those who have known the Indians longest, have always the best opinion of them: but *this is rather a compliment to human nature than to them, since it is true of every other people*.' Compare an instructive passage in *Darwin's Journal of Researches*, p. 421, with *Burdach, Traité de Physiologie comme Science d'Observation*, vol. ii. p. 61.

the way in which they have effected this has, I trust, been clearly pointed out. The facts and arguments which I have brought forward, have, I can conscientiously say, been subjected to careful and repeated scrutiny; and I am quite unable to see on what possible ground their accuracy is to be impugned. That they will be disagreeable to certain classes, I am well aware; but the unpleasantness of a statement is hardly to be considered a proof of its falsehood. The sources from which the evidence has been derived are fully indicated; and the arguments, I hope, fairly stated. And from them there results a most important conclusion. From them we are bound to infer, that the two oldest, greatest, most inveterate, and most widely-spread evils which have ever been known, are constantly, though, on the whole, slowly, diminishing; and that their diminution has been effected, not at all by moral feelings, nor by moral teachings. but solely by the activity of the human intellect, and by the inventions and discoveries which, in a long course of successive ages, man has been able to make.

Since, then, in the two most important phenomena which the progress of society presents, the moral laws have been steadily and invariably subordinate to the intellectual laws, there arises a strong presumption that in inferior matters the same process has been followed. To prove this in its full extent, and thus raise the presumption to an absolute certainty, would be to write, not an Introduction to history, but the History itself. The reader must, therefore, be satisfied for the present with what, I am conscious, is merely an approach towards demonstration; and the complete demonstration must necessarily be reserved for the future volumes of this work: in which I pledge myself to show that the progress Europe has made from barbarism to civilization is entirely due to its intellectual activity; that the leading countries have now, for some centuries, advanced sufficiently far to shake off the influence of those physical agencies by which in an earlier state their career might have been troubled; and that although the moral agencies are still powerful, and

still cause occasional disturbances, these are but aberrations, which, if we compare long periods of time, balance each other, and thus in the total amount entirely disappear. So that, in a great and comprehensive view, the changes in every civilized people are, in their aggregate, dependent solely on three things: first, on the amount of knowledge possessed by their ablest men; secondly, on the direction which that knowledge takes, that is to say, the sort of subjects to which it refers; thirdly, and above all, on the extent to which the knowledge is diffused, and the freedom with which it pervades all classes of society.

These are the three great movers of every civilized country; and although their operation is frequently disturbed by the vices or the virtues of powerful individuals, such moral feelings correct each other, and the average of long periods remains unaffected. Owing to causes of which we are ignorant, the moral qualities do, no doubt, constantly vary; so that in one man, or perhaps even in one generation, there will be an excess of good intentions, in another an excess of bad ones. But we have no reason to think that any permanent change has been effected in the proportion which those who naturally possess good intentions bear to those in whom bad ones seem to be inherent. In what may be called the innate and original morals of mankind, there is, so far as we are aware, no progress. Of the different passions with which we are born, some are more prevalent at one time, some at another; but experience teaches us that, as they are always antagonistic, they are held in balance by the force of their own opposition. The activity of one motive is corrected by the activity of another. For to every vice there is a corresponding virtue. Cruelty is counteracted by benevolence; sympathy is excited by suffering; the injustice of some provokes the charity of others; new evils are met by new remedies, and even the most enormous offences that have ever been known have left behind them no permanent impression. The desolation of countries and the slaughter of men are losses which never fail to be repaired, and at the distance of a few centuries every vestige of

them is effaced. The gigantic crimes of Alexander or Napoleon become after a time void of effect, and the affairs of the world return to their former level. This is the ebb and flow of history, the perpetual flux to which by the laws of our nature we are subject. Above all this, there is a far higher movement; and as the tide rolls on, now advancing, now receding, there is, amid its endless fluctuations, one thing, and one alone, which endures for ever. The actions of bad men produce only temporary evil, the actions of good men only temporary good; and eventually the good and the evil altogether subside, are neutralized by subsequent generations, absorbed by the incessant movements of future ages. But the discoveries of great men never leave us; they are immortal, they contain those eternal truths which survive the shock of empires, outlive the struggles of rival creeds, and witness the decay of successive religions. All these have their different measures and their different standards; one set of opinions for one age, another set for another. They pass away like a dream; they are as the fabric of a vision, which leaves not a rack behind. The discoveries of genius alone remain: it is to them we owe all that we now have, they are for all ages and all times; never young, and never old, they bear the seeds of their own life; they flow on in a perennial and undying stream; they are essentially cumulative, and, giving birth to the additions which they subsequently receive, they thus influence the most distant posterity, and after the lapse of centuries produce more effect than they were able to do even at the moment of their promulgation.

CHAPTER V.

INQUIRY INTO THE INFLUENCE EXERCISED BY RELIGION, LITERATURE, AND GOVERNMENT.

By applying to the history of Man those methods of investigation which have been found successful in other branches of knowledge, and by rejecting all preconceived notions which would not bear the test of those methods, we have arrived at certain results, the heads of which it may now be convenient to recapitulate. We have seen that our actions, being solely the result of internal and external agencies, must be explicable by the laws of those agencies; that is to say, by mental laws and by physical laws. We have also seen that mental laws are, in Europe, more powerful than physical laws; and that, in the progress of civilization, their superiority is constantly increasing, because advancing knowledge multiplies the resources of the mind, but leaves the old resources of nature stationary. On this account, we have treated the mental laws as being the great regulators of progress; and we have looked at the physical laws as occupying a subordinate place, and as merely displaying themselves in occasional disturbances, the force and frequency of which have been long declining, and are now, on a large average, almost inoperative. Having, by this means, resolved the study of what may be called the dynamics of society into the study of the laws of the mind, we have subjected these last to a similar analysis; and we have found that they consist of two parts, namely, moral laws and intellectual laws. By comparing these two parts, we have clearly ascertained the vast superiority of the intellectual laws; and we have seen, that as the progress of civilization is marked by the triumph of the mental laws over

the physical, just so is it marked by the triumph of the intellectual laws over the moral ones. This important inference rests on two distinct arguments. First, that moral truths being stationary, and intellectual truths being progressive, it is highly improbable that the progress of society should be due to moral knowledge, which for many centuries has remained the same, rather than to intellectual knowledge, which for many centuries has been incessantly advancing. The other argument consists in the fact, that the two greatest evils known to mankind have not been diminished by moral improvement; but have been, and still are, yielding to the influence of intellectual discoveries. From all this it evidently follows, that if we wish to ascertain the conditions which regulate the progress of modern civilization, we must seek them in the history of the amount and diffusion of intellectual knowledge; and we must consider physical phenomena and moral principles as causing, no doubt, great aberrations in short periods, but in long periods correcting and balancing themselves, and thus leaving the intellectual laws to act uncontrolled by these inferior and subordinate agents.

Such is the conclusion to which we have been led by successive analyses, and on which we now take our stand. The actions of individuals are greatly affected by their moral feelings and by their passions; but these being antagonistic to the passions and feelings of other individuals, are balanced by them; so that their effect is, in the great average of human affairs, nowhere to be seen; and the total actions of mankind, considered as a whole, are left to be regulated by the total knowledge of which mankind is possessed. And of the way in which individual feeling and individual caprice are thus absorbed and neutralized, we find a clear illustration in the facts already brought forward respecting the history of crime. For by those facts it is decisively proved, that the amount of crime committed in a country is, year after year, reproduced with the most startling uniformity, not being in the least affected by those capricious and personal feel-

ings to which human actions are too often referred. But if, instead of examining the history of crime year by year, we were to examine it month by month, we should find less regularity; and if we were to examine it hour by hour, we should find no regularity at all; neither would its regularity be seen, if, instead of the criminal records of a whole country, we only knew those of a single street, or of a single family. This is because the great social laws by which crime is governed, can only be perceived after observing great numbers or long periods; but in a small number, and a short period, the individual moral principle triumphs, and disturbs the operation of the larger and intellectual law. While, therefore, the moral feelings by which a man is urged to commit a crime, or to abstain from it, will produce an immense effect on the amount of his own crimes, they will produce no effect on the amount of crimes committed by the society to which he belongs; because, in the long-run, they are sure to be neutralized by opposite moral feelings, which cause in other men an opposite conduct. Just in the same way, we are all sensible that moral principles do affect nearly the whole of our actions; but we have incontrovertible proof that they produce not the least effect on mankind in the aggregate, or even on men in very large masses, provided that we take the precaution of studying social phenomena for a period sufficiently long, and on a scale sufficiently great, to enable the superior laws to come into uncontrolled operation.

The totality of human actions being thus, from the highest point of view, governed by the totality of human knowledge, it might seem a simple matter to collect the evidence of the knowledge, and, by subjecting it to successive generalizations, ascertain the whole of the laws which regulate the progress of civilization. And that this will be eventually done, I do not entertain the slightest doubt. But, unfortunately, history has been written by men so inadequate to the great task they have undertaken, that few of the necessary materials have yet been brought together. Instead of telling us those things which

alone have any value,—instead of giving us information respecting the progress of knowledge, and the way in which mankind has been affected by the diffusion of that knowledge,—instead of these things, the vast majority of historians fill their works with the most trifling and miserable details: personal anecdotes of kings and courts; interminable relations of what was said by one minister, and what was thought by another; and, what is worse than all, long accounts of campaigns, battles, and sieges, very interesting to those engaged in them, but to us utterly useless, because they neither furnish new truths, nor do they supply the means by which new truths may be discovered. This is the real impediment which now stops our advance. It is this want of judgment, and this ignorance of what is most worthy of selection, which deprives us of materials that ought long since to have been accumulated, arranged, and stored-up for future use. In other great branches of knowledge, observation has preceded discovery; first the facts have been registered, and then their laws have been found. But in the study of the history of Man, the important facts have been neglected, and the unimportant ones preserved. The consequence is, that whoever now attempts to generalize historical phenomena, must collect the facts, as well as conduct the generalization. He finds nothing ready to his hand. He must be the mason as well as the architect; he must not only scheme the edifice, but likewise excavate the quarry. The necessity of performing this double labour entails upon the philosopher such enormous drudgery, that the limits of an entire life are unequal to the task; and history, instead of being ripe, as it ought to be, for complete and exhaustive generalizations, is still in so crude and informal a state, that not the most determined and protracted industry will enable any one to comprehend the really important actions of mankind, during even so short a period as two successive centuries.

On account of these things, I have long since abandoned my original scheme; and I have reluctantly determined to write the history, not of general civilization, but

of the civilization of a single people. While, however, by this means, we curtail the field of inquiry, we unfortunately diminish the resources of which the inquiry is possessed. For although it is perfectly true, that the totality of human actions, if considered in long periods, depends on the totality of human knowledge, it must be allowed that this great principle, when applied only to one country, loses something of its original value. The more we diminish our observations, the greater becomes the uncertainty of the average; in other words, the greater the chance of the operation of the larger laws being troubled by the operation of the smaller. The interference of foreign governments; the influence exercised by the opinions, literature, and customs of a foreign people; their invasions, perhaps even their conquests; the forcible introduction by them of new religions, new laws, and new manners,—all these things are perturbations, which, in a view of universal history, equalize each other, but which, in any one country, are apt to disturb the natural march, and thus render the movements of civilization more difficult to calculate. The manner in which I have endeavoured to meet this difficulty will be presently stated; but what I first wish to point out, are the reasons which have induced me to select the history of England as more important than any other, and therefore as the most worthy of being subjected to a complete and philosophic investigation.

Now, it is evident that, inasmuch as the great advantage of studying past events consists in the possibility of ascertaining the laws by which they were governed, the history of any people will become more valuable in proportion as their movements have been least disturbed by agencies not arising from themselves. Every foreign or external influence which is brought to bear upon a nation is an interference with its natural development, and therefore complicates the circumstances we seek to investigate. To simplify complications, is, in all branches of knowledge, the first essential of success. This is very familiar to the cultivators of physical science, who are often able, by a single experiment, to discover a truth which innumerable

observations had vainly searched; the reason being, that by experimenting on phenomena, we can disentangle them from their complications; and thus isolating them from the interference of unknown agencies, we leave them, as it were, to run their own course, and disclose the operation of their own law.

This, then, is the true standard by which we must measure the value of the history of any nation. The importance of the history of a country depends, not upon the splendour of its exploits, but upon the degree to which its actions are due to causes springing out of itself. If, therefore, we could find some civilized people who had worked out their civilization entirely by themselves; who had escaped all foreign influence, and who had been neither benefited nor retarded by the personal peculiarities of their rulers,—the history of such a people would be of paramount importance; because it would present a condition of normal and inherent development; it would show the laws of progress acting in a state of isolation; it would be, in fact, an experiment ready-made, and would possess all the value of that artificial contrivance to which natural science is so much indebted.

To find such a people as this is obviously impossible; but the duty of the philosophic historian is, to select for his especial study the country in which the conditions have been most closely followed. Now, it will be readily admitted, not only by ourselves, but by intelligent foreigners, that in England, during, at all events, the last three centuries, this has been done more constantly and more successfully than in any other country. I say nothing of the number of our discoveries, the brilliancy of our literature, or the success of our arms. These are invidious topics; and other nations may perhaps deny to us those superior merits which we are apt to exaggerate. But I take up this single position, that of all European countries, England is the one where, during the longest period, the government has been most quiescent, and the people most active; where popular freedom has been settled on the widest basis; where each man is most able

to say what he thinks, and do what he likes; where every one can follow his own bent, and propagate his own opinions; where, religious persecution being little known, the play and flow of the human mind may be clearly seen, unchecked by those restraints to which it is elsewhere subjected; where the profession of heresy is least dangerous, and the practice of dissent most common; where hostile creeds flourish side by side, and rise and decay without disturbance, according to the wants of the people, unaffected by the wishes of the church, and uncontrolled by the authority of the state; where all interests, and all classes, both spiritual and temporal, are most left to take care of themselves; where that meddlesome doctrine called Protection was first attacked, and where alone it has been destroyed; and where, in a word, those dangerous extremes to which interference gives rise having been avoided, despotism and rebellion are equally rare, and concession being recognized as the groundwork of policy, the national progress has been least disturbed by the power of privileged classes, by the influence of particular sects, or by the violence of arbitrary rulers.

That these are the characteristics of English history is notorious; to some men a matter of boast, to others of regret. And when to these circumstances we add, that England, owing to its insular formation,[1] was, until the middle of the last century, rarely visited by foreigners, it becomes evident that, in our progress as a people, we have been less affected than any other by the two main sources of interference, namely, the authority of government, and the influence of foreigners. In the sixteenth century, it became a fashion, among the English nobility, to travel abroad;[2] but it was by no means the fashion for foreign

[1] Coleridge well says, 'it is the chief of many blessings derived from the insular character and circumstances of our country, that our social institutions have formed themselves out of our proper needs and interests.' *Coleridge on the Constitution of the Church and State*, 8vo, 1830, pp. 20, 21. The political consequences of this were much noticed at the time of the French Revolution. See *Mémoires de La Fayette*, vol. i. p. 404, Bruxelles, 1837.

[2] In another place, I shall collect the evidence of the rapidly increasing love of travelling in the sixteenth century; but it is interesting to observe,

nobility to travel in England. In the seventeenth century, the custom of travelling for amusement spread so much, that, among the rich and idle classes, there were few Englishmen who did not, at least once in their life, cross the Channel; while the same classes in other countries, partly because they were less wealthy, partly from an inveterate dislike to the sea, hardly ever entered our island, unless compelled to do so on some particular business. The result was, that in other countries, and particularly in France and Italy, the inhabitants of the great cities became gradually accustomed to foreigners, and, like all men, were imperceptibly influenced by what they often saw. On the other hand, there were many of our cities in which none but Englishmen ever set their feet;[3] and inhabitants, even of the metropolis, might grow old without having once seen a single foreigner, except, perhaps, some dull and pompous ambassador taking his airing on the banks of the Thames. And although it is often said that, after the restoration of Charles II., our national character began to be greatly influenced by French example,[4] this, as I shall fully prove, was confined to that small and insignificant part of society which hung about the court; nor did it produce any marked effect upon the two most important classes,—the intellectual class, and the industrious class. The movement may, indeed, be traced in the most worthless parts of our literature,—in the shameless productions of Buckingham, Dorset, Etherege, Killigrew, Mulgrave, Rochester, and Sedley. But neither then, nor

that during the latter half of the century there was first established the custom of appointing travelling tutors. Compare *Barrington's Observations on the Statutes*, p. 218, with a letter from Beza, written in 1598, in *Mémoires et Correspondance de Du Plessis Mornay*, vol. ix. p. 81.

[3] In regard to the society of women, this was still more observable, even at a much later period; and when the Countess de Boufflers visited England, at the beginning of the reign of George III., 'on lui faisoit un mérite de sa curiosité de voir l'Angleterre; car on remarquoit qu'elle étoit la seule dame françoise de qualité qui fût venue en voyageuse depuis deux cents ans: on ne comprenoit point, dans cette classe, les ambassadrices, ni la duchesse de Mazarin, qui y étoient venues par nécessité.' *Dutens, Mémoires d'un Voyageur*, vol. i. p. 217. Compare *Mémoires de Madame de Genlis*, vol. viii. p. 241.'

[4] *Orme's Life of Owen*, p. 288; *Mahon's History of England*, vol. ii. p. 211; and many other writers.

at a much later period, were any of our great thinkers influenced by the intellect of France;[5] on the contrary, we find in their ideas, and even in their style, a certain rough and native vigour, which, though offensive to our more polished neighbours, has at least the merit of being the indigenous product of our own country.[6] The origin and extent of that connexion between the French and English intellects which subsequently arose, is a subject of immense importance; but, like most others of real value, it has been entirely neglected by historians. In the present work, I shall attempt to supply this deficiency: in the mean time I may say, that although we have been, and still are, greatly indebted to the French for our improvement in taste, in refinement, in manners, and indeed in all the amenities of life, we have borrowed from them nothing absolutely essential, nothing by which the destinies of nations are permanently altered. On the other hand, the French have not only borrowed from us some very valuable political institutions, but even the most im-

[5] The only Englishman of genius who, during this period, was influenced by the French mind, was Dryden; but this is chiefly apparent in his plays, the whole of which are now deservedly forgotten. His great works, and, above all, those wonderful satires, in which he distances every competitor, except Juvenal, are thoroughly national, and, as mere specimens of English, are, if I may express my own judgment, to be ranked immediately after Shakspeare. In Dryden's writings there are unquestionably many Gallicisms of expression, but few Gallicisms of thought; and it is by these last that we must estimate the real amount of foreign influence. Sir Walter Scott goes so far as to say, 'It will admit of question, whether any single French word has been naturalized upon the sole authority of Dryden.' *Scott's Life of Dryden*, p. 523, 8vo, 1808. Rather a bold assertion. As to the opinion of Fox, see Lord Holland's preface to *Fox's James II.*, 4to, 1808, p. xxxii.

[6] Another circumstance which has maintained the independence, and therefore increased the value, of our literature, is, that in no great country have literary men been so little connected with the government, or rewarded by it. That this is the true policy, and that to protect literature is to injure it, are propositions for the proof of which I must refer to chap. xi. of this volume—on the system of Louis XIV. In the mean time, I will quote the following words from a learned and, what is much better, a thoughtful writer: 'Nor must he who will understand the English institutions leave out of view the character of the enduring works which had sprung from the salient energy of the English mind. Literature had been left to develop itself. William of Orange was foreign to it; Anne cared not for it; the first George knew no English; the second not much.' *Bancroft's History of the American Revolution*, vol. ii. p. 48. Compare *Forster's Life of Goldsmith*, 1854, vol. i. pp. 93-96, vol. ii. p. 480.

portant event in French history is due, in no small degree, to our influence. Their revolution of 1789 was, as is well known, brought about, or, to speak more properly, was mainly instigated, by a few great men, whose works, and afterwards whose speeches, roused the people to resistance; but what is less known, and nevertheless is certainly true, is, that these eminent leaders learnt in England that philosophy and those principles by which, when transplanted into their own country, such fearful and yet such salutary results were effected.[7]

It will not, I hope, be supposed, that by these remarks I mean to cast any reflection on the French: a great and admirable people; a people in many respects superior to ourselves; a people from whom we have still much to learn, and whose deficiencies, such as they are, arise from the perpetual interference of a long line of arbitrary rulers. But, looking at this matter historically, it is unquestionably true that we have worked out our civilization with little aid from them, while they have worked out theirs with great aid from us. At the same time, it must also be admitted, that our governments have interfered less with us than their governments have interfered with them. And without in the least prejudging the question as to which is the greater country, it is solely on these grounds that I consider our history more important than theirs: and I select for especial study the progress of English civilization, simply because, being less effected by agencies not arising from itself, we can the more clearly discern in it the normal march of society, and the undisturbed operation of those great laws by which the fortunes of mankind are ultimately regulated.

After this comparison between the relative value of French and English history, it seems scarcely necessary to examine the claims which may be put forward for the history of other countries. Indeed, there are only two in whose favour any thing can be said: I mean Germany, considered as a whole, and the United States of North

[7] See, for evidence of this influence of England, chap. xii. of the present volume.

America. As to the Germans, it is undoubtedly true, that since the middle of the eighteenth century they have produced a greater number of profound thinkers than any other country, I might perhaps say, than all other countries put together. But the objections which apply to the French are still more applicable to the Germans. For the protective principle has been, and still is, stronger in Germany than in France. Even the best of the German governments are constantly interfering with the people; never leaving them to themselves, always looking after their interests, and meddling in the commonest affairs of daily life. Besides this, the German literature, though now the first in Europe, owes its origin, as we shall hereafter see, to that great sceptical movement, by which, in France, the Revolution was preceded. Before the middle of the eighteenth century, the Germans, notwithstanding a few eminent names, such as Kepler and Leibnitz, had no literature of real value; and the first impetus which they received, was caused by their contact with the French intellect, and by the influence of those eminent Frenchmen who, in the reign of Frederick the Great, flocked to Berlin,[8] a city which has ever since been the head-quarters of philosophy and science. From this there have resulted some very important circumstances, which I can here only briefly indicate. The German intellect, stimulated by the French into a sudden growth, has been irregularly developed; and thus hurried into an activity greater than the

[8] The history of this remarkable, though short-lived, union between the French and German intellects will be traced in the next volume; but its first great effect, in stimulating, or rather in creating, the German literature, is noticed by one of the most learned of their own writers: 'Denn einestheils war zu diesen Gegenständen immer die lateinische Sprache gebraucht, und die Muttersprache zu wenig cultivirt worden, anderntheils wurden diese Schriften auch meistentheils nur von Gelehrten, und zwar Universitätsgelehrten, für welche sie auch hauptsächlich bestimmt waren, gelesen. Gegen die Mitte des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts, als mehrere englische und französische Werke gelesen und übersetzt wurden, und durch die Vorliebe des Königs von Preussen Friedrichs II., der von Franzosen gebildet worden war, französische Gelehrte besonders geehrt und angestellt wurden, entstand ein Wetteifer der Deutschen, auch in dem schriftlichen Vortrage nicht zurück zu bleiben, und die Sprache hob sich bald zu einem hohen Grade von Vollkommenheit.' *Tennemann, Geschichte der Philosophie,* vol. xi. pp. 286, 287.

average civilization of the country requires. The consequence is, that there is no nation in Europe in which we find so wide an interval between the highest minds and the lowest minds. The German philosophers possess a learning, and a reach of thought, which places them at the head of the civilized world. The German people are more superstitious, more prejudiced, and, notwithstanding the care which the government takes of their education, more really ignorant, and more unfit to guide themselves, than are the inhabitants either of France or of England.[9] This separation and divergence of the two classes is the natural result of that artificial stimulus, which a century ago was administered to one of the classes, and which thus disturbed the normal proportions of society. Owing to this, the highest intellects have, in Germany, so outstripped the general progress of the nation, that there is no sympathy between the two parties; nor are there at present any means by which they may be brought into contact. Their great authors address themselves, not to their country, but to each other. They are sure of a

[9] A popular view of the system of national education established in Germany, will be found in *Kay's Social Condition and Education of the People of Europe*, vol. ii. pp. 1-344. But Mr. Kay, like most literary men, overrates the advantages of literary acquirements, and underrates that education of the faculties which neither books nor schools can impart to a people who are debarred from the exercise of civil and political rights. In the history of the protective spirit (chaps. ix. and x. of the present volume), I shall return to this subject, in connexion with France; and in the next volume I shall examine it in regard to German civilization. In the mean time, I must be allowed to protest against the account Mr. Kay has given of the results of compulsory education; an agreeable picture, drawn by an amiable and intelligent writer, but of the inaccuracy of which I possess decisive evidence. Two points only I will now refer to. 1st. The notorious fact, that the German people, notwithstanding their so-called education, are unfit to take any share in political matters, and have no aptitude for the practical and administrative parts of government. 2nd. The fact, equally notorious to those who have studied the subject, that there are more popular superstitions in Prussia, the most educated part of Germany, than there are in England; and that the tenacity with which men cling to them is greater in Prussia than in England. For illustration of the practical working, in individual cases, of compulsory education, and of the hardship it causes, see a scandalous occurrence, related in *Laing's Notes of a Traveller*, 8vo, 1842, p. 165, first series; and on the physical evils produced by German education, see *Phillips on Scrofula*, London, 1846, pp. 253, 254, where there is some useful evidence of the consequences of 'that great German sin of over-regulation.'

select and learned audience, and they use what, in reality, is a learned language; they turn their mother-tongue into a dialect, eloquent indeed, and very powerful, but so difficult, so subtle, and so full of complicated inversions, that to their own lower classes it is utterly incomprehensible.[10] From this, there have arisen some of the most marked peculiarities of German literature. For, being deprived of ordinary readers, it is cut off from the influence of ordinary prejudice; and hence, it has displayed a boldness of inquiry, a recklessness in the pursuit of truth and a disregard of traditional opinions, which entitle it to the highest praise. But, on the other hand, this same circumstance has produced that absence of practical knowledge, and that indifference to material and physical interests, for which the German literature is justly censured. As a matter of course, all this has widened the original breach, and increased the distance which separates the great German thinkers from that dull and plodding class, which, though it lies immediately beneath them, still remains uninfluenced by their knowledge, and uncheered by the glow and fire of their genius.

[10] This is well stated by Mr. Laing, by far the ablest traveller who has published observations on European society: 'German authors, both the philosophic and the poetic, address themselves to a public far more intellectual, and more highly cultivated, than our reading public. . . . . In our literature, the most obscure and abstruse of metaphysical or philosophical writers *take the public mind in a far lower state*, simply cognisant of the meaning of language, and possessed of the ordinary reasoning powers. . . . . The social influence of German literature is, consequently, confined within a narrower circle. It has no influence on the mind of the lower, or even of the middle classes in active life, who have not the opportunity or leisure to screw their faculties up to the pitch-note of their great writers. The reading public must devote much time to acquire the knowledge, tone of feeling, and of imagination, necessary to follow the writing public. The social economist finds accordingly in Germany the most extraordinary dullness, inertness of mind, and ignorance, below a certain level, with the most extraordinary intellectual development, learning, and genius, at or above it.' *Laing's Notes of a Traveller*, first series, pp. 266, 267. The same acute observer says in a later work (*Notes*, third series, 8vo, 1852, p. 12): 'The two classes speak and think in different languages. The cultivated German language, the language of German literature, is not the language of the common man, nor even of the man far up in the middle ranks of society,—the farmer, tradesman, shopkeeper.' See also pp. 351, 352, 354. It is singular that so clear and vigorous a thinker as Mr. Laing evidently is, should have failed in detecting the cause of this peculiar phenomenon.

In America, on the other hand, we see a civilization precisely the reverse of this. We see a country, of which it has been truly said, that in no other are there so few men of great learning, and so few men of great ignorance.[11] In Germany, the speculative classes and the practical classes are altogether disunited; in America, they are altogether fused. In Germany, nearly every year brings forward new discoveries, new philosophies, new means by which the boundaries of knowledge are to be enlarged. In America, such inquiries are almost entirely neglected: since the time of Jonathan Edwards no great metaphysician has appeared; little attention has been paid to physical science; and, with the single exception of jurisprudence,[12] scarcely anything has been done for those vast subjects on which the Germans are incessantly labouring. The stock of American knowledge is small, but it is spread through all classes; the stock of German knowledge is immense, but it is confined to one class. Which of these two forms of civilization is the more advantageous, is a question we are not now called upon to decide. It is enough for our present purpose, that in Germany, there is a serious failure in the diffusion of knowledge; and, in America, a no less serious one in its

[11] 'Je ne pense pas qu'il y ait de pays dans le monde où, proportion gardée avec la population, il se trouve aussi peu d'ignorants et moins de savants qu'en Amérique.' *Tocqueville de la Démocratie en Amérique*, vol. i. p. 91.

[12] The causes of this exception I shall endeavour to trace in the next volume; but it is interesting to notice, that, as early as 1775, Burke was struck by the partiality of the Americans for works on law. See *Burke's Speech*, in *Parliamentary History*, vol. xviii. p. 495; or in *Burke's Works*, vol. i. p. 188. He says: 'In no country perhaps in the world is the law so general a study. The profession itself is numerous and powerful; and in most provinces it takes the lead. The greater number of the deputies sent to the Congress were lawyers. But all who read—and most do read—endeavour to obtain some smattering in that science. I have been told by an eminent bookseller, that in no branch of his business, after tracts of popular devotion, were so many books as those on the law exported to the plantations. The colonists have now fallen into the way of printing them for their own use. I hear that they have sold nearly as many of Blackstone's Commentaries in America as in England.' Of this state of society, the great works of Kent and Story were, at a later period, the natural result. On the respect at present felt for the legal profession, see *Lyell's Second Visit to the United States*, 1849, vol. i. p. 45; and as to the judges, *Combe's N. America*, vol. ii. p. 329.

accumulation. And as civilization is regulated by the accumulation and diffusion of knowledge, it is evident that no country can even approach to a complete and perfect pattern, if, cultivating one of these conditions to an excess, it neglects the cultivation of the other. Indeed, from this want of balance and equilibrium between the two elements of civilization, there have arisen in America and in Germany those great but opposite evils, which, it is to be feared, will not be easily remedied; and which, until remedied, will certainly retard the progress of both countries, notwithstanding the temporary advantages which such one-sided energy does for the moment always procure.

I have very briefly, but I hope fairly, and certainly with no conscious partiality, endeavoured to estimate the relative value of the history of the four leading countries of the world. As to the real greatness of the countries themselves, I offer no opinion; because each considers itself to be the first. But, unless the facts I have stated can be controverted, it certainly follows, that the history of England is, to the philosopher, more valuable than any other; because he can more clearly see in it the accumulation and diffusion of knowledge going hand-in-hand; because that knowledge has been less influenced by foreign and external agencies; and because it has been less interfered with, either for good or for evil, by those powerful, but frequently incompetent men, to whom the administration of public affairs is intrusted.

It is on account of these considerations, and not at all from those motives which are dignified with the name of patriotism, that I have determined to write the history of my own country, in preference to that of any other; and to write it in a manner as complete, and as exhaustive, as the materials which are now extant will enable me to do. But, inasmuch as the circumstances already stated, render it impossible to discover the laws of society solely by studying the history of a single nation, I have drawn up the present Introduction, in order to obviate some of the difficulties with which this great subject is

surrounded. In the earlier chapters, I have attempted to mark out the limits of the subject considered as a whole, and fix the largest possible basis upon which it can rest. With this view, I have looked at civilization as broken into two vast divisions: the European division, in which Man is more powerful than Nature; and the non-European division, in which Nature is more powerful than Man. This has led us to the conclusion, that national progress, in connexion with popular liberty, could have originated in no part of the world except in Europe; where, therefore, the rise of real civilization, and the encroachments of the human mind upon the forces of nature, are alone to be studied. The superiority of the mental laws over the physical, being thus recognized as the groundwork of European history, the next step has been, to resolve the mental laws into moral and intellectual, and prove the superior influence of the intellectual ones in accelerating the progress of Man. These generalizations appear to me the essential preliminaries of history, considered as a science; and, in order to connect them with the special history of England, we have now merely to ascertain the fundamental condition of intellectual progress, as, until that is done, the annals of any people can only present an empirical succession of events, connected by such stray and casual links as are devised by different writers, according to their different principles. The remaining part of this Introduction will, therefore, be chiefly occupied in completing the scheme I have sketched, by investigating the history of various countries in reference to those intellectual peculiarities on which the history of our own country supplies no adequate information. Thus, for instance, in Germany, the accumulation of knowledge has been far more rapid than in England; the laws of the accumulation of knowledge may, on that account, be most conveniently studied in German history, and then applied deductively to the history of England. In the same way, the Americans have diffused their knowledge much more completely than we have done; I, therefore, purpose to explain some of

the phenomena of English civilization by those laws of diffusion, of which, in American civilization, the workings may be most clearly seen, and hence the discovery most easily made. Again, inasmuch as France is the most civilized country in which the protective spirit is very powerful, we may trace the occult tendencies of that spirit among ourselves, by studying its obvious tendencies among our neighbours. With this view, I shall give an account of French history, in order to illustrate the protective principle, by showing the injury it has inflicted on a very able and enlightened people. And, in an analysis of the French Revolution, I shall point out how that great event was a reaction against the protective spirit; while, as the materials for the reaction were drawn from England, we shall also see in it the way in which the intellect of one country acts upon the intellect of another; and we shall arrive at some results respecting that interchange of ideas which is likely to become the most important regulator of European affairs. This will throw much light on the laws of international thought; and, in connexion with it, two separate chapters will be devoted to a History of the Protective Spirit, and an Examination of its relative intensity in France and England. But the French, as a people, have, since the beginning or middle of the seventeenth century, been remarkably free from superstition; and, notwithstanding the efforts of their government, they are very averse to ecclesiastical power: so that, although their history displays the protective principle in its political form, it supplies little evidence respecting its religious form; while, in our own country, the evidence is also scanty. Hence, my intention is, to give a view of Spanish history; because in it we may trace the full results of that protection against error which the spiritual classes are always eager to afford. In Spain, the church has, from a very early period, possessed more authority, and the clergy have been more influential, both with the people and the government, than in any other country; it will, therefore, be convenient to study in Spain the laws of ecclesi-

astical development, and the manner in which that development affects the national interests. Another circumstance, which operates on the intellectual progress of a nation, is the method of investigation that its ablest men habitually employ. This method can only be one of two kinds; it must be either inductive, or deductive. Each of these belongs to a different form of civilization, and is always accompanied by a different style of thought, particularly in regard to religion and science. These differences are of such immense importance, that, until their laws are known, we cannot be said to understand the real history of past events. Now, the two extremes of the difference are, undoubtedly, Germany and the United States; the Germans being pre-eminently deductive, the Americans inductive. But Germany and America are, in so many other respects, diametrically opposed to each other, that I have thought it expedient to study the operations of the deductive and inductive spirit in countries between which a closer analogy exists; because the greater the similarity between two nations, the more easily can we trace the consequences of any single divergence, and the more conspicuous do the laws of that divergence become. Such an opportunity occurs in the history of Scotland, as compared with that of England. Here we have two nations, bordering on each other, speaking the same language, reading the same literature, and knit together by the same interests. And yet it is a truth, which seems to have escaped attention, but the proof of which I shall fully detail, that until the last thirty or forty years, the Scotch intellect has been even more entirely deductive than the English intellect has been inductive. The inductive tendencies of the English mind, and the almost superstitious reverence with which we cling to them, have been noticed with regret by a few, and a very few, of our ablest men.[13] On the other hand, in Scotland, particularly during the eighteenth century,

[13] Particularly Coleridge and Mr. John Mill. But, with the greatest possible respect for Mr. Mill's profound work on Logic, I must venture to think that he has ascribed too much to the influence of Bacon in encour-

the great thinkers, with hardly an exception, adopted the deductive method. Now, the characteristic of deduction, when applied to branches of knowledge not yet ripe for it, is, that it increases the number of hypotheses from which we reason downwards, and brings into disrepute the slow and patient ascent peculiar to inductive inquiry. This desire to grasp at truth by speculative, and, as it were, foregone conclusions, has often led the way to great discoveries; and no one, properly instructed, will deny its immense value. But when it is universally followed, there is imminent danger lest the observation of mere empirical uniformities should be neglected; and lest thinking men should grow impatient at those small and proximate generalizations which, according to the inductive scheme, must invariably precede the larger and higher ones. Whenever this impatience actually occurs, there is produced serious mischief. For these lower generalizations form a neutral ground, which speculative minds and practical minds possess in common, and on which they meet. If this ground is cut away, the meeting is impossible. In such case, there arises among the scientific classes an undue contempt for inferences which the experience of the vulgar has drawn, but of which the laws seem inexplicable; while, among the practical classes, there arises a disregard of speculations so wide, so magnificent, and of which the intermediate and preliminary steps are hidden from their gaze. The results of this in Scotland are highly curious, and are, in several respects, similar to those which we find in Germany; since in both countries the intellectual classes have long been remarkable for their boldness of investigation and their freedom from prejudice, and the people at large equally remarkable for the number of their superstitions and the strength of their prejudices. In Scotland, this is even more striking than in Germany; because the Scotch, owing to causes which have been little studied,

aging the inductive spirit, and too little to those other circumstances which gave rise to the Baconian philosophy, and to which that philosophy owes its success.

are, in practical matters, not only industrious and provident, but singularly shrewd. This, however, in the higher departments of life, has availed them nothing; and, while there is no country which possesses a more original, inquisitive, and innovating literature than Scotland does, so also is there no country, equally civilized, in which so much of the spirit of the Middle Ages still lingers, in which so many absurdities are still believed, and in which it would be so easy to rouse into activity the old feelings of religious intolerance.

The divergence, and indeed the hostility, thus established between the practical and speculative classes, is the most important fact in the history of Scotland, and is partly cause and partly effect of the predominance of the deductive method. For this descending scheme being opposed to the ascending or inductive scheme, neglects those lower generalizations which are the only ones that both classes understand, and, therefore, the only ones where they sympathize with each other. The inductive method, as popularized by Bacon, gave great prominence to these lower or proximate truths; and this, though it has often made the intellectual classes in England too utilitarian, has at all events saved them from that state of isolation in which they would otherwise have remained. But in Scotland the isolation has been almost complete, because the deductive method has been almost universal. Full evidence of this will be collected in the next volume; but, that I may not leave the subject entirely without illustration, I will notice very briefly the principal instances that occurred during those three generations in which Scotch literature reached its highest excellence.

During this period, which comprises nearly a century, the tendency was so unmistakable as to form a striking phenomenon in the annals of the human mind. The first great symptom was a movement begun by Simson, professor at the University of Glasgow, and continued by Stewart, professor at the University of Edinburgh. These able men made strenuous efforts to revive the pure Greek geometry, and depreciate the algebraic or symbolical

analysis.[14] Hence there arose among them, and among their disciples, a love of the most refined methods of solution, and a contempt for those easier, but less elegant ones, which we owe to algebra.[15] Here we clearly see the isolating and esoteric character of a scheme which despises what ordinary understandings can quickly master, and which had rather proceed from the ideal to the tangible, than mount from the tangible to the ideal. Just at the same time, the same spirit was displayed, in another branch of inquiry, by Hutcheson, who, though an Irishman by birth, was educated in the University of Glasgow, and was professor there. In his celebrated moral and æsthetic researches, he, in the place of inductive reasoning from palpable facts, substituted deductive reasoning from impalpable principles; ignoring the immediate and practical suggestions of the senses, and believing that by a hypothetical assumption of certain laws, he could descend upon the facts, instead of rising from the facts in order to learn the laws.[16] His philosophy exercised immense influence

[14] Simson was appointed in 1711; and even before he began to lecture, he drew up 'a translation of the three first books of L'Hospital's Conic Sections, in which geometrical demonstrations are substituted for the algebraical of the original, according to Mr. Simson's early taste on this subject.' *Trail's Life and Writings of Robert Simson*, 1812, 4to, p. 4. This was probably the rudiment of his work on Conic Sections, published in 1735. *Montucla, Histoire des Mathématiques*, vol. iii. p. 12. On the difference between the ancient and modern schemes, there are some ingenious, though perhaps scarcely tenable, remarks in Dugald Stewart's *Philosophy of the Mind*, vol. ii. pp. 354 seq. and p. 380. See also *Comte, Philosophie Positive*, vol. i. pp. 383-395. Matthew Stewart, the mathematical professor at Edinburgh, was the father of Dugald. See, respecting him and his crusade against the modern analysis, *Bower's History of the University of Edinburgh*, vol. ii. pp. 357-360, vol. iii. p. 249; and a strange passage in *First Report of the British Association*, p. 59.

[15] One of Simson's great reasons for recommending the old analysis, was that it was 'more elegant' than the comparatively modern practice of introducing algebraic calculations into geometry. See *Trail's Simson*, 1812, 4to, pp. 27, 67; a valuable work, which Lord Brougham, in his hasty life of Simson, calls, 'a very learned and exceedingly ill-written, indeed hardly readable' book. *Brougham's Men of Letters and Science*, vol. i. p. 482, 8vo, 1845. Dr. Trail's style is clearer, and his sentences are less involved, than Lord Brougham's; and he had moreover the great advantage of understanding the subject upon which he wrote.

[16] Sir James Mackintosh (*Dissertation on Ethical Philosophy*, p. 208) says of Hutcheson, 'To him may also be ascribed that proneness to multiply ultimate and original principles in human nature, which characterized the Scottish school till the second extinction of a passion for metaphysical

among metaphysicians;[17] and his method of working downwards, from the abstract to the concrete, was adopted by another and a still greater Scotchman, the illustrious Adam Smith. How Smith favoured the deductive form of investigation, is apparent in his *Theory of Moral Sentiments*, likewise in his *Essay on Language*,[18] and even in his fragment on the *History of Astronomy*, in which he, from general considerations, undertook to prove what the march of astronomical discovery must have been, instead of first ascertaining what it had been.[19] The *Wealth of Nations*, again, is entirely deductive, since in it Smith generalizes the laws of wealth, not from the phenomena of wealth, nor from statistical statements, but from the phenomena of selfishness; thus making a deductive application of one set of mental principles to the whole set of economical facts.[20] The illustrations with which his great book abounds

speculation in Scotland.' There is an able view of Hutcheson's philosophy in *Cousin, Histoire de la Philosophie*, I. série, vol. iv. pp. 31 seq.; written with clearness and eloquence, but perhaps overpraising Hutcheson.

[17] On its influence, see a letter from Mackintosh to Parr, in *Memoirs of Mackintosh*, by his Son, vol. i. p. 334. Compare *Letters from Warburton to Hurd*, pp. 37, 82.

[18] Which is added to his *Theory of Moral Sentiments*, edit. 1822, 2 volumes. Compare a letter which Smith wrote in 1763 on the origin of language (in *Nichols's Literary Illustrations of the Eighteenth Century*, vol. iii. pp. 515, 516), which exhibits, on a small scale, the same treatment, as distinguished from a generalization of the facts which are supplied by a comprehensive comparison of different languages. Dr. Arnold speaks slightingly of such investigations. He says, 'Attempts to explain the phenomena of language *a priori* seem to me unwise.' *Arnold's Miscellaneous Works*, p. 385. This would lead into a discussion too long for a note, but it appears to me that these *a priori* inferences are, to the philologist, what hypotheses are to the inductive natural philosopher; and if this be the case, they are extremely important, because no really fruitful experiment ever can be made unless it is preceded by a judicious hypothesis. In the absence of such an hypothesis, men may grope in the dark for centuries, accumulating facts without obtaining knowledge.

[19] See, for instance, his attempt to prove, from general reasonings concerning the human mind, that there was a necessary relation in regard to the order in which men promulgated the system of concentric spheres and that of eccentric spheres and epicycles. *History of Astronomy*, in *Smith's Philosophical Essays*, 1795, 4to, pp. 31, 36, which it may be convenient to compare with *Whewell's Philosophy of the Inductive Sciences*, 1847, vol. ii. pp. 53, 60, 61. This striking fragment of Adam Smith's is probably little read now; but it is warmly praised by one of the greatest living philosophers, M. A. Comte, in his *Philosophie Positive*, vol. vi. p. 319.

[20] The two writers who have inquired most carefully into the method which political economists ought to follow, are Mr. John Mill (*Essays on*

are no part of the real argument: they are subsequent to the conception; and if they were all omitted, the work, though less interesting, and perhaps less influential, would, in a scientific point of view, be equally valuable. To give another instance: the works of Hume, his metaphysical essays alone excepted, are all deductive; his profound economical inquiries are essentially *a priori*, and might have been written without any acquaintance with those details of trade and finance from which, according to the inductive scheme, they should have been generalized.[21] Thus, too, in his *Natural History of Religion*, he endeavoured simply by reflection, and independently of evidence, to institute a purely speculative investigation into the origin of religious opinions.[22] In the same way, in

Unsettled Questions of Political Economy, 1844, pp. 120-164) and Mr. Rae (*New Principles of Political Economy*, 1834, pp. 328-351). Mr. Rae, in his ingenious work, objects to Adam Smith that he transgressed the rules of the Baconian philosophy, and thus prevented his inferences from being as valuable as they would have been if he had treated his subject inductively. But Mr. Mill, with great force of reasoning, has proved that the deductive plan is the only one by which political economy can be raised to a science. He says, p. 143, political economy is 'essentially an *abstract* science, and its method is the method *a priori*;' and at p. 146, that the *a posteriori* method is 'altogether inefficacious.' To this I may add, that the modern theory of rent, which is now the corner-stone of political economy, was got at, not by generalizing economical facts, but by reasoning downwards after the manner of geometricians. Indeed, those who oppose the theory of rent, always do so on the ground that it is contradicted by facts; and then, with complete ignorance of the philosophy of method, they infer that therefore the theory is wrong. See, for instance, *Jones on the Distribution of Wealth*, 8vo, 1831; a book containing some interesting facts, but vitiated by this capital defect of method. See also *Journal of Statistical Society*, vol. i. p. 317, vol. vi. p. 322; where it is said that economical theories should be generalized from statistical facts. Compare vol. xvii. p. 116, vol. xviii. p. 101.

[21] A striking instance has lately come to light of the sagacity with which Hume employed this method. See *Burton's Life and Correspondence of Hume*, vol. ii. p. 486; where we find, that immediately Hume had read the *Wealth of Nations*, he detected Smith's error concerning rent being an element of price: so that it now appears that Hume was the first to make this great discovery, as far as the idea is concerned; though Ricardo has the merit of proving it.

[22] The historical facts he introduces are merely illustrations; as any one will see who will read *The Natural History of Religion*, in *Hume's Philos. Works*, Edinb. 1826, vol. iv. pp. 435-513. I may mention, that there is a considerable similarity between the views advocated in this remarkable essay and the religious stages of *Comte's Philosophie Positive;* for Hume's early form of polytheism is evidently the same as M. Comte's fetichism, from

his *History of England*, instead of first collecting the evidence, and then drawing inferences from it, he began by assuming that the relations between the people and the government must have followed a certain order, and he either neglected or distorted the facts by which this supposition was contradicted.[23] These different writers, though varying in their principles, and in the subjects they studied, were all agreed as to their method; that is to say, they were all agreed to investigate truth rather by descent than by ascent. The immense social importance of this peculiarity, I shall examine in the next volume, where I shall endeavour to ascertain how it affected the national civilization, and caused some curious contrasts with the opposite, and more empirical, character of English literature. In the mean time, and merely to state what will be hereafter proved, I may add, that the deductive method was employed, not only by those eminent Scotchmen I have mentioned, but was carried into the speculative *History of Civil Society* by Ferguson; into the study of legislation by Mill; into the study of jurisprudence by Mackintosh; into geology by Hutton; into thermotics by Black and Leslie; into physiology by

which both these writers believe that monotheism subsequently arose, as a later and more refined abstraction. That this was the course adopted by the human mind, is highly probable, and is confirmed by the learned researches of Mr. Grote. See his *History of Greece*, vol. i. pp. 462, 497, vol. v. p. 22. The opposite and more popular opinion, of monotheism preceding idolatry, was held by most of the great earlier writers, and is defended by many moderns, and among others by Dr. Whewell (*Bridgewater Treatise*, p. 256), who expresses himself with considerable confidence: see also *Letters from Warburton to Hurd*, p. 239. Compare *Thirlwall's History of Greece*, vol. i. p. 183, Lond. 1835, with the 'einige Funken des Monotheismus' of Kant, *Kritik der reinen Vernunft*, in *Kant's Werke*, vol. ii. p. 455.

[23] That is to say, he treated historical facts as merely illustrative of certain general principles, which he believed could be proved without the facts; so that, as M. Schlosser (*History of the Eighteenth Century*, vol. ii. p. 76) well says, 'History with Hume was only a subordinate pursuit, only a means by which he might introduce his philosophy,' &c. Considering how little is known of the principles which govern social and political changes, there can be no doubt that Hume was premature in the application of this method; but it is absurd to call the method dishonest, since the object of his History was, not to *prove* conclusions, but to *illustrate* them: and he therefore thought himself justified in selecting the illustrations. I am simply stating his views, without at all defending them; indeed, I believe that in this respect he was seriously in the wrong.

Hunter, by Alexander Walker, and by Charles Bell; into pathology by Cullen; into therapeutics by Brown and Currie.

This is an outline of the plan I purpose to follow in the present Introduction, and by means of which I hope to arrive at some results of permanent value. For by studying different principles in those countries where they have been most developed, the laws of the principles will be more easily unfolded than if we had studied them in countries where they are very obscure. And, inasmuch as, in England, civilization has followed a course more orderly, and less disturbed, than in any other country, it becomes the more necessary, in writing its history, to use some resources like those which I have suggested. What makes the history of England so eminently valuable is, that no where else has the national progress been so little interfered with, either for good or for evil. But the mere fact that our civilization has, by this means, been preserved in a more natural and healthy state, renders it incumbent on us to study the diseases to which it is liable, by observing those other countries where social disease is more rife. The security and the durability of civilization must depend on the regularity with which its elements are combined, and on the harmony with which they work. If any one element is too active, the whole composition will be in danger. Hence it is, that although the laws of the composition of the elements will be best ascertained wherever we can find the composition most complete, we must, nevertheless, search for the laws of each separate element, wherever we can find the element itself most active. While, therefore, I have selected the history of England, as that in which the harmony of the different principles has been longest maintained, I have, precisely on that account, thought it advisable to study each principle separately in the country where it has been most powerful, and where, by its inordinate development, the equilibrium of the entire structure has been disturbed.

By adopting these precautions, we shall be able to

remove many of the difficulties which still beset the study of history. Before, however, entering that wide field which now lies in our way, it will be well to clear up some preliminary points, which I have not yet noticed, and the discussion of which may obviate certain objections that might otherwise be raised. The subjects to which I allude, are Religion, Literature, and Government: three topics of vast importance, and which, in the opinion of many persons, are the prime movers of human affairs. That this opinion is altogether erroneous, will be amply proved in the present work; but as the opinion is widely spread, and is very plausible, it is necessary that we should at once come to some understanding respecting it, and inquire into the real nature of that influence, which these three great powers do actually exercise over the progress of civilization.

Now, in the first place, it is evident that if a people were left entirely to themselves, their religion, their literature, and their government would be, not the causes of their civilization, but the effects of it. Out of a certain condition of society, certain results naturally follow. Those results may, no doubt, be tampered with by some external agency; but if that is not done, it is impossible that a highly civilized people, accustomed to reason and to doubt, should ever embrace a religion of which the glaring absurdities set reason and doubt at defiance. There are many instances of nations changing their religion, but there is no instance of a progressive country voluntarily adopting a retrogressive religion; neither is there any example of a declining country ameliorating its religion. It is of course true, that a good religion is favourable to civilization, and a bad one unfavourable to it. Unless, however, there is some interference from without, no people will ever discover that their religion is bad, until their reason tells them so; but if their reason is inactive, and their knowledge stationary, the discovery will never be made. A country that continues in its old ignorance, will always remain in its old religion. Surely nothing can be plainer than this. A very ignorant people will,

by virtue of their ignorance, incline towards a religion full of marvels; a religion which boasts of innumerable gods, and which ascribes every occurrence to the immediate authority of those gods. On the other hand, a people whose knowledge makes them better judges of evidence, and who are accustomed to that most difficult task, the practice of doubting, will require a religion less marvellous, less obtrusive; one that taxes their credulity less heavily. But will you, therefore, say, that the badness of the first religion causes the ignorance; and that the goodness of the second religion causes the knowledge? Will you say, that when one event precedes another, the one which comes first is the effect, and the one which follows afterwards is the cause? This is not the way in which men reason on the ordinary affairs of life; and it is difficult to see why they should reason thus respecting the history of past events.

The truth is, that the religious opinions which prevail in any period, are among the symptoms by which that period is marked. When the opinions are deeply rooted, they do, no doubt, influence the conduct of men; but before they can be deeply rooted, some intellectual change must first have taken place. We may as well expect that the seed should quicken in the barren rock, as that a mild and philosophic religion should be established among ignorant and ferocious savages. Of this innumerable experiments have been made, and always with the same result. Men of excellent intentions, and full of a fervent though mistaken zeal, have been, and still are, attempting to propagate their own religion among the inhabitants of barbarous countries. By strenuous and unremitting activity, and frequently by promises, and even by actual gifts, they have, in many cases, persuaded savage communities to make a profession of the Christian religion. But whoever will compare the triumphant reports of the missionaries with the long chain of evidence supplied by competent travellers, will soon find that such profession is only nominal, and that these ignorant tribes have adopted, indeed, the ceremonies of

the new religion, but have by no means adopted the religion itself. They receive the externals, but there they stop. They may baptize their children; they may take the sacrament; they may flock to the church. All this they may do, and yet be as far removed from the spirit of Christianity as when they bowed the knee before their former idols. The rites and forms of a religion lie on the surface; they are at once seen, they are quickly learned, easily copied by those who are unable to penetrate to that which lies beneath. It is this deeper and inward change which alone is durable; and this the savage can never experience while he is sunk in an ignorance that levels him with the brutes by which he is surrounded. Remove the ignorance, and then the religion may enter. This is the only course by which ultimate benefit can be effected. After a careful study of the history and condition of barbarous nations, I do most confidently assert, that there is no well attested case of any people being permanently converted to Christianity, except in those very few instances where missionaries, being men of knowledge, as well as men of piety, have familiarized the savage with habits of thought, and, by thus stimulating his intellect, have prepared him for the reception of those religious principles, which, without such stimulus, he could never have understood.[24]

[24] A writer of great authority has made some remarks on this, which are worth attending to: 'Ce fut alors que les Jésuites pénétrèrent dans la Chine pour y prêcher l'évangile. Ils ne tardèrent pas à s'apercevoir qu'un des moyens les plus efficaces pour s'y maintenir, en attendant le moment que le ciel avoit marqué pour éclairer ce vaste empire, étoit d'étaler des connoissances astronomiques.' *Montucla, Histoire des Mathématiques*, vol. i. p. 468; and see vol. ii. pp. 586, 587. Cuvier delicately hints at the same conclusion. He says of Emery: 'Il se souvenait que l'époque où le christianisme a fait le plus de conquêtes, et où ses ministres ont obtenu le plus de respect, est celle, où ils portaient chez les peuples convertis les lumières des lettres, en même temps que les vérités de la religion, et où ils formaient à la fois dans les nations l'ordre le plus éminent et le plus éclairé.' *Cuvier, Eloges Historiques*, vol. iii. p. 170. Even Southey (*History of Brazil*, vol. ii. p. 378) says: 'Missionaries have always complained of the fickleness of their converts; and they must always complain of it, till they discover that some degree of civilization must precede conversion, or at least accompany it.' And see to the same effect, *Halkett's Notes on the North American Indians*, pp. 352, 353; and *Combe's North America*, vol. i. p. 250, vol. ii. p. 353.

It is in this way that, looking at things upon a large scale, the religion of mankind is the effect of their improvement, not the cause of it. But, looking at things upon a small scale, or taking what is called a practical view of some short and special period, circumstances will occasionally occur which disturb this general order, and apparently reverse the natural process. And this, as in all such cases, can only arise from the peculiarities of individual men; who, moved by the minor laws which regulate individual actions, are able, by their genius or their energy, to interfere with the operation of those greater laws which regulate large societies. Owing to circumstances still unknown, there appear, from time to time, great thinkers, who, devoting their lives to a single purpose, are able to anticipate the progress of mankind, and to produce a religion or a philosophy, by which important effects are eventually brought about. But if we look into history, we shall clearly see that, although the origin of a new opinion may be thus due to a single man, the result which the new opinion produces will depend on the condition of the people among whom it is propagated. If either a religion or a philosophy is too much in advance of a nation, it can do no present service, but must bide its time, until the minds of men are ripe for its reception. Of this innumerable instances will occur to most readers. Every science and every creed has had its martyrs; men exposed to obloquy, or even to death, because they knew more than their contemporaries, and because society was not sufficiently advanced to receive the truths which they communicated. According to the ordinary course of affairs, a few generations pass away, and then there comes a period when these very truths are looked upon as commonplace facts; and a little later, there comes another period, in which they are declared to be necessary, and even the dullest intellects wonder how they could ever have been denied. This is what happens when the human mind is allowed to have fair play, and to exercise itself, with tolerable freedom, in the accumulation and diffusion of knowledge. If, however,

by violent, and therefore by artificial, means, this same society is prevented from exercising its intellect, then the truths, however important they may be, can never be received. For why should certain truths be rejected in one age, and acknowledged in another? The truths remain the same; their ultimate recognition must, therefore, be due to a change in the society which now accepts what it had before despised. Indeed, history is full of evidence of the utter inefficiency even of the noblest principles, when they are promulgated among a very ignorant nation. Thus it was that the doctrine of One God, taught to the Hebrews of old, remained for many centuries altogether inoperative. The people to whom it was addressed had not yet emerged from barbarism; they were, therefore, unable to raise their minds to so elevated a conception. Like all other barbarians, they craved after a religion which would feed their credulity with incessant wonders; and which, instead of abstracting the Deity to a single essence, would multiply their gods until they covered every field, and swarmed in every forest. This is the idolatry which is the natural fruit of ignorance; and this it is to which the Hebrews were perpetually recurring. Notwithstanding the most severe and unremitting punishments, they, at every opportunity, abandoned that pure theism which their minds were too backward to receive, and relapsed into superstitions which they could more easily understand,—into the worship of the golden calf, and the adoration of the brazen serpent. Now, and in this age of the world, they have long ceased to do these things. And why? Not because their religious feelings are more easily aroused, or their religious fears more often excited. So far from this, they are dissevered from their old associations; they have lost for ever those scenes by which men might well have been moved. They are no longer influenced by those causes which inspired emotions, sometimes of terror, sometimes of gratitude. They no longer witness the pillar of cloud by day, or the pillar of fire by night; they no longer see the Law being given from Sinai, nor do they hear the thunder rolling from

Horeb. In the presence of these great appeals, they remained idolaters in their hearts, and whenever an opportunity occurred, they became idolaters in their practice; and this they did because they were in that state of barbarism, of which idolatry is the natural product. To what possible circumstance can their subsequent change be ascribed, except to the simple fact, that the Hebrews, like all other people, as they advanced in civilization, began to abstract and refine their religion, and, despising the old worship of many gods, thus by slow degrees elevated their minds to that steady perception of One Great Cause, which, at an earlier period, it had been vainly attempted to impress upon them?

Thus intimate is the connexion between the opinions of a people and their knowledge; and thus necessary is it that, so far as nations are concerned, intellectual activity should precede religious improvement. If we require further illustrations of this important truth, we shall find them in the events which occurred in Europe soon after the promulgation of Christianity. The Romans were, with rare exceptions, an ignorant and barbarous race; ferocious, dissolute, and cruel. For such a people, Polytheism was the natural creed; and we read, accordingly, that they practised an idolatry which a few great thinkers, and only a few, ventured to despise. The Christian religion, falling among these men, found them unable to appreciate its sublime and admirable doctrines. And when, a little later, Europe was overrun by fresh immigrations, the invaders, who were even more barbarous than the Romans, brought with them those superstitions which were suited to their actual condition. It was upon the materials arising from these two sources that Christianity was now called to do her work. The result is most remarkable. For after the new religion seemed to have carried all before it, and had received the homage of the best part of Europe, it was soon found that nothing had been really effected. It was soon found that society was in that early stage in which superstition is inevitable; and in which men, if they do not have it in one form, will

have it in another. It was in vain that Christianity taught a simple doctrine, and enjoined a simple worship. The minds of men were too backward for so great a step, and required more complicated forms, and a more complicated belief. What followed is well known to the students of ecclesiastical history. The superstition of Europe, instead of being diminished, was only turned into a fresh channel. The new religion was corrupted by the old follies. The adoration of idols was succeeded by the adoration of saints; the worship of the Virgin was substituted for the worship of Cybele;[25] Pagan ceremonies were established in Christian churches; not only the mummeries of idolatry, but likewise its doctrines, were quickly added, and were incorporated and worked into the spirit of the new religion; until, after the lapse of a few generations, Christianity exhibited so grotesque and hideous a form, that its best features were lost, and the lineaments of its earlier loveliness altogether destroyed.[26]

After some centuries were passed, Christianity slowly emerged from these corruptions; many of which, however, even the most civilized countries have not yet been able to throw off.[27] Indeed, it was found impossible to effect even the beginning of a reform, until the European intellect was, in some degree, roused from its lethargy. The knowledge of men, gradually advancing, made them indignant at superstitions which they had formerly admired. The way in which their indignation increased,

[25] This is curiously illustrated by the fact, that the 25th of March, which is now called Lady-day, in honour of the Virgin Mary, was, in Pagan times, called Hilaria, and was dedicated to Cybele, the mother of the gods. Compare *Blunt's Vestiges of Ancient Manners*, 8vo, 1823, pp. 51-55, with *Hampson's Medii Ævi Kalendarium*, 8vo. 1841, vol. i. pp. 56, 177.

[26] On this interesting subject, the two best English books are, *Middleton's Letter from Rome*, and *Priestley's History of the Corruptions of Christianity*; the former work being chiefly valuable for ritual corruptions, the latter work for doctrinal ones. *Blunt's Vestiges of Ancient Manners* is also worth reading; but is very inferior to the two treatises just named, and is conceived in a much narrower spirit.

[27] The large amount of Paganism which still exists in every Christian sect, forms an argument against an ingenious distinction which M. Bunsen has made between the change of a religion and that of a language; alterations in a religion being, as he supposes, always more abrupt than those in a language. *Bunsen's Egypt*, vol. i. pp. 358, 359.

until, in the sixteenth century, it broke out into that great event which is well called the Reformation, forms one of the most interesting subjects in modern history. But, for our present purpose, it is enough to keep in mind the memorable and important fact that, for centuries after Christianity was the established religion of Europe, it failed to bear its natural fruit, because its lot was cast among a people whose ignorance compelled them to be superstitious, and who, on account of their superstition, defaced a system which, in its original purity, they were unable to receive.[28]

Indeed, in every page of history, we meet with fresh evidence of the little effect religious doctrines can produce upon a people, unless preceded by intellectual culture. The influence exercised by Protestantism, as compared with Catholicism affords an interesting example of this. The Catholic religion bears to the Protestant religion exactly the same relation that the Dark Ages bear to the sixteenth century. In the Dark Ages, men were credulous and ignorant; they therefore produced a religion which required great belief and little knowledge. In the sixteenth century, their credulity and ignorance, though still considerable, were rapidly diminishing, and it was found necessary to organize a religion suited to their altered circumstances: a religion more favourable to free inquiry; a religion less full of miracles, saints, legends, and idols; a religion of which the ceremonies were less frequent, and less burdensome; a religion which should discourage penance, fasting, confession, celibacy, and those other mortifications which had long been universal. All this was done by the establishment of Protestantism; a

[28] It was necessary, says M. Maury, that the church 'se rapprochât davantage de l'esprit grossier, inculte, ignorant du barbare.' *Maury, Légendes Pieuses de Moyen Age*, p. 101. An exactly similar process has taken place in India, where the Puranas are to the Vedas what the works of the Fathers are to the New Testament. Compare *Elphinstone's History of India*, pp. 87, 88, 98; *Wilson's Preface to the Vishnu Purana*, p. vii.; and *Transactions of Bombay Society*, vol. i. p. 205. So that, as M. Max Müller well expresses it, the Puranas are 'a secondary formation of Indian mythology.' *Müller on the Languages of India*, in *Reports of British Association for* 1847, p. 324.

mode of worship which, being thus suited to the age, made, as is well known, speedy progress. If this great movement had been allowed to proceed without interruption, it would, in the course of a few generations, have overthrown the old superstition, and established in its place a simpler and less troublesome creed; the rapidity with which this was done, being, of course, proportioned to the intellectual activity of the different countries. But, unfortunately, the European governments, who are always meddling in matters with which they have no concern, thought it their duty to protect the religious interests of the people; and making common cause with the Catholic clergy, they, in many instances, forcibly stopped the heresy, and thus arrested the natural development of the age. This interference was, in nearly all cases, well intended, and is solely to be ascribed to the ignorance of rulers respecting the proper limits of their functions: but the evils caused by this ignorance it would be difficult to exaggerate. During almost a hundred and fifty years, Europe was afflicted by religious wars, religious massacres, and religious persecutions; not one of which would have arisen, if the great truth had been recognised, that the state has no concern with the opinions of men, and no right to interfere, even in the slightest degree, with the form of worship which they may choose to adopt. This principle was, however, formerly unknown, or, at all events, unheeded; and it was not until the middle of the seventeenth century that the great religious contests were brought to a final close, and the different countries settled down into their public creeds; which, in the essential points, have never since been permanently altered; no nation having, for more than two hundred years, made war upon another on account of its religion; and all the great Catholic countries having, during the same period, remained Catholic, all the great Protestant ones remained Protestant.

From this it has arisen, that, in several of the European countries, the religious development has not followed its natural order, but has been artificially forced

into an unnatural one. According to the natural order, the most civilized countries should all be Protestants, and the most uncivilized ones Catholics. In the average of instances, this is actually the case; so that many persons have been led into the singular error, of ascribing all modern enlightenment to the influence of Protestantism; overlooking the important fact, that until the enlightenment had begun, Protestantism was never required. But although, in the ordinary course of affairs, the advance of the Reformation would have been the measure, and the symptom, of that advance of knowledge by which it was preceded, still, in many cases, the authority of the government and of the church acted as disturbing causes, and frustrated the natural progress of religious improvement. And, after the treaty of Westphalia had fixed the political relations of Europe, the love of theological strife so greatly subsided, that men no longer thought it worth their while to raise a religious revolution, and to risk their lives in an attempt to overturn the creed of the state. At the same time, governments, not being themselves particularly fond of revolutions, have encouraged this stationary condition; and very naturally, and, as it appears to me, very wisely, have made no great alteration, but have left the national establishments as they found them; that is to say, the Protestant ones Protestant, the Catholic ones Catholic. Hence it is, that the national religion professed by any country at the present moment, is no decisive criterion of the present civilization of the country; because the circumstances which fixed the religion occurred long since, and the religion remains endowed and established by the mere continuance of an impetus which was formerly given.

Thus far as to the origin of the ecclesiastical establishments of Europe. But, in their practical consequences, we see some results which are highly instructive. For many countries owing their national creed, not to their own proper antecedents, but to the authority of powerful individuals, it will be invariably found, that in such countries the creed does not produce the effects

which might have been expected from it, and which, according to its terms, it ought to produce. Thus, for instance, the Catholic religion is more superstitious, and more intolerant, than the Protestant; but it by no means follows, that those countries which profess the former creed, must be more superstitious, and more intolerant, than those which profess the latter. So far from this, the French are not only quite as free from those odious qualities as are the most civilized Protestants, but they are more free from them than some Protestant nations, as the Scotch and the Swedes. Of the highly-educated class, I am not here speaking; but of the clergy, and of the people generally, it must be admitted, that in Scotland there is more bigotry, more superstition, and a more thorough contempt for the religion of others, than there is in France. And in Sweden, which is one of the oldest Protestant countries in Europe,[29] there is, not occasionally, but habitually, an intolerance and a spirit of persecution, which would be discreditable to a Catholic country; but which is doubly disgraceful when proceeding from a people who profess to base their religion on the right of private judgment.[30]

[29] The doctrines of Luther were first preached in Sweden in 1519; and, in 1527, the principles of the Reformation were formally adopted in an assembly of the States at Westeraas, which enabled Gustavus Vasa to seize the property of the church. *Geijer's History of the Swedes*, part i. pp. 110, 118, 119; *Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History*, vol. ii. p. 22; *Crichton and Wheaton's History of Scandinavia*, vol. i. pp. 399, 400. The apostasy proceeded so favourably, that De Thou (*Histoire Univ.* vol. xiii. p. 312) says, in 1598, 'Il y avoit déjà si long-tems que ce culte étoit établi en Suède, qu'il étoit comme impossible de trouver, soit parmi le peuple, soit parmi les seigneurs, quelqu'un qui se souvînt d'avoir vu dans ce roïaume l'exercice public de la religion catholique.'

[30] On the state of things in 1838, see some curious, and indeed shameful, details, in *Laing's Sweden*, 8vo, London, 1839. Mr. Laing, though himself a Protestant, truly says, that in Protestant Sweden there 'is inquisition law, working in the hands of a Lutheran state-church, as strongly as in Spain or Portugal in the hands of a Roman Catholic Church.' *Laing's Sweden*, p. 324. In the seventeenth century, it was ordered by the Swedish church, and the order was confirmed by government, that 'if any Swedish subject change his religion, he shall be banished the kingdom, and lose all right of inheritance, both for himself and his descendants. . . . . If any bring into the country teachers of another religion, he shall be fined and banished.' *Burton's Diary*, vol. iii. p. 387, 8vo, 1828. To this may be added, that it was not till 1781 that Roman Catholics were allowed to

These things show, what it would be easy to prove by a wider induction, that when, from special, or, as they are called, accidental causes, any people profess a religion more advanced than themselves, it will not produce its legitimate effect.[31] The superiority of Protestantism over Catholicism consists in its diminution of superstition and intolerance, and in the check which it gives to ecclesiastical power. But the experience of Europe teaches us, that when the superior religion is fixed among an inferior people, its superiority is no longer seen. The Scotch and the Swedes,—and to them might be added some of the Swiss cantons,—are less civilized than the French, and are therefore more superstitious. This being the case, it avails them little, that they have a religion better than the French. It avails them little, that, owing to circumstances which have long since passed away, they, three centuries ago, adopted a creed to which the force of habit, and the influence of tradition, now oblige them to cling. Whoever has travelled in Scotland with sufficient attention to observe the ideas and opinions of the people, and whoever will look into Scotch theology, and read the history of the Scotch Kirk, and the proceedings of the Scotch Assemblies and Consistories, will see how little the country has benefited by its religion, and how wide an interval there is between its intolerant spirit and

exercise their religion in Sweden. See *Crichton's History of Scandinavia*, Edinb. 1838, vol. ii. p. 320. See also, on this intolerant spirit, *Whitelocke's Journal of the Swedish Embassy*, vol. i. pp. 164, 412, vol. ii. p. 212.

[31] We see a good instance of this in the case of the Abyssinians, who have professed Christianity for centuries; but, as no pains were taken to cultivate their intellect, they found the religion too pure for them: they, therefore, corrupted it, and, down to the present moment, they have not made the slightest progress. The accounts given by Bruce of them are well known; and a traveller, who visited them in 1839, says: 'Nothing can be more corrupt than the nominal Christianity of this unhappy nation. It is mixed up with Judaism, Mahommedanism, and idolatry, and is a mass of rites and superstitions which cannot mend the heart.' *Kraff's Journal at Ankobar*, in *Journal of Geographical Society*, vol. x. p. 488; see also vol. xiv. p. 13: and for a similar state of things in America, see the account of the Quiché Indians, in *Stephens's Central America*, vol. ii. pp. 191, 192. Compare *Squier's Central America*, vol. i. pp. 322, 323, with *Halkett's North-American Indians*, pp. 29, 212, 268. For further confirmation of this view, in another part of the world, see *Tuckey's Expedition to the Zaire*, pp. 79, 80, 165.

the natural tendencies of the Protestant Reformation. On the other hand, whoever will subject France to a similar examination, will see an illiberal religion accompanied by liberal views, and a creed full of superstitions professed by a people among whom superstition is comparatively rare.

The simple fact is, that the French have a religion worse than themselves; the Scotch have a religion better than themselves. The liberality of France is as ill suited to Catholicism, as the bigotry of Scotland is ill suited to Protestantism. In these, as in all similar cases, the characteristics of the creed are overpowered by the characteristics of the people; and the national faith is, in the most important points, altogether inoperative, because it does not harmonize with the civilization of the country in which it is established. How idle, then, it is to ascribe the civilization to the creed; and how worse than foolish are the attempts of government to protect a religion which, if suited to the people, will need no protection, and, if unsuited to them, will work no good!

If the reader has seized the spirit of the preceding arguments, he will hardly require that I should analyze with equal minuteness the second disturbing cause, namely, Literature. It is evident, that what has already been said respecting the religion of a people, is, in a great measure, applicable to their literature. Literature,[32] when it is in a healthy and unforced state, is simply the form in which the knowledge of a country is registered; the mould in which it is cast. In this, as in the other cases we have considered, individual men may of course take great steps, and rise to a great height above the level of their age. But if they rise beyond a certain point, their present usefulness is impaired; if they rise still higher, it is destroyed.[33]

[32] I use the word literature, not as opposed to science, but in its larger sense, including everything which is written—'taking the term literature in its primary sense of, an application of letters to the records of facts or opinions.' *Mure's History of the Literature of Greece*, vol. iv. p. 50.

[33] Compare *Tocqueville, Démocratie en Amérique*, vol. ii. p. 130, with some admirable remarks on the Sophists in *Grote's History of Greece*, vol. viii. p. 481. Sir W. Hamilton, whose learning respecting the history of opinions is well known, says, 'Precisely in proportion as an author is in advance of

When the interval between the intellectual classes and the practical classes is too great, the former will possess no influence, the latter will reap no benefit. This is what occurred in the ancient world, when the distance between the ignorant idolatry of the people and the refined systems of philosophers was altogether impassable;[34] and this is the principal reason why the Greeks and Romans were unable to retain the civilization which they for a short time possessed. Precisely the same process is at the present moment going on in Germany, where the most valuable part of literature forms an esoteric system, which, having nothing in common with the nation itself, produces no effect on the national civilization. The truth is, that although Europe has received great benefit from its literature, this is owing, not to what the literature has originated, but to what it has preserved. Knowledge must be acquired, before it can be written; and the only use of books is, to serve as a storehouse in which the treasures of the intellect are safely kept, and where they may be conveniently found. Literature, in itself, is but a trifling matter; and is merely valuable as being the armory in which the weapons of the human mind are laid up, and from which, when required, they can be quickly drawn. But he would be a sorry reasoner, who, on that

his age, is it likely that his works will be neglected.' *Hamilton's Discussions on Philosophy*, p. 186. Thus too, in regard to the fine arts, Sir Joshua Reynolds (*Fourth Discourse*, in *Works*, vol. i. p. 363) says, 'Present time and future may be considered as rivals; and he who solicits the one, must expect to be discountenanced by the other.'

[34] Hence the intellectually exclusive and, as M. Neander well terms it, 'aristocratic spirit of antiquity.' *Neander's History of the Church*, vol. i. pp. 40, 97, vol. ii. p. 31. This is constantly overlooked by writers who use the word 'democracy' loosely; forgetting that, in the same age, democracies of politics may be very common, while democracies of thought are very rare. For proof of the universal prevalence formerly of this esoteric and aristocratic spirit, see the following passages: *Ritter's History of Ancient Philosophy*, vol. i. p. 338, vol. iii. pp. 9, 17; *Tennemann, Geschichte der Philosophie*, vol. ii. pp. 200, 205, 220; *Beausobre, Histoire Critique de Manichée*, vol. ii. p. 41; *Matter, Histoire du Gnosticisme*, vol. i. p. 13, vol. ii. pp. 83, 370; *Sprengel, Histoire de la Médecine*, vol. i. p. 250; *Grote's History of Greece*, vol. i. p. 561, vol. iv. p. 544; *Thirlwall's History of Greece*, vol. ii. p. 150, vol. vi. p. 95; *Warburton's Works*, vol. vii. pp. 962, 972, 4to, 1788; *Sharpe's History of Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 174; *Cudworth's Intellect. System*, vol. ii. pp. 114, 365, 443, vol. iii. p. 20.

account, should propose to sacrifice the end, that he might obtain the means; who should hope to defend the armory by giving up the weapons, and who should destroy the treasure, in order to improve the magazine in which the treasure is kept.

Yet this is what many persons are apt to do. From literary men, in particular, we hear too much of the necessity of protecting and rewarding literature, and we hear too little of the necessity of that freedom and boldness, in the absence of which the most splendid literature is altogether worthless. Indeed, there is a general tendency, not to exaggerate the advantages of knowledge,—for that is impossible,—but to misunderstand what that is in which knowledge really consists. Real knowledge, the knowledge on which all civilization is based, solely consists in an acquaintance with the relations which things and ideas bear to each other and to themselves; in other words, in an acquaintance with physical and mental laws. If the time should ever come when all these laws are known, the circle of human knowledge will then be complete; and, in the interim, the value of literature depends upon the extent to which it communicates either a knowledge of the laws, or the materials by which the laws may be discovered. The business of education is to accelerate this great movement, and thus increase the fitness and aptitude of men, by increasing the resources which they possess. Towards this purpose, literature, so far as it is auxiliary, is highly useful. But to look upon an acquaintance with literature as one of the objects of education, is to mistake the order of events, and to make the end subservient to the means. It is because this is done, that we often find what are called highly educated men, the progress of whose knowledge has been actually retarded by the activity of their education. We often find them burdened by prejudices, which their reading, instead of dissipating, has rendered more inveterate.[35] For literature,

[35] Locke has noticed this 'learned ignorance,' for which many men are remarkable. See a fine passage in the *Essay on Human Understanding*, book iii. chap. x. in *Locke's Works*, vol. ii. p. 27, and similar remarks in his

being the depository of the thoughts of mankind, is full, not only of wisdom, but also of absurdities. The benefit, therefore, which is derived from literature, will depend, not so much upon the literature itself, as upon the skill with which it is studied, and the judgment with which it is selected. These are the preliminary conditions of success; and if they are not obeyed, the number and the value of the books in a country become a matter quite unimportant. Even in an advanced stage of civilization, there is always a tendency to prefer those parts of literature which favour ancient prejudices, rather than those which oppose them; and in cases where this tendency is very strong, the only effect of great learning will be, to supply the materials which may corroborate old errors, and confirm old superstitions. In our time such instances are not uncommon; and we frequently meet with men whose erudition ministers to their ignorance, and who the more they read, the less they know. There have been states of society in which this disposition was so general, that literature has done far more harm than good. Thus, for example, in the whole period from the sixth to the tenth centuries, there were not in all Europe more than three or four men who dared to think for themselves; and even they were obliged to veil their meaning in obscure and mystical language. The remaining part of society was, during these four centuries, sunk in the most degrading ignorance. Under these circumstances, the few who were able to read, confined their studies to works which encouraged and strengthened their superstition, such as the legends of the saints, and the homilies of the fathers. From these sources they drew those lying and impudent fables, of which the theology of that time is principally composed.[36] These miserable stories were widely circu-

Conduct of the Understanding, vol. ii. pp. 350, 364, 365, and in his *Thoughts on Education*, vol. viii. pp. 84-87. If this profound writer were now alive, what a war he would wage against our great universities and public schools, where innumerable things are still taught which no one is concerned to understand, and which few will take the trouble to remember. Compare *Condorcet, Vie de Turgot*, pp. 255, 256 note.

[36] The statistics of this sort of literature would prove a curious subject

lated, and were valued as solid and important truths. The more the literature was read, the more the stories were believed; in other words, the greater the learning, the greater the ignorance.[37] And I entertain no doubt, that if, in the seventh and eighth centuries, which were the worst part of that period,[38] all knowledge of the alphabet had for a while been lost, so that men could no longer read the books in which they delighted, the subsequent progress of Europe would have been more rapid than it really was. For when the progress began, its principal antagonist was that credulity which the literature had fostered. It was not that better books were wanting, but it was that the relish for such books was extinct. There was the literature of Greece and Rome, which the monks not only preserved, but even occasionally looked into and copied. But what could that avail such readers as they? So far from recognizing the merit of the ancient writers, they were unable to feel even the beauties of their style, and they trembled at the boldness of their inquiries. At the first glimpse of the light, their eyes were blinded. They never turned the leaves of a pagan author without standing aghast at the risk they were running; and they were in constant fear, lest by imbibing any of his opinions, they should involve themselves in a deadly sin. The result was, that they willingly laid aside the great masterpieces of antiquity; and in their place they substituted those wretched compilations, which corrupted their taste,

for inquiry. No one, I believe, has thought it worth while to sum them up; but M. Guizot has made an estimate that the Bollandist collection contains more than twenty-five thousand lives of saints: 'à en juger par approximation, ils contiennent plus de 25,000 vies de saints.' *Guizot, Histoire de la Civilisation en France*, vol. ii. p. 32. It is said (*Ledwich's Antiquities of Ireland*, p. 62) that of Saint Patrick alone, there were sixty-six biographers before Joceline.

[37] For, as Laplace observes, in his remarks on the sources of error in connexion with the doctrine of probabilities, 'C'est à l'influence de l'opinion de ceux que la multitude juge les plus instruits, et à qui elle a coutume de donner sa confiance sur les plus importants objets de la vie, qu'est due la propagation de ces erreurs qui, dans les temps d'ignorance, ont couvert la face du monde.' *Bouillaud, Philosophie Médicale*, p. 218.

[38] M. Guizot (*Civilisation en France*, vol. ii. pp. 171, 172) thinks that, on the whole, the seventh was even worse than the eighth: but it is difficult to choose between them.

increased their credulity, strengthened their errors, and prolonged the ignorance of Europe, by embodying each separate superstition in a written and accessible form, thus perpetuating its influence, and enabling it to enfeeble the understanding even of a distant posterity.

It is in this way that the nature of the literature possessed by a people is of very inferior importance, in comparison with the disposition of the people by whom the literature is to be read. In what are rightly termed the Dark Ages, there was a literature in which valuable materials were to be found; but there was no one who knew how to use them. During a considerable period, the Latin language was a vernacular dialect;[39] and, if men had chosen, they might have studied the great Latin authors. But to do this, they must have been in a state of society very different from that in which they actually lived. They, like every other people, measured merit by the standard commonly received in their own age; and, according to their standard, the dross was better than the gold. They, therefore, rejected the gold, and hoarded up the dross. What took place then is, on a smaller scale, taking place now. Every literature contains something that is true, and much that is false; and the effect it produces will chiefly depend upon the skill with which the truth is discriminated from the falsehood. New ideas, and new discoveries, possess prospectively an importance difficult to exaggerate; but until the ideas are received, and the discoveries adopted, they exercise no influence, and, therefore, work no good. No literature can ever benefit a people, unless it finds them in a state of preliminary preparation. In this respect, the analogy with religious opinions is complete. If the religion and the literature of a country are unsuited to its wants, they will be useless, because the literature will be neglected, and the religion will be disobeyed. In such cases, even the

[39] Some of the results of Latin being colloquially employed by the monks are judiciously stated in *Herder's Ideen zur Geschichte der Menschheit*, vol. iv. pp. 202, 203. The remarks on this custom by Dugald Stewart refer to a later period. *Stewart's Philosophy of the Mind*, vol. iii. pp. 110, 111.

ablest books are unread, and the purest doctrines despised. The works fall into oblivion; the faith is corrupted by heresy.

The other opinion to which I have referred is, that the civilization of Europe is chiefly owing to the ability which has been displayed by the different governments, and to the sagacity with which the evils of society have been palliated by legislative remedies. To any one who has studied history in its original sources, this notion must appear so extravagant, as to make it difficult to refute it with becoming gravity. Indeed, of all the social theories which have ever been broached, there is none so utterly untenable, and so unsound in all its parts, as this. In the first place, we have the obvious consideration, that the rulers of a country have, under ordinary circumstances, always been the inhabitants of that country; nurtured by its literature, bred to its traditions, and imbibing its prejudices. Such men are, at best, only the creatures of the age, never its creators. Their measures are the result of social progress, not the cause of it. This may be proved, not only by speculative arguments, but also by a practical consideration, which any reader of history can verify for himself. No great political improvement, no great reform, either legislative or executive, has ever been originated in any country by its rulers. The first suggesters of such steps have invariably been bold and able thinkers, who discern the abuse, denounce it, and point out how it is to be remedied. But long after this is done, even the most enlightened governments continue to uphold the abuse, and reject the remedy. At length, if circumstances are favourable, the pressure from without becomes so strong, that the government is obliged to give way; and, the reform being accomplished, the people are expected to admire the wisdom of their rulers, by whom all this has been done. That this is the course of political improvement, must be well known to whoever has studied the law-books of different countries in connexion with the previous progress of their knowledge. Full and decisive evidence of this will be brought forward in the present

work; but, by way of illustration, I may refer to the abolition of the corn-laws, undoubtedly one of the most remarkable facts in the history of England during this century. The propriety, and, indeed, the necessity, of their abolition, is now admitted by every one of tolerable information; and the question arises, as to how it was brought about. Those Englishmen who are little versed in the history of their country will say, that the real cause was the wisdom of Parliament; while others, attempting to look a little further, will ascribe it to the activity of the Anti-Corn-Law League, and the consequent pressure put upon Government. But whoever will minutely trace the different stages through which this great question successively passed, will find, that the Government, the Legislature, and the League, were the unwitting instruments of a power far greater than all other powers put together. They were simply the exponents of that march of public opinion, which on this subject had begun nearly a century before their time. The steps of this vast movement I shall examine on another occasion; at present it is enough to say, that soon after the middle of the eighteenth century, the absurdity of protective restrictions on trade was so fully demonstrated by the political economists, as to be admitted by every man who understood their arguments, and had mastered the evidence connected with them. From this moment, the repeal of the corn-laws became a matter, not of party, nor of expediency, but merely of knowledge. Those who knew the facts, opposed the laws; those who were ignorant of the facts, favoured the laws. It was, therefore, clear, that whenever the diffusion of knowledge reached a certain point, the laws must fall. The merit of the League was, to assist this diffusion; the merit of the Parliament was, to yield to it. It is, however, certain, that the members both of League and Legislature could at best only slightly hasten what the progress of knowledge rendered inevitable. If they had lived a century earlier, they would have been altogether powerless, because the age would not have been ripe for their labours.

They were the creatures of a movement which began long before any of them were born; and the utmost they could do was, to put into operation what others had taught, and repeat, in louder tones, the lessons they had learned from their masters. For, it was not pretended, they did not even pretend themselves, that there was anything new in the doctrines which they preached from the hustings, and disseminated in every part of the kingdom. The discoveries had long since been made, and were gradually doing their work; encroaching upon old errors, and making proselytes in all directions. The reformers of our time swam with the stream: they aided what it would have been impossible long to resist. Nor is this to be deemed a slight or grudging praise of the services they undoubtedly rendered. The opposition they had to encounter was still immense; and it should always be remembered, as a proof of the backwardness of political knowledge, and of the incompetence of political legislators, that although the principles of free trade had been established for nearly a century by a chain of arguments as solid as those on which the truths of mathematics are based, they were to the last moment strenuously resisted; and it was only with the greatest difficulty that Parliament was induced to grant what the people were determined to have, and the necessity of which had been proved by the ablest men during three successive generations.

I have selected this instance as an illustration, because the facts connected with it are undisputed, and, indeed, are fresh in the memory of us all. For it was not concealed at the time, and posterity ought to know, that this great measure, which, with the exception of the Reform Bill, is by far the most important ever passed by a British parliament, was, like the Reform Bill, extorted from the legislature by a pressure from without; that it was conceded, not cheerfully, but with fear; and that it was carried by statesmen who had spent their lives in opposing what they now suddenly advocated. Such was the history of these events; and such likewise has been the history

of all those improvements which are important enough to rank as epochs in the history of modern legislation.

Besides this, there is another circumstance worthy the attention of those writers who ascribe a large part of European civilization to measures originated by European governments. This is, that every great reform which has been effected, has consisted, not in doing something new, but in undoing something old. The most valuable additions made to legislation have been enactments destructive of preceding legislation; and the best laws which have been passed, have been those by which some former laws were repealed. In the case just mentioned, of the corn-laws, all that was done was to repeal the old laws, and leave trade to its natural freedom. When this great reform was accomplished, the only result was, to place things on the same footing as if legislators had never interfered at all. Precisely the same remark is applicable to another leading improvement in modern legislation, namely, the decrease of religious persecution. This is unquestionably an immense boon; though, unfortunately, it is still imperfect, even in the most civilized countries. But it is evident that the concession merely consists in this: that legislators have retraced their own steps, and undone their own work. If we examine the policy of the most humane and enlightened governments, we shall find this to be the course they have pursued. The whole scope and tendency of modern legislation is, to restore things to that natural channel from which the ignorance of preceding legislation has driven them. This is one of the great works of the present age; and if legislators do it well, they will deserve the gratitude of mankind. But though we may thus be grateful to individual lawgivers, we owe no thanks to lawgivers, considered as a class. For since the most valuable improvements in legislation are those which subvert preceding legislation, it is clear that the balance of good cannot be on their side. It is clear, that the progress of civilization cannot be due to those who, on the most important subjects, have done so much harm, that their successors are considered

benefactors, simply because they reverse their policy, and thus restore affairs to the state in which they would have remained, if politicians had allowed them to run on in the course which the wants of society required.

Indeed, the extent to which the governing classes have interfered, and the mischiefs which that interference has produced, are so remarkable, as to make thoughtful men wonder how civilization could advance, in the face of such repeated obstacles. In some of the European countries, the obstacles have, in fact, proved insuperable, and the national progress is thereby stopped. Even in England, where, from causes which I shall presently relate, the higher ranks have for some centuries been less powerful than elsewhere, there has been inflicted an amount of evil, which, though much smaller than that incurred in other countries, is sufficiently serious to form a melancholy chapter in the history of the human mind. To sum up these evils would be to write a history of English legislation; for it may be broadly stated, that, with the exception of certain necessary enactments respecting the preservation of order, and the punishment of crime, nearly everything which has been done, has been done amiss. Thus, to take only such conspicuous facts as do not admit of controversy, it is certain that all the most important interests have been grievously damaged by the attempts of legislators to aid them. Among the accessories of modern civilization, there is none of greater moment than trade, the spread of which has probably done more than any other single agent to increase the comfort and happiness of man. But every European government which has legislated much respecting trade, has acted as if its main object were to suppress the trade, and ruin the traders. Instead of leaving the national industry to take its own course, it has been troubled by an interminable series of regulations, all intended for its good, and all inflicting serious harm. To such a height has this been carried, that the commercial reforms which have distinguished England during the last twenty years, have solely consisted in undoing this mischievous and intrusive legis-

lation. The laws formerly enacted on this subject, and too many of which are still in force, are marvellous to contemplate. It is no exaggeration to say, that the history of the commercial legislation of Europe presents every possible contrivance for hampering the energies of commerce. Indeed, a very high authority, who has maturely studied this subject, has recently declared, that if it had not been for smuggling, trade could not have been conducted, but must have perished, in consequence of this incessant interference.[40] However paradoxical this assertion may appear, it will be denied by no one who knows how feeble trade once was, and how strong the obstacles were which opposed it. In every quarter, and at every moment, the hand of government was felt. Duties on importation, and duties on exportation; bounties to raise up a losing trade, and taxes to pull down a remunerative one; this branch of industry forbidden, and that branch of industry encouraged; one article of commerce must not be grown, because it was grown in the colonies, another article might be grown and bought, but not sold again, while a third article might be bought and sold, but not leave the country. Then, too, we find laws to regulate wages; laws to regulate prices; laws to regulate profits; laws to regulate the interest of money; custom-house arrangements of the most vexatious kind, aided by a complicated scheme, which was well called the sliding-scale,—a scheme of such perverse ingenuity, that the duties constantly varied on the same article, and no man could calculate beforehand what he would have to pay. To this uncertainty, itself the bane of all commerce, there was added a severity of exaction, felt by every class of consumers and producers. The tolls were so onerous, as to double and often quadruple the cost of production. A system was organized, and strictly enforced, of interference

[40] 'C'est à la contrebande que le commerçe doit de n'avoir pas péri sous l'influence du régime prohibitif; tandis que ce régime condamnait les peuples à s'approvisionner aux sources les plus éloignées, la contrebande rapprochait les distances, abaissait les prix, et neutralisait l'action funeste des monopoles.' *Blanqui, Histoire de l'Economie Politique en Europe*, Paris 1845, vol. ii. pp. 25, 26.

with markets, interference with manufactories, interference with machinery, interference even with shops. The towns were guarded by excisemen, and the ports swarmed with tide-waiters, whose sole business was to inspect nearly every process of domestic industry, peer into every package, and tax every article; while, that absurdity might be carried to its extreme height, a large part of all this was by way of protection: that is to say, the money was avowedly raised, and the inconvenience suffered, not for the use of the government, but for the benefit of the people; in other words, the industrious classes were robbed, in order that industry might thrive.

Such are some of the benefits which European trade owes to the paternal care of European legislators. But worse still remains behind. For the economical evils, great as they were, have been far surpassed by the moral evils which this system produced. The first inevitable consequence was, that, in every part of Europe, there arose numerous and powerful gangs of armed smugglers, who lived by disobeying the laws which their ignorant rulers had imposed. These men, desperate from the fear of punishment,[41] and accustomed to the commission of every crime, contaminated the surrounding population; introduced into peaceful villages vices formerly unknown; caused the ruin of entire families; spread, wherever they came, drunkenness, theft, and dissoluteness; and familiarized their associates with those coarse and swinish debaucheries which were the natural habits of so vagrant and lawless a life.[42] The innumerable crimes arising from

[41] The 19 Geo. II. c. 34, made 'all forcible acts of smuggling, carried on in defiance of the laws, or *even in disguise to evade them*, felony without benefit of clergy.' *Blackstone's Commentaries*, vol. iv. p. 155. Townsend, who travelled through France in 1786, says, that when any of the numerous smugglers were taken, 'some of them are hanged, some are broken upon the wheel, and some are burnt alive.' *Townsend's Spain*, vol. i. p. 85, edit. 1792. On the general operation of the French laws against smugglers in the eighteenth century, compare *Tucker's Life of Jefferson*, vol. i. pp. 213, 214, with *Parliamentary History*, vol. ix. p. 1240.

[42] In a work of considerable ability, the following account is given of the state of things in England and France so late as the year 1824: 'While this was going forward on the English coast, the smugglers on the opposite shore were engaged, with much more labour, risk, and expense, in introducing

this,[43] are directly chargeable upon the European governments by whom they were provoked. The offences were caused by the laws; and now that the laws are repealed, the offences have disappeared. But it will hardly be pretended, that the interests of civilization have been advanced by such a policy as this. It will hardly be pretended, that we owe much to a system which, having called into existence a new class of criminals, at length retraces its steps; and, though it thus puts an end to the crime, only destroys what its own acts had created.

It is unnecessary to say, that these remarks do not affect the real services rendered to society by every tolerably organized government. In all countries, a power of punishing crime, and of framing laws, must reside somewhere; otherwise the nation is in a state of anarchy. But the accusation which the historian is bound to bring against every government which has hitherto existed is, that it has overstepped its proper functions, and, at each step, has done incalculable harm. The love of exercising power has been found to be so universal, that no class of men who have possessed authority have been able to avoid abusing it. To maintain order, to prevent the strong from oppressing the weak, and to adopt certain precautions respecting the public health, are the only services

English woollens, by a vast system of fraud and lying, into the towns, past a series of custom-houses. In both countries, there was an utter dissoluteness of morals connected with these transactions. Cheating and lying were essential to the whole system; drunkenness accompanied it; contempt for all law grew up under it; honest industry perished beneath it; and it was crowned with murder.' *Martineau's History of England during Thirty Years Peace*, vol. i. p 341, 8vo, 1849.

[43] For evidence of the extraordinary extent to which smuggling was formerly carried, and that not secretly, but by powerful bodies of armed men, see *Parliamentary History*, vol. ix. pp. 243, 247, 1290, 1345, vol. x. pp. 394, 405, 530, 532, vol. xi. p. 935. And on the number of persons engaged in it, compare *Tomline's Life of Pitt*, vol. i. p. 359: see also *Sinclair's History of the Public Revenue*, vol. iii. p. 232; *Otter's Life of Clarke*, vol. i. p. 391. In France, the evil was equally great. M. Lemontey says, that early in the eighteenth century, 'la contrebande devenait une profession ouverte, et des compagnies de cavalerie désertèrent tout entières leurs étendards pour suivre contre le fisc cette guerre populaire.' *Lemontey, Essai sur l'Etablissement monarchique de Louis XIV*, p. 430. According to Townsend, there were, in 1786, 'more than 1500 smugglers in the Pyrenees.' *Townsend's Journey through Spain*, vol. i. p. 84.

which any government can render to the interests of civilization. That these are services of immense value, no one will deny; but it cannot be said, that by them civilization is advanced, or the progress of Man accelerated. All that is done is, to afford the opportunity of progress; the progress itself must depend upon other matters. And that this is the sound view of legislation, is, moreover, evident from the fact, that as knowledge is becoming more diffused, and as an increasing experience is enabling each successive generation better to understand the complicated relations of life; just in the same proportion are men insisting upon the repeal of those protective laws, the enactment of which was deemed by politicians to be the greatest triumph of political foresight.

Seeing, therefore, that the efforts of government in favour of civilization are, when most successful, altogether negative; and seeing too, that when those efforts are more than negative, they become injurious,—it clearly follows, that all speculations must be erroneous which ascribe the progress of Europe to the wisdom of its rulers. This is an inference which rests not only on the arguments already adduced, but on facts which might be multiplied from every page of history. For no government having recognized its proper limits, the result is, that every government has inflicted on its subjects great injuries; and has done this nearly always with the best intentions. The effects of its protective policy in injuring trade, and, what is far worse, in increasing crime, have just been noticed; and to these instances, innumerable others might be added. Thus, during many centuries, every government thought it was its bounden duty to encourage religious truth, and discourage religious error. The mischief this has produced is incalculable. Putting aside all other considerations, it is enough to mention its two leading consequences; which are, the increase of hypocrisy, and the increase of perjury. The increase of hypocrisy is the inevitable result of connecting any description of penalty with the profession of particular opinions. Whatever may be the case with individuals, it is certain that the ma-

jority of men find an extreme difficulty in long resisting constant temptation. And when the temptation comes to them in the shape of honour and emolument, they are too often ready to profess the dominant opinions, and abandon, not indeed their belief, but the external marks by which that belief is made public. Every man who takes this step is a hypocrite; and every government which encourages this step to be taken, is an abettor of hypocrisy and a creator of hypocrites. Well, therefore, may we say, that when a government holds out as a bait, that those who profess certain opinions shall enjoy certain privileges, it plays the part of the tempter of old, and, like the Evil One, basely offers the good things of this world to him who will change his worship and deny his faith. At the same time, and as a part of this system, the increase of perjury has accompanied the increase of hypocrisy. For legislators, plainly seeing that proselytes thus obtained could not be relied upon, have met the danger by the most extraordinary precautions; and compelling men to confirm their belief by repeated oaths, have thus sought to protect the old creed against the new converts. It is this suspicion as to the motives of others, which has given rise to oaths of every kind and in every direction. In England, even the boy at college is forced to swear about matters which he cannot understand, and which far riper minds are unable to master. If he afterwards goes into Parliament, he must again swear about his religion; and at nearly every stage of political life he must take fresh oaths; the solemnity of which is often strangely contrasted with the trivial functions to which they are the prelude. A solemn adjuration of the Deity being thus made at every turn, it has happened, as might have been expected, that oaths, enjoined as a matter of course, have at length degenerated into a matter of form. What is lightly taken, is easily broken. And the best observers of English society,—observers too whose characters are very different, and who hold the most opposite opinions,—are all agreed on this, that the perjury habitually practised in England, and of which government is

the immediate creator, is so general, that it has become a source of national corruption, has diminished the value of human testimony, and shaken the confidence which men naturally place in the word of their fellow-creatures.[44]

The open vices, and, what is much more dangerous, the hidden corruption, thus generated in the midst of society by the ignorant interference of Christian rulers, is indeed a painful subject; but it is one which I could not omit in an analysis of the causes of civilization. It would be easy to push the inquiry still further, and to show how legislators, in every attempt they have made to protect some particular interests, and uphold some particular principles, have not only failed, but have brought about results diametrically opposite to those which they proposed. We have seen that their laws in favour of industry have injured industry; that their laws in favour of religion have increased hypocrisy; and that their laws to secure truth have encouraged perjury. Exactly in the same way, nearly every country has taken steps to prevent usury, and keep down the interest of money; and the invariable effect has been to increase usury, and raise the interest of money. For, since no prohibition, however stringent, can destroy the natural relation between demand and supply, it has followed, that when some men want to borrow, and other men want to lend, both parties are sure to find means of evading a law which interferes with their mutual rights.[45] If the two parties were left

[44] Archbishop Whately says, what hardly any thinking man will now deny, 'If oaths were abolished—leaving the penalties for false witness (no unimportant part of our security) unaltered—I am convinced that, on the whole, Testimony would be more trustworthy than it is.' *Whately's Elements of Rhetoric*, 8vo, 1850, p. 47. See also on the amount of perjury caused by English legislation, *Jeremy Bentham's Works*, edit. Bowring, vol. ii. p. 210, vol. v. pp. 191-229, 454-466, vol. vi. pp. 314, 315; *Orme's Life of Owen*, p. 195; *Locke's Works*, vol. iv. p. 6; *Berkeley's Works*, vol. ii. p. 196; *Whiston's Memoirs*, pp. 33, 411-413; *Hamilton's Discussions on Philosophy and Literature*, pp. 454, 522, 527, 528. Sir W. Hamilton sums up: 'But if the perjury of England stands pre-eminent in the world, the perjury of the English Universities, and of Oxford in particular, stands pre-eminent in England.' p. 528. Compare *Priestley's Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 374; and *Baker's Life of Sir Thomas Bernard*, 1819, pp. 188, 189.

[45] 'L'observation rigoureuse de ces loix seroit destructive de tout commerce; aussi ne sont-elles pas observées rigoureusement.' *Mémoire sur les*

to adjust their own bargain undisturbed, the usury would depend on the circumstances of the loan; such as the amount of security, and the chance of repayment. But this natural arrangement has been complicated by the interference of government.[46] A certain risk being always incurred by those who disobey the law, the usurer, very properly, refuses to lend his money unless he is also compensated for the danger he is in from the penalty hanging over him. This compensation can only be made by the borrower, who is thus obliged to pay what in reality is a double interest: one interest for the natural risk on the loan, and another interest for the extra risk from the law. Such, then, is the position in which every European legislature has placed itself. By enactments against usury, it has increased what it wished to destroy; it has passed laws, which the imperative necessities of men compel them to violate: while, to wind up the whole, the penalty for such violation falls on the borrowers; that is, on the very class in whose favour the legislators interfered.[47]

In the same meddling spirit, and with the same mistaken notions of protection, the great Christian governments have done other things still more injurious. They have made strenuous and repeated efforts to destroy the liberty of the press, and prevent men from expressing

Prêts d'Argent, sec. xiv., in *Œuvres de Turgot*, vol. v. pp. 278, 279. Compare *Ricardo's Works*, pp. 178, 179, with *Condorcet, Vie de Turgot*, pp. 53, 54, 228.

[46] Aided by the church. Ecclesiastical councils contain numerous regulations against usury; and, in 1179, Pope Alexander ordered that usurers were not to be buried: 'Quia in omnibus ferè locis crimen usurarum invaluit; ut multi negotiis prætermissis quasi licitè usuras exerceant; et qualiter utriusque testamenti pagina condemnetur, non attendunt: ideò constituimus, ut usurarii manifesti nec ad communionem recipiantur altaris, nec Christianam, si in hoc peccato decesserint, accipiant sepulturam, sed nec oblationem eorum quisquam accipiat.' *Rog. de Hoved. Annal. in Rerum Anglicarum Scriptores post Bedam*, p. 335, Lond. 1596, folio. In Spain, the Inquisition took cognizance of usury. See *Llorente, Histoire de l'Inquisition*, vol. i. p. 339. Compare *Ledwich's Antiquities of Ireland*, p. 133.

[47] The whole subject of the usury-laws has been treated by Bentham in so complete and exhaustive a manner, that I cannot do better than refer the reader to his admirable 'Letters.' A part only of the question is discussed, and that very imperfectly, in *Rey's Science Sociale*, vol. iii. pp. 64, 65. On the necessity of usury to mitigate the effects of a commercial panic, see *Mill's Principles of Political Economy*, vol. ii. p. 185.

their sentiments on the most important questions in politics and religion. In nearly every country, they, with the aid of the church, have organized a vast system of literary police; the sole object of which is, to abrogate the undoubted right of every citizen to lay his opinions before his fellow-citizens. In the very few countries where they have stopped short of these extreme steps, they have had recourse to others less violent, but equally unwarrantable. For even where they have not openly forbidden the free dissemination of knowledge, they have done all that they could to check it. On all the implements of knowledge, and on all the means by which it is diffused, such as paper, books, political journals, and the like, they have imposed duties so heavy, that they could hardly have done worse if they had been the sworn advocates of popular ignorance. Indeed, looking at what they have actually accomplished, it may be emphatically said, that they have taxed the human mind. They have made the very thoughts of men pay toll. Whoever wishes to communicate his ideas to others, and thus do what he can to increase the stock of our acquirements, must first pour his contributions into the imperial exchequer. That is the penalty inflicted on him for instructing his fellow-creatures. That is the blackmail which government extorts from literature; and on receipt of which it accords its favour, and agrees to abstain from further demands. And what causes all this to be the more insufferable, is the use which is made of these and similar exactions, wrung from every kind of industry, both bodily and mental. It is truly a frightful consideration, that knowledge is to be hindered, and that the proceeds of honest labour, of patient thought, and sometimes of profound genius, are to be diminished, in order that a large part of their scanty earnings may go to swell the pomp of an idle and ignorant court, minister to the caprice of a few powerful individuals, and too often supply them with the means of turning against the people resources which the people called into existence.

These, and the foregoing statements, respecting the

effects produced on European society by political legislation, are not doubtful or hypothetical inferences, but are such as every reader of history may verify for himself. Indeed, some of them are still acting in England; and, in one country or another, the whole of them may be seen in full force. When put together, they compose an aggregate so formidable, that we may well wonder how, in the face of them, civilization has been able to advance. That, under such circumstances, it has advanced, is a decisive proof of the extraordinary energy of Man; and justifies a confident belief, that as the pressure of legislation is diminished, and the human mind less hampered, the progress will continue with accelerated speed. But it is absurd, it would be a mockery of all sound reasoning, to ascribe to legislation any share in the progress; or to expect any benefit from future legislators, except that sort of benefit which consists in undoing the work of their predecessors. This is what the present generation claims at their hands; and it should be remembered that what one generation solicits as a boon, the next generation demands as a right. And, when the right is pertinaciously refused, one of two things has always happened: either the nation has retrogaded; or else the people have risen. Should the government remain firm, this is the cruel dilemma in which men are placed. If they submit, they injure their country; if they rebel, they may injure it still more. In the ancient monarchies of the East, their usual plan was to yield; in the monarchies of Europe, it has been to resist. Hence those insurrections and rebellions which occupy so large a space in modern history, and which are but repetitions of the old story, the undying struggle between oppressors and oppressed. It would, however, be unjust to deny, that in one country the fatal crisis has now for several generations been successfully averted. In one European country, and in one alone, the people have been so strong, and the government so weak, that the history of legislation, taken as a whole, is, notwithstanding a few aberrations, the history of slow, but constant concession: reforms which would have

been refused to argument, have been yielded from fear; while, from the steady increase of democratic opinions, protection after protection, and privilege after privilege, have, even in our own time, been torn away; until the old institutions, though they retain their former name, have lost their former vigour, and there no longer remains a doubt as to what their fate must ultimately be. Nor need we add, that in this same country, where, more than in any other of Europe, legislators are the exponents and the servants of the popular will, the progress has, on this account, been more undeviating than elsewhere; there has been neither anarchy nor revolution; and the world has been made familiar with the great truth, that one main condition of the prosperity of a people is, that its rulers shall have very little power, that they shall exercise that power very sparingly, and that they shall by no means presume to raise themselves into supreme judges of the national interests, or deem themselves authorized to defeat the wishes of those for whose benefit alone they occupy the post intrusted to them.

CHAPTER VI.

ORIGIN OF HISTORY, AND STATE OF HISTORICAL LITERATURE DURING THE MIDDLE AGES.

I HAVE now laid before the reader an examination of those conspicuous circumstances to which the progress of civilization is commonly ascribed; and I have proved that such circumstances, so far from being the cause of civilization, are at best only its effects; and that although religion, literature, and legislation do, undoubtedly, modify the condition of mankind, they are still more modified by it. Indeed, as we have clearly seen, they, even in their most favourable position, can be but secondary agents; because, however beneficial their apparent influence may be, they are themselves the product of preceding changes, and their results will vary according to the variations of the society on which they work.

It is thus that, by each successive analysis, the field of the present inquiry has been narrowed, until we have found reason to believe that the growth of European civilization is solely due to the progress of knowledge, and that the progress of knowledge depends on the number of truths which the human intellect discovers, and on the extent to which they are diffused. In support of this proposition, I have, as yet, only brought forward such general arguments as establish a very strong probability; which, to raise to a certainty, will require an appeal to history in the widest sense of the term. Thus to verify speculative conclusions by an exhaustive enumeration of the most important particular facts, is the task which I purpose to execute so far as my powers will allow; and in the preceding chapter I have briefly stated the method according to which the investigation will be conducted.

Besides this, it has appeared to me that the principles which I have laid down may also be tested by a mode of proceeding which I have not yet mentioned, but which is intimately connected with the subject now before us. This is, to incorporate with an inquiry into the progress of the history of Man, another inquiry into the progress of History itself. By this means, great light will be thrown on the movements of society; since there must always be a connexion between the way in which men contemplate the past, and the way in which they contemplate the present; both views being in fact different forms of the same habits of thought, and therefore presenting, in each age, a certain sympathy and correspondence with each other. It will, moreover, be found, that such an inquiry into what I call the history of history, will establish two leading facts of considerable value. The first fact is, that during the last three centuries, historians, taken as a class, have shown a constantly increasing respect for the human intellect, and an aversion for those innumerable contrivances by which it was formerly shackled. The second fact is, that during the same period, they have displayed a growing tendency to neglect matters once deemed of paramount importance, and have been more willing to attend to subjects connected with the condition of the people and the diffusion of knowledge. These two facts will be decisively established in the present Introduction; and it must be admitted, that their existence corroborates the principles which I have propounded. If it can be ascertained, that as society has improved, historical literature has constantly tended in one given direction, there arises a very strong probability in favour of the truth of those views towards which it is manifestly approaching. Indeed, it is a probability of this sort which makes it so important for the student of any particular science to be acquainted with its history; because there is always a fair presumption that when general knowledge is advancing, any single department of it, if studied by competent men, is also advancing, even when the results may have been so small as to seem un-

worthy of attention. Hence it becomes highly important to observe the way in which, during successive ages, historians have shifted their ground; since we shall find that such changes have in the long-run always pointed to the same quarter, and are, in reality, only part of that vast movement by which the human intellect, with infinite difficulty, has vindicated its own rights, and slowly emancipated itself from those inveterate prejudices which long impeded its action.

With a view to these considerations, it seems advisable that, when examining the different civilizations into which the great countries of Europe have diverged, I should also give an account of the way in which history has been commonly written in each country. In the employment of this resource, I shall be mainly guided by a desire to illustrate the intimate connexion between the actual condition of a people and their opinions respecting the past; and, in order to keep this connexion in sight, I shall treat the state of historical literature, not as a separate subject, but as forming part of the intellectual history of each nation. The present volume will contain a view of the principal characteristics of French civilization until the great Revolution; and with that there will be incorporated an account of the French historians, and of the remarkable improvements they introduced into their own departments of knowledge. The relation which these improvements bore to the state of society from which they proceeded, is very striking, and will be examined at some length; while, in the next volume, the civilization and the historical literature of the other leading countries will be treated in a similar manner. Before, however, entering into these different subjects, it has occurred to me, that a preliminary inquiry into the origin of European history would be interesting, as supplying information respecting matters which are little known, and also as enabling the reader to understand the extreme difficulty with which history has reached its present advanced, but still very imperfect, state. The materials for studying the earliest condition of Europe have long since perished;

but the extensive information we now possess concerning barbarous nations will supply us with a useful resource, because they have all much in common; the opinions of extreme ignorance being, indeed, every where the same, except when modified by the differences which nature presents in various countries. I have, therefore, no hesitation in employing the evidence which has been collected by competent travellers, and drawing inferences from it respecting that period of the European mind, of which we have no direct knowledge. Such conclusions will, of course, be speculative; but, during the last thousand years, we are quite independent of them, inasmuch as every great country has had chroniclers of its own since the ninth century, while the French have an uninterrupted series since the sixth century. In the present chapter, I intend to give specimens of the way in which, until the sixteenth century, history was habitually written by the highest European authorities. Its subsequent improvement during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, will be related under the separate heads of the countries where the progress was made; and as history, previous to the improvement, was little else than a tissue of the grossest errors, I will, in the first place, examine the leading causes of its universal corruption, and indicate the steps by which it was so disfigured that, during several centuries, Europe did not possess a single man who had critically studied the past, or who was even able to record with tolerable accuracy the events of his own time.

At a very early period in the progress of a people, and long before they are acquainted with the use of letters, they feel the want of some resource, which in peace may amuse their leisure, and in war may stimulate their courage. This is supplied to them by the invention of ballads; which form the groundwork of all historical knowledge, and which, in one shape or another, are found among some of the rudest tribes of the earth. They are, for the most part, sung by a class of men whose particular business it is thus to preserve the stock of traditions. Indeed, so natural is this curiosity as to past events, that there are few

nations to whom these bards or minstrels are unknown. Thus, to select a few instances, it is they who have preserved the popular traditions, not only of Europe,[1] but also of China, Tibet, and Tartary;[2] likewise of India,[3] of Scinde,[4] of Belochistan,[5] of Western Asia,[6] of the islands of the Black Sea,[7] of Egypt,[8] of Western Africa,[9] of North America,[10] of South America,[11] and of the islands in the Pacific.[12]

[1] For an account of the ancient bards of Gaul, see the *Benedictine Hist. Lit. de la France*, vol. i. part i. pp. 25-28. Those of Scotland are noticed in *Barry's Hist. of the Orkney Islands*, p. 89; and for a modern instance in the island of Col, near Mull, see *Otter's Life of Clarke*, vol. i. p. 307. As to the Irish bards in the seventh century, see *Sharon Turner's Hist. of England*, vol. iii. p. 571. Spenser's account of them in the sixteenth century (*Somers Tracts*, vol. i. pp. 590, 591) shows that the order was then falling into contempt; and in the seventeenth century this is confirmed by Sir William Temple; *Essay on Poetry*, in *Temple's Works*, vol. iii. pp. 431, 432. But it was not till the eighteenth century that they became extinct; for Mr. Prior (*Life of Goldsmith*, vol. i. pp. 36, 37) says, that Carolan, 'the last of the ancient Irish bards,' died in 1738. Without them the memory of many events would have been entirely lost; since, even at the end of the seventeenth century, there being no registers in Ireland, the ordinary means of recording facts were so little known, that parents often took the precaution of having the names and ages of children marked on their arms with gunpowder. See *Kirkman's Memoirs of Charles Macklin*, 8vo, 1799, vol. i. pp. 144, 145, a curious book. Compare, respecting Carolan, *Nichols's Illustrations of the Eighteenth Century*, vol. vii. pp. 688-694.

[2] On these Toolholos, as they are called, see *Huc's Travels in Tartary, Thibet, and China*, vol. i. pp. 65-67. Huc says, p. 67, 'These poet-singers, who remind us of the minstrels and rhapsodists of Greece, are also very numerous in China; but they are, probably, no where so numerous or so popular as in Thibet.'

[3] On the bards of the Deccan, see *Wilks's History of the South of India*, 4to, 1810, vol. i. pp. 20, 21, and *Transac. of the Bombay Soc.* vol. i. p. 162. For those of other parts of India, see *Heber's Journey*, vol. ii. pp 452-455; *Burnes on the North-west Frontier of India*, in *Journal of Geog. Soc.* vol. iv. pp. 110, 111; *Prinsep*, in *Journal of Asiat. Soc.* vol. viii. p. 395; *Forbes's Oriental Memoirs*, vol. i. pp. 376, 377, 543; and *Asiatic Researches*, vol. ix. p. 78. They are mentioned in the oldest Veda, which is also the oldest of all the Indian books. See *Rig Veda Sanhita*, vol. i. p. 158.

[4] See *Burton's Sindh*, p. 56, 8vo, 1851.

[5] *Burton's Sindh*, p. 59.

[6] *Burnes's Travels into Bokhara*, 8vo, 1834, vol. ii. pp. 107, 115, 116.

[7] *Clarke's Travels*, 8vo, 1816, vol. ii. p. 101.

[8] Compare *Wilkinson's Ancient Egyptians*, vol. ii. p. 304, with *Bunsen's Egypt*, vol. i. p. 96, vol. ii. p. 92.

[9] I have mislaid my note on the bards of Western Africa, and can only refer to a hasty notice in *Mungo Park's Travels*, vol. i. p. 70, 8vo, 1817.

[10] *Buchanan's Sketches of the North-American Indians*, p. 337.

[11] *Prescott's History of Peru*, vol. i. pp. 31, 32, 117.

[12] *Ellis, Polynesian Researches*, vol. i. pp. 85, 199, 411; *Ellis, Tour through*

In all these countries, letters were long unknown; and, as a people in that state have no means of perpetuating their history except by oral tradition, they select the form best calculated to assist their memory; and it will, I believe, be found that the first rudiments of knowledge consist always of poetry, and often of rhyme.[13] The jingle pleases the ear of the barbarian, and affords a security that he will hand it down to his children in the unimpaired state in which he received it.[14] This guarantee against error increases still further the value of these ballads; and instead of being considered as a mere amusement, they rise to the dignity of judicial authorities.[15]

Hawaii, p. 91. Compare *Cook's Voyages*, vol. v. p. 237, with *Beechey's Voyage to the Pacific*, vol. ii. p. 106. Some of these ballads have been collected, but, I believe, not published. See *Cheever's Sandwich Islands*, 8vo, 1851, p. 181.

[13] It is a singular proof of the carelessness with which the history of barbarous nations has been studied, that authors constantly assert rhyme to be a comparatively recent contrivance; and even Pinkerton, writing to Laing in 1799, says, 'Rhyme was not known in Europe till about the ninth century.' *Pinkerton's Literary Correspondence*, vol. ii. p. 92. The truth is, that rhyme was not only known to the ancient Greeks and Romans, but was used, long before the date Pinkerton mentions, by the Anglo-Saxons, by the Irish, by the Welsh, and, I believe, by the Brétons. See *Mure's Hist. of the Literature of Greece*, vol. ii. p. 113; *Hallam's Lit. of Europe*, vol. i. p. 31; *Villemarqué, Chants Populaires de la Bretagne*, vol. i. pp. lviii. lix. compared with *Souvestre, les Derniers Bretons*, p. 143; *Turner's Hist. of England*, vol. iii. pp. 383, 643, vol. vii. pp. 324, 328, 330. Rhyme is also used by the Fantees (*Bowdich, Mission to Ashantee*, p. 358); by the Persians (*Transac. of Bombay Soc.* vol. ii. p. 82); by the Chinese (*Transac. of Asiatic Soc.* vol. ii. pp 407, 409, and *Davis's Chinese*, vol. ii. p. 269); by the Malays (*Asiatic Researches*, vol. x. pp. 176, 196); by the Javanese (*Crawfurd's Hist of the Indian Archipelago*, vol. ii. pp. 19, 20); and by the Siamese (*Transac. of Asiatic Soc.* vol. iii. p. 299).

[14] The habit thus acquired, long survives the circumstances which made it necessary. During many centuries, the love of versification was so widely diffused, that works in rhyme were composed on nearly all subjects, even in Europe; and this practice, which marks the ascendency of the imagination, is, as I have shown, a characteristic of the great Indian civilization, where the understanding was always in abeyance. On early French historians who wrote in rhyme, see *Monteil, Hist. des divers Etats*, vol. vi. p. 147. Montucla (*Hist. des Mathémat.* vol. i. p. 566) mentions a mathematical treatise, written in the thirteenth century, 'en vers techniques.' Compare the remarks of Matter (*Hist. de l'Ecole d'Alexandrie*, vol. ii. pp. 179-183) on the scientific poetry of Aratus; and on that of Hygin, p. 250. Thus, too, we find an Anglo-Norman writing 'the Institutes of Justinian in verse;' *Turner's Hist. of England*, vol. vii. p. 307: and a Polish historian composing 'his numerous works on genealogy and heraldry mostly in rhyme.' *Talvi's Language and Literature of the Slavic Nations*, 8vo, 1850, p. 246. Compare *Origines du Droit Français*, in *Œuvres de Michelet*, vol. ii. p. 310.

[15] Mr. Ellis, a missionary in the South-Sea Islands, says of the inhabit-

The allusions contained in them, are satisfactory proofs to decide the merits of rival families, or even to fix the limits of those rude estates which such a society can possess. We therefore find, that the professed reciters and composers of these songs are the recognized judges in all disputed matters; and as they are often priests, and believed to be inspired, it is probably in this way that the notion of the divine origin of poetry first arose.[16] These ballads will, of course, vary, according to the customs and temperaments of the different nations, and according to the climate to which they are accustomed. In the south they assume a passionate and voluptuous form; in the north they are rather remarkable for their tragic and warlike character.[17] But, notwithstanding these diversities, all such productions have one feature in common. They are not only founded on truth, but making allowance for the colourings of poetry, they are all strictly true. Men who are constantly repeating songs which they constantly hear, and who appeal to the authorized singers of

ants, 'Their traditionary ballads were a kind of standard, or classical authority, to which they referred for the purpose of determining any disputed fact in their history.' And when doubts arose, 'as they had no records to which they could at such times refer, they could only oppose one oral tradition to another; which unavoidably involved the parties in protracted, and often obstinate debates.' *Ellis, Polynesian Researches*, vol. i. pp. 202, 203. Compare *Elphinstone's Hist. of India*, p. 66; *Laing's Heimskringla*, 8vo, 1844, vol. i. pp. 50, 51; *Twell's Life of Pocock*, edit. 1816, p. 143.

[16] The inspiration of poetry is sometimes explained by its spontaneousness (*Cousin, Hist. de la Philosophie*, II. série, vol. i. pp. 135, 136); and there can be no doubt that one cause of the reverence felt for great poets, is the necessity they seem to experience of pouring out their thoughts without reference to their own wishes. Still, it will, I believe, be found, that the notion of poetry being a divine art is most rife in those states of society in which knowledge is monopolized by the bards, and in which the bards are both priests and historians. On this combination of pursuits, compare a note in *Malcolm's Hist. of Persia*, vol. i. p. 90, with *Mure's Hist. of the Lit. of Greece*, vol. i. p. 148, vol. ii. p. 228, and *Petrie's* learned work, *Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland*, Dublin, 1845, p. 354. For evidence of the great respect paid to bards, see *Mallet's Northern Antiquities*, pp. 234-236; *Wheaton's Hist. of the Northmen*, pp. 50, 51; *Wright's Biog. Brit. Lit.* vol. i. p. 3; *Warton's Hist. of English Poetry*, 1840, vol. i. pp. xxvi. xl.; *Grote's Hist. of Greece*, vol. ii. p. 182, 1st edit.; and on their important duties, see the laws of Mœlmund, *Villemarqué, Chants Populaires de la Bretagne*, 1846, vol. i. pp. v. and vi.; *Thirlwall's Hist. of Greece*, vol. i. p. 229; and *Origines du Droit*, in *Œuvres de Michelet*, vol. ii. p. 372.

[17] *Villemarqué, Chants Populaires*, vol. i. p. lv.

them as final umpires in disputed questions, are not likely to be mistaken on matters, in the accuracy of which they have so lively an interest.[18]

This is the earliest, and most simple, of the various stages through which history is obliged to pass. But, in the course of time, unless unfavourable circumstances intervene, society advances, and, among other changes, there is one in particular of the greatest importance: I mean the introduction of the art of writing, which, before many generations are passed, must effect a complete alteration in the character of the national traditions. The manner in which this occurs has, so far as I am aware, never been pointed out; and it will, therefore, be interesting to attempt to trace some of its details.

The first, and perhaps the most obvious consideration, is that the introduction of the art of writing gives permanence to the national knowledge, and thus lessens the utility of that oral information, in which all the acquirements of an unlettered people must be contained. Hence it is, that as a country advances, the influence of tradition diminishes, and traditions themselves become less trustworthy.[19] Besides this, the preservers of these traditions lose, in this stage of society, much of their former reputation. Among a perfectly unlettered people, the singers of ballads are, as we have already seen, the sole depositories of those historical facts on which the fame, and often the property, of their chieftains principally depend. But, when this same nation becomes acquainted with the art

[18] As to the general accuracy of the early ballads, which has been rashly attacked by several writers, and among others by Sir Walter Scott, see *Villemarqué*, *Chants Populaires*, vol. i. pp. xxv.-xxxi., and *Talvi's Slavic Nations*, p. 150. On the tenacity of oral tradition, compare *Niebuhr's History of Rome*, 1847, vol. i. p. 230, with *Laing's Denmark*, pp. 197, 198, 350; *Wheaton's Hist of the Northmen*, pp. 38, 39, 57-59. Another curious illustration of this is, that several barbarous nations continue to repeat the old traditions in the old words, for so many generations, that at length the very language becomes unintelligible to the majority of those who recite them. See *Mariner's Account of the Tonga Islands*, vol. i. p. 156, vol. ii. p. 217, and *Catlin's North-American Indians*, vol. i. p. 126.

[19] That the invention of letters would at first weaken the memory, is noticed in Plato's Phædrus, chap. 135 (*Platonis Opera*, vol. i. p. 187, edit. Bekker, Lond. 1826); where, however, the argument is pushed rather too far.

of writing, it grows unwilling to intrust these matters to the memory of itinerant singers, and avails itself of its new art to preserve them in a fixed and material form. As soon as this is effected, the importance of those who repeat the national traditions is sensibly diminished. They gradually sink into an inferior class, which, having lost its old reputation, no longer consists of those superior men to whose abilities it owed its former fame.[20] Thus we see, that although, without letters, there can be no knowledge of much importance, it is nevertheless true, that their introduction is injurious to historical traditions in two distinct ways: first by weakening the traditions, and secondly by weakening the class of men whose occupation it is to preserve them.

But this is not all. Not only does the art of writing lessen the number of traditionary truths, but it directly encourages the propagation of falsehoods. This is effected by what may be termed a principle of accumulation, to which all systems of belief have been deeply indebted. In ancient times, for example, the name of Hercules was given to several of those great public robbers who scourged mankind, and who, if their crimes were successful, as well as enormous, were sure after their death to be worshipped as heroes.[21] How this appellation originated is uncertain; but it was probably bestowed at first on a single man, and afterwards on those who resembled him in the character of their achievements.[22] This mode of extending the use of a single name is natural to a barbarous people;[23] and

[20] This inevitable decline in the ability of the bards is noticed, though, as it appears to me, from a wrong point of view, in *Mure's Literat. of Greece*, vol. ii. p. 230.

[21] Varro mentions forty-four of these vagabonds, who were all called Hercules. See a learned article in *Smith's Biog. and Mythology*, vol. ii. p. 401, 8vo, 1846. See also *Mackay's Religious Development of the Greeks and Hebrews*, vol. ii. pp. 71-79. On the relation between Hercules and Melcarth, compare *Matter, Hist. du Gnosticisme*, vol. i. p. 257, with *Heeren's Asiatic Nations*, vol. i. p. 295, 8vo, 1846. And as to the Hercules of Egypt, *Prichard's Analysis of Egyptian Mythology*, 1838, pp. 109, 115-119. As to the confusion of the different Hercules by the Dorians, see *Thirlwall's Hist. of Greece*, vol. i. p. 257; and compare p. 130.

[22] This appears to be the opinion of Frederick Schlegel; *Schlegel's Lectures on the History of Literature*, Edinb. 1818, vol. i. p. 260.

[23] The habit of generalizing names precedes that more advanced state of

would cause little or no confusion, as long as the traditions of the country remained local and unconnected. But as soon as these traditions became fixed by a written language, the collectors of them, deceived by the similarity of name, assembled the scattered facts, and, ascribing to a single man these accumulated exploits, degraded history to the level of a miraculous mythology.[24] In the same way, soon after the use of letters was known in the North of Europe, there was drawn up by Saxo Grammaticus the life of the celebrated Ragnar Lodbrok. Either from accident or design, this great warrior of Scandinavia, who had taught England to tremble, had received the same name as another Ragnar, who was prince of Jutland about a hundred years earlier. This coincidence would have caused no confusion, as long as each district preserved a distinct and independent account of its own Ragnar. But, by possessing the resource of writing, men became able to consolidate the separate trains of events, and, as it were, fuse two truths into one error. And this was what actually happened. The credulous Saxo put together the different exploits of both Ragnars, and, ascribing the whole of them to his favourite hero, has involved in obscurity one of the most interesting parts of the early history of Europe.[25]

The annals of the North afford another curious instance of this source of error. A tribe of Finns, called Quæns, occupied a considerable part of the eastern coast of the Gulf of Bothnia. Their country was known as Quænland;

society in which men generalize phenomena. If this proposition is universally true, which I take it to be, it will throw some light on the history of disputes between the nominalists and the realists.

[24] We may form an idea of the fertility of this source of error from the fact, that in Egypt there were fifty-three cities bearing the same name: 'L'auteur du Kamous nous apprend qu'il y a en Egypte cinquante-trois villes du nom de Schobra: en effet, j'ai retrouvé tous ces noms dans les deux dénombremens déjà cités.' *Quatremère, Recherches sur la Langue et la Littérature de l'Egypte*, p. 199.

[25] On this confusion respecting Ragnor Lodbrok, see *Geijer's History of Sweden*, part i. pp. 13, 14; *Lappenberg's Anglo-Saxon Kings*, vol. ii. p. 31; *Wheaton's Hist. of the Northmen*, p. 150; *Mallet's Northern Antiquities*, p. 383; *Crichton's Scandinavia*, vol. i. p. 116. A comparison of these passages will justify the sarcastic remark of Koch on the history of Swedish and Danish heroes; *Koch, Tableau des Révolutions*, vol. i. p. 57 note.

and this name gave rise to a belief that, to the north of the Baltic, there was a nation of Amazons. This would easily have been corrected by local knowledge; but, by the use of writing, the flying rumour was at once fixed; and the existence of such a people is positively affirmed in some of the earliest European histories.[26] Thus, too, Abo, the ancient capital of Finland, was called Turku, which, in the Swedish language, means a market-place. Adam of Bremen, having occasion to treat of the countries adjoining the Baltic,[27] was so misled by the word Turku, that this celebrated historian assures his readers that there were Turks in Finland.[28]

To these illustrations many others might be added, showing how mere names deceived the early historians, and gave rise to relations which were entirely false, and might have been rectified on the spot; but which, owing to the art of writing, were carried into distant countries, and thus placed beyond the reach of contradiction. Of such cases, one more may be mentioned, as it concerns the history of England. Richard I., the most barbarous of our princes, was known to his contemporaries as the Lion; an appellation conferred upon him on account of his fearlessness, and the ferocity of his temper.[29] Hence it was said that he had the heart of a lion; and the title

[26] *Prichard's Physical Hist. of Mankind*, vol. iii. p. 273. The Norwegians still give to the Finlanders the name of Quæner. See *Dillon's Lapland and Iceland*, 8vo, 1840, vol. ii. p. 221. Compare *Laing's Sweden*. pp. 45, 47. The Amazon river in South America owes its name to a similar fable. *Henderson's Hist. of Brazil*, p. 453; *Southey's Hist. of Brazil*, vol. i. p. 112; *M'Culloh's Researches concerning America*, pp. 407, 408; and *Journal of Geog. Soc.* vol. xv. p. 65, for an account of the wide diffusion of this error.

[27] Sharon Turner (*Hist. of England*, vol. iv. p. 30) calls him 'the Strabo of the Baltic;' and it was from him that most of the geographers in the Middle Ages derived their knowledge of the North.

[28] 'It was called in Finnish *Turku*, from the Swedish word *torg*, which signifies a market-place. The sound of this name misled Adam of Bremen into the belief that there were Turks in Finland.' *Cooley's Hist. of Maritime and Inland Discovery*, London, 1830, vol. i. p. 211.

[29] The chronicler of his crusade says, that he was called Lion on account of his never pardoning an offence: 'Nihil injuriarum reliquit inultum: unde et unus (*i. e.* the King of France) dictus est Agnus a Griffonibus, alter Leonis nomen accepit.' *Chronicon Ricardi Divisiensis de Rebus gestis Ricardi Primi*, edit. Stevenson, Lond. 1838, p. 18. Some of the Egyptian kings received the name of Lion 'from their heroic exploits.' *Vyse on the Pyramids*, vol. iii. p. 116.

Cœur de Lion not only became indissolubly connected with his name, but actually gave rise to a story, repeated by innumerable writers, according to which he slew a lion in single combat.[30] The name gave rise to the story; the story confirmed the name; and another fiction was added to that long series of falsehoods of which history mainly consisted during the Middle Ages.

The corruptions of history, thus naturally brought about by the mere introduction of letters, were, in Europe, aided by an additional cause. With the art of writing, there was, in most cases, also communicated a knowledge of Christianity; and the new religion not only destroyed many of the Pagan traditions, but falsified the remainder, by amalgamating them with monastic legends. The extent to which this was carried would form a curious subject for inquiry; but one or two instances of it will perhaps be sufficient to satisfy the generality of readers.

Of the earliest state of the great Northern nations we have little positive evidence; but several of the lays in which the Scandinavian poets related the feats of their ancestors, or of their contemporaries, are still preserved; and, notwithstanding their subsequent corruption, it is admitted by the most competent judges that they embody real and historical events. But in the ninth and tenth centuries, Christian missionaries found their way across the Baltic, and introduced a knowledge of their religion among the inhabitants of Northern Europe.[31]

[30] See Price's learned Preface to *Warton's History of English Poetry*, vol. i. p. 21; and on the similar story of Henry the Lion, see *Maury, Légendes du Moyen Age*, p. 160. Compare the account of Duke Godfrey's conflict with a bear, in *Matthæi Paris Historia Major*, p. 29, Lond. 1684, folio. I should not be surprised if the story of Alexander and the Lion (*Thirlwall's History of Greece*, vol. vi. p. 305) were equally fabulous.

[31] The first missionary was Ebbo, about the year 822. He was followed by Anschar, who afterwards pushed his enterprise as far as Sweden. The progress was, however, slow; and it was not till the latter half of the 11th century that Christianity was established firmly in the North. See *Neander's Hist. of the Church*, vol. v. pp. 373, 374, 379, 380, 400-402; *Mosheim's Eccles. Hist.* vol. i. pp. 188, 215, 216; *Barry's Hist. of the Orkney Islands*, p. 125. It is often supposed that some of the Danes in Ireland were Christians as early as the reign of Ivar I.; but this is a mistake, into which Ledwich fell by relying on a coin, which in reality refers to Ivar II. *Petrie's Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland*, p. 225; and *Ledwich's Antiquities of Ireland*, p. 159.

Scarcely was this effected, when the sources of history began to be poisoned. At the end of the eleventh century, Sæmund Sigfussen, a Christian priest, gathered the popular, and hitherto unwritten, histories of the North into what is called the Elder Edda; and he was satisfied with adding to his compilation the corrective of a Christian hymn.[32] A hundred years later, there was made another collection of the native histories; but the principle which I have mentioned, having had a longer time to operate now displayed its effects still more clearly. In this second collection, which is known by the name of the Younger Edda, there is an agreeable mixture of Greek, Jewish, and Christian fables; and, for the first time in the Scandinavian annals, we meet with the widely diffused fiction of a Trojan descent.[33]

If, by way of further illustration, we turn to other parts of the world, we shall find a series of facts confirming this view. We shall find that, in those countries where there has been no change of religion, history is more trustworthy and connected than in those countries where such a change has taken place. In India, Brahmanism, which is still supreme, was established at so early a period, that its origin is lost in the remotest antiquity.[34] The consequence is, that the native annals have never been corrupted by any new superstition; and the Hindus are possessed of historic traditions more ancient than can be

[32] Mr. Wheaton (*History of Northmen*, p. 60) says, that Sæmund 'merely added one song of his own composition, of a moral and Christian religious tendency; so as thereby to consecrate and leaven, as it were, the whole mass of Paganism.'

[33] *Wheaton's Hist. of the Northmen*, pp. 89, 90; *Mallet's Northern Antiquities*, pp. 377, 378, 485; *Schlegel's Lectures on the History of Literature*, vol. i. p. 265. Indeed, these interpolations are so numerous, that the earlier German antiquaries believed the Edda to be a forgery by the northern monks,—a paradox which Müller refuted more than forty years ago. *Note in Wheaton*, p. 61. Compare *Palgrave's English Commonwealth, Anglo-Saxon Period*, vol. i. p. 135.

[34] As is evident from the conflicting statements made by the best orientalists, each of whom has some favourite hypothesis of his own respecting its origin. It is enough to say, that we have no account of India existing without Brahmanism; and as to its real history, nothing can be understood, until more steps have been taken towards generalizing the laws which regulate the growth of religious opinions.

found among any other Asiatic people.[35] In the same way, the Chinese have for upwards of 2000 years preserved the religion of Fo, which is a form of Buddhism.[36] In China, therefore, though the civilization has never been equal to that of India, there is a history, not, indeed, as old as the natives would wish us to believe, but still stretching back to several centuries before the Christian era, from whence it has been brought down to our own times in an uninterrupted succession.[37] On the other hand, the Persians, whose intellectual development was certainly superior to that of the Chinese, are nevertheless without any authentic information respecting the early transactions of their ancient monarchy.[38] For this I can see no possible reason, except the fact, that Persia, soon after the

[35] Dr. Prichard (*Physical Hist. of Mankind*, vol. iv. pp. 101-105) thinks that the Hindus have a history beginning B.C. 1391. Compare *Works of Sir W. Jones*, vol. i. pp. 311, 312. Mr. Wilson says, that even the genealogies in the Puranas are, 'in all probability, much more authentic than has been sometimes supposed.' Wilson's note in *Mill's Hist. of India*, vol. i. pp. 161, 162. See also his preface to the *Vishnu Purana*, p. lxv.; and *Asiatic Researches*, vol. v. p. 244.

[36] *Journal of Asiatic Soc.*, vol. vi. p. 251; *Herder, Ideen zur Geschichte*, vol. iv. p. 70; *Works of Sir W. Jones*, vol. i. p. 104. I learn from a note in *Erman's Siberia*, vol. ii. p. 306, that one of the missionaries gravely suggests 'that Buddhism originated in the errors of the Manichæans, and is therefore but an imitation of Christianity.'

[37] M. Bunsen says, that the Chinese have 'a regular chronology, extending back 3000 years B.C.' *Bunsen's Egypt*, vol. i. p. 240. See also *Humboldt's Cosmos*, vol. ii. p. 475, vol. iv. p. 455; *Renouard, Hist. de la Médecine*, vol. i. pp. 47, 48; and the statements of Klaproth and Rémusat, in *Prichard's Physical Hist.*, vol. iv. pp. 476, 477. The superior exactness of the Chinese annals is sometimes ascribed to their early knowledge of printing, with which they claim to have been acquainted in B.C. 1100. *Meidinger's Essay*, in *Journal of Statistical Society*, vol. iii. p. 163. But the fact is, that printing was unknown in China till the ninth or tenth century after Christ, and movable types were not invented before 1041. *Humboldt's Cosmos*, vol. ii. p. 623; *Transac. of Asiatic Society*, vol. i. p. 7; *Journal Asiatique*, vol. i. p. 137, Paris, 1822; *Davis's Chinese*, vol. i. pp. 174, 178, vol. iii. p. 1. There are some interesting papers on the early history of China in *Journal of Asiat. Soc.*, vol. i. pp. 57-86, 213-222, vol. ii. pp. 166-171, 276-287.

[38] 'From the death of Alexander (323 B.C.) to the reign of Ardeshir Babegan (Artaxerxes), the founder of the Sassanian dynasty (200 A.D.), a period of more than five centuries, is almost a blank in the Persian history.' *Troyer's Preliminary Discourse to the Dabistan*, 8vo, 1843, vol. i. pp. lv. lvi. See to the same effect *Erskine on the Zend-Avesta*, in *Transac. of Soc. of Bombay*, vol. ii. pp. 303-305; and *Malcolm's Hist. of Persia*, vol. i. p. 68. The ancient Persian traditions are said to have been Pehlvi; *Malcolm*, vol. i. pp. 501-505; but if so, they have all perished, p. 555: compare Rawlinson's note in *Journal of Geog. Soc.*, vol. x. p. 82.

promulgation of the Koran, was conquered by the Mohammedans, who completely subverted the Parsee religion, and thus interrupted the stream of the national traditions.[39] Hence it is that, putting aside the myths of the Zendavesta, we have no native authorities for Persian history of any value, until the appearance, in the eleventh century, of the Shah Nameh; in which, however, Ferdousi has mingled the miraculous relations of those two religions by which his country had been successively subjected.[40] The result is, that if it were not for the various discoveries which have been made, of monuments, inscriptions, and coins, we should be compelled to rely on the scanty and inaccurate details in the Greek writers for our knowledge of the history of one of the most important of the Asiatic monarchies.[41]

Even among more barbarous nations, we see the same

[39] On the antagonism between Mohammedanism and the old Persian history, see a note in *Grote's Hist. of Greece*, vol. i. p. 623. Even at present, or, at all events, during this century, the best education in Persia consisted in learning the elements of Arabic grammar, 'logic, jurisprudence, the traditions of their prophet, and the commentaries on the Koran.' *Vans Kennedy on Persian Literature*, in *Transac. of Bombay Society*, vol. ii. p. 62. In the same way the Mohammedans neglected the old history of India, and would, no doubt, have destroyed or corrupted it; but they never had anything like the hold of India that they had of Persia, and, above all, they were unable to displace the native religion. However, their influence, so far as it went, was unfavourable; and Mr. Elphinstone (*Hist. of India*, p. 468) says, that till the sixteenth century there was no instance of a Mussulman carefully studying Hindu literature.

[40] On the Shah Nameh, see *Works of Sir W. Jones*, vol. iv. pp. 544, 545, vol. v. p. 594; *Mill's Hist. of India*, vol. ii. pp. 64, 65; *Journal of Asiatic Society*, vol. iv. p. 225. It is supposed by a very high authority that the Persian cuneiform inscriptions 'will enable us, in the end, to introduce something like chronological accuracy and order into the myths and traditions embodied in the Shah Nameh.' *Rawlinson on the Inscriptions of Assyria and Babylonia*, in *Journal of Asiat. Soc.*, vol. xii. p. 446.

[41] On the ignorance of the Greeks respecting Persian history, see Vans Kennedy, in *Transac. of Soc. of Bombay*, vol. ii. pp. 119, 127-129, 136. Indeed, this learned writer says (p. 138) he is 'inclined to suspect that no Greek author ever derived his information from any native of Persia Proper, that is, of the country to the east of the Euphrates.' See also on the perplexities in Persian chronology, *Grote's Hist. of Greece*, vol. vi. p. 496, vol. ix. p. 3, vol. x. p. 405; and *Donaldson's New Cratylus*, 1839, p. 87 note. As to the foolish stories which the Greeks relate respecting Achæmenes, compare *Malcolm's Hist. of Persia*, vol. i. p. 18, with *Heeren's Asiatic Nations*, vol. i. p. 243. Even Herodotus, who is invaluable in regard to Egypt, is not to be relied upon for Persia; as was noticed long ago by Sir W. Jones,

principle at work. The Malayo-Polynesian race is well known to ethnologists, as covering an immense series of islands, extending from Madagascar to within 2000 miles of the western coast of America.[42] The religion of these widely scattered people was originally Polytheism, of which the purest forms were long preserved in the Philippine Islands.[43] But in the fifteenth century, many of the Polynesian nations were converted to Mohammedanism;[44] and this was followed by a process precisely the same as that which I have pointed out in other countries. The new religion, by changing the current of the national thoughts, corrupted the purity of the national history. Of all the islands in the Indian Archipelago, Java was the one which reached the highest civilization.[45] Now, however, the

in the preface to his *Nader Shah* (*Jones's Works*, vol. v. p. 540), and is partly admitted by Mr. Mure (*History of the Literature of Ancient Greece*, vol. iv. p. 338, 8vo, 1853).

[42] That is, to Easter Island, which appears to be its furthest boundary (*Prichard's Phys. Hist.*, vol. v. p. 6); and of which there is a good account in *Beechey's Voyage to the Pacific*, vol. i. pp. 43-58, and a notice in *Jour. of Geog. Society*, vol. i. p. 195. The language of Easter Island has been long known to be Malayo-Polynesian; for it was understood by a native of the Society Islands, who accompanied Cook (*Cook's Voyages*, vol. iii. pp. 294, 308; and *Prichard*, vol. v. p. 147: compare *Marsden's History of Sumatra*, p. 164). Ethnologists have not usually paid sufficient honour to this great navigator, who was the first to remark the similarity between the different languages in Polynesia Proper. *Cook's Voyages*, vol. ii. pp. 60, 61, vol. iii. pp. 230, 280, 290, vol. iv. p. 305, vol. vi. p. 230, vol. vii. p. 115. As to Madagascar being the western limit of this vast race of people, see *Asiatic Researches*, vol. iv. p. 222; *Reports on Ethnology by Brit. Assoc. for* 1847, pp. 154, 216, 250; and *Ellis's Hist. of Madagascar*, vol. i. p. 133.

[43] Also the seat of the Tagala language; which, according to William Humboldt, is the most perfect of all the forms of the Malayo-Polynesian. *Prichard's Physical Hist.*, vol. v. pp. 36, 51, 52.

[44] *Marsden's History of Sumatra*, p. 281. De Thou (*Hist. Univ.*, vol. xiii. p 59) supposes that the Javanese did not become Mohammedans till late in the sixteenth century; but it is now known that their conversion took place at least a hundred years earlier, the old religion being finally abolished in 1478. See *Crawfurd's Hist. of the Indian Archipelago*, vol. ii. p. 312; *Low's Sarawak*, p. 96; and *Raffles' Hist. of Java*, vol. i. pp. 309, 349, vol. ii. pp. 1, 66, 254. The doctrines of Mohammed spread quickly; and the Malay pilgrims enjoy the reputation, in modern times, of being among the most scrupulously religious of those who go to the Hadj. *Burckhardt's Arabia*, vol. ii. pp. 96, 97.

[45] The Javanese civilization is examined at great length by William Humboldt, in his celebrated work, *Ueber die Kawi Sprache*, Berlin, 1836.

Javanese have not only lost their historical traditions, but even those lists of their kings which are extant, are interpolated with the names of Mohammedan saints.[46] On the other hand, we find that in the adjacent island of Bali, where the old religion is still preserved,[47] the legends of Java are remembered and cherished by the people.[48]

It would be useless to adduce further evidence respecting the manner in which, among an imperfectly civilized people, the establishment of a new religion will always affect the accuracy of their early history. I need only observe, that in this way the Christian priests have obscured the annals of every European people they converted, and have destroyed or corrupted the traditions of the Gauls,[49] of the Welsh, of the Irish,[50] of the Anglo-Saxons,[51] of the

From the evidence supplied by some early Chinese writings, which have only recently been published, there are good grounds for believing that the Indian Colonies were established in Java in the first century after Christ. See *Wilson on the Foe Kue Ki*, in *Journal of Asiat. Soc.* vol. v. p. 137; compare vol. vi. p. 320.

[46] *Crawfurd's Hist. of the Indian Archipelago*, vol. ii. p. 297. Compare with this the exactness with which, even in the island of Celebes, the dates were preserved 'before the introduction of Mahomedanism.' *Crawfurd*, vol. i. p. 306. For similar instances of royal genealogies being obscured by the introduction into them of the names of gods, see *Kemble's Saxons in England*, vol. i. pp. 27, 335.

[47] *Asiatic Researches*, vol. x. p. 191, vol. xiii. p. 128. In the Appendix to *Raffles' Hist. of Java*, vol. ii. p. cxlii., it is said, that 'in Bali not more than one in two hundred, if so many, are Mahomedans.' See also p. 65, and vol. i. p. 530.

[48] Indeed, the Javanese appear to have no other means of acquiring the old Kawi traditions than by learning them from natives of Bali. See note to an Essay on the Island of Bali, in *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xiii. p. 162, Calcutta, 1820, 4to. Sir Stamford Raffles (*Hist. of Java*, vol. i. p. 400) says, 'It is chiefly to Bali that we must look for illustrations of the ancient state of the Javans.' See also p. 414.

[49] Respecting the corruption of Druidical traditions in Gaul by Christian priests, see *Villemarqué, Chants Populaires de la Bretagne*, Paris, 1846, vol. i. pp. xviii. xix.

[50] The injury done to the traditions handed down by Welsh and Irish bards, is noticed in Dr. Prichard's valuable work, *Physical Hist. of Mankind*, vol. iii. p. 184, 8vo, 1841. See also *Warton's Hist. of English Poetry*, vol. i. p. xxxvii. note.

[51] See the remarks on Beowulf, in *Wright's Biog. Brit. Lit.* vol. i. p. 7, 8vo, 1842. See also pp. 13, 14: and compare *Kemble's Saxons in England*, vol. i. p. 331.

Sclavonic nations,[52] of the Finns,[53] and even of the Icelanders.[54]

Besides all this, there occurred other circumstances tending in the same direction. Owing to events which I shall hereafter explain, the literature of Europe, shortly before the final dissolution of the Roman Empire, fell entirely into the hands of the clergy, who were long venerated as the sole instructors of mankind. For several centuries, it was extremely rare to meet with a layman who could read or write; and of course it was still rarer to meet with one able to compose a work. Literature, being thus monopolized by a single class, assumed the peculiarities natural to its new masters.[55] And as the clergy, taken as a body, have always looked on it as their business to enforce belief, rather than encourage inquiry, it is no wonder if they displayed in their writings the spirit incidental to the habits of their profession. Hence, as I have already observed, literature, during many ages, instead of benefiting society, injured it, by increasing credulity, and thus stopping the progress of knowledge. Indeed, the aptitude for falsehood became so great, that there was nothing men were unwilling to believe. Nothing came amiss to their greedy and credulous ears. Histories of omens, prodigies, apparitions, strange portents, monstrous appearances in the heavens, the wildest and most incoherent absurdities, were repeated from mouth to

[52] *Talvi's Language and Literature of the Slavic Nations*, 8vo, 1850, p. 231. The Pagan songs of the Slovaks, in the north-west of Hungary, were for a time preserved; but even they are now lost. *Talvi*, p. 216.

[53] The monkish chroniclers neglected the old Finnish traditions; and allowing them to perish, preferred the inventions of Saxo and Johannes Magnus. *Prichard's Physical Hist.* vol. iii. pp. 284, 285.

[54] For an instance in which the monks have falsified the old Icelandic traditions, see Mr. Keightley's learned book on *Fairy Mythology*, 8vo, 1850, p. 159.

[55] The Rev. Mr. Dowling, who looks back with great regret to this happy period, says, 'Writers were almost universally ecclesiastics. Literature was scarcely anything but a religious exercise; for everything that was studied, was studied with a reference to religion. The men, therefore, who wrote history, wrote ecclesiastical history.' *Dowling's Introduction to the Critical Study of Ecclesiastical History*, 8vo, 1838, p. 56; a work of some talent, but chiefly interesting as a manifesto by an active party.

mouth, and copied from book to book, with as much care as if they were the choicest treasures of human wisdom.[56] That Europe should ever have emerged from such a state, is the most decisive proof of the extraordinary energy of Man, since we cannot even conceive a condition of society more unfavourable to his progress. But it is evident, that until the emancipation was effected, the credulity and looseness of thought which were universal, unfitted men for habits of investigation, and made it impossible for them to engage in a successful study of past affairs, or even record with accuracy what was taking place around them.[57]

If, therefore, we recur to the facts just cited, we may say that, omitting several circumstances altogether subordinate, there were three leading causes of the corruption of the history of Europe in the Middle Ages. The first cause was, the sudden introduction of the art of writing, and the consequent fusion of different local traditions, which, when separate, were accurate, but when united were false. The second cause was, the change of religion; which acted in two ways, producing not merely an interruption of the old traditions, but also an interpolation of them. And the third cause, probably the most powerful of all, was, that history became monopolized by a class of men whose professional habits made them quick to believe, and who, moreover, had a direct interest in

[56] Thus, for instance, a celebrated historian, who wrote at the end of the twelfth century, says of the reign of William Rufus: 'Ejusdem regis tempore, ut ex parte supradictum est, in sole, luna, et stellis multa signa visa sunt, mare quoque littus persæpe egrediebatur, et homines et animalia submersit, villas et domos quamplures subvertit. In pago qui Barukeshire nominatur, ante occisionem regis sanguis de fonte tribus septimanis emanavit. Multis etiam Normannis diabolus in horribili specie se frequenter in silvis ostendens, plura cum eis de rege et Ranulfo, et quibusdam aliis locutus est. Nec mirum, nam illorum tempore ferè omnis legum siluit justitia, causisque justitiæ subpositis, sola in principibus imperabat pecunia.' *Rog. de Hoveden Annal. in Scriptores post Bedam*, p. 268. See also the same work, pp. 356-358; and compare *Matthæi Westmonast. Flores Historiarum*, part i. pp. 266, 289, part ii. p. 298.

[57] Even the descriptions of natural objects which historians attempted in the Middle Ages, were marked by the same carelessness. See some good observations by Dr. Arnold, on Bede's account of the Solent Sea. *Arnold's Lectures on Modern History*, pp. 102, 103.

increasing the general credulity, since it was the basis upon which their own authority was built.

By the operation of these causes, the history of Europe became corrupted to an extent for which we can find no parallel in any other period. That there was, properly speaking, no history, was the smallest part of the inconvenience; but, unhappily, men, not satisfied with the absence of truth, supplied its place by the invention of falsehood. Among innumerable instances of this, there is one species of inventions worth noticing, because they evince that love of antiquity, which is a marked characteristic of those classes by whom history was then written. I allude to fictions regarding the origin of different nations, in all of which the spirit of the Middle Ages is very discernible. During many centuries, it was believed by every people that they were directly descended from ancestors who had been present at the siege of Troy. That was a proposition which no one thought of doubting.[58] The only question was, as to the details of so illustrious a lineage. On this, however, there was a certain unanimity of opinion; since, not to mention inferior countries, it was admitted that the French were descended from Francus, whom everybody knew to be the son of Hector; and it was also known that the Britons came

[58] In *Le Long's Bibliothèque Historique de la France*, vol. ii. p. 3, it is said, that the descent of the kings of France from the Trojans was universally believed before the sixteenth century: 'Cette descendance a été crue véritable près de huit cent ans, et soutenue par tous les écrivains de notre histoire; la fausseté n'en a été reconnue qu'au commencement du seizième siècle.' Polydore Vergil, who died in the middle of the sixteenth century, attacked this opinion in regard to England, and thereby made his history unpopular. See *Ellis's Preface to Polydore Vergil*, p. xx. 4to, 1844, published by the Camden Society. 'He discarded Brute, as an unreal personage.' In 1128, Henry I., king of England, inquired from a learned man respecting the early history of France. The answer is preserved by an historian of the thirteenth century: 'Regum potentissime, inquiens, sicut pleræque gentes Europæ, ita Franci a Trojanis originem duxerunt.' *Matthæi Paris Hist. Major*, p. 59. See also *Rog. de Hov. in Scriptores post Bedam*, p. 274. On the descent of the Britons from Priam and Æneas, see *Matthæi Westmonast. Flores Historiarum*, part i. p. 66. Indeed, at the beginning of the fourteenth century, their Trojan origin was stated as a notorious fact, in a letter written to Pope Boniface by Edward I., and signed by the English nobility. See *Warton's Hist. of English Poetry*, vol. i. pp. 131, 132; and *Campbell's Lives of the Chancellors*, vol. i. p. 185.

from Brutus, whose father was no other than Æneas himself.[59]

Touching the origin of particular places, the great historians of the Middle Ages are equally communicative. In the accounts they give of them, as well as in the lives they write of eminent men, the history usually begins at a very remote period; and the events relating to their subject are often traced back, in an unbroken series, from the moment when Noah left the ark, or even when Adam passed the gates of Paradise.[60] On other occasions, the antiquity they assign is somewhat less; but the range of their information is always extraordinary. They say, that the capital of France is called after Paris, the son of Priam, because he fled there when Troy was overthrown.[61] They also mention that Tours owed its name to being the burial-place of Turonus, one of the Trojans;[62]

[59] The general opinion was, that Brutus, or Brute, was the son of Æneas; but some historians affirmed that he was the great-grandson. See *Turner's Hist. of England*, vol. i. p. 63, vol. vii. pp. 220.

[60] In the *Notes to a Chronicle of London from* 1089 *to* 1483, pp. 183-187, edit. 4to, 1827, there is a pedigree, in which the history of the bishops of London is traced back, not only to the migration of Brutus from Troy, but also to Noah and Adam. Thus, too, Goropius, in his history of Antwerp, written in the sixteenth century: 'Vond zoowell de Nederlandsche taal als de Wysbegeerte van Orpheus in de ark van Noach.' *Van Kampen, Geschiedenis der Letteren*, 8vo, 1821, vol. i. p. 91; see also p. 86. In the thirteenth century, Mathew Paris (*Historia Major*, p. 352) says of Alfred, 'Hujus genealogia in Anglorum historiis perducitur usque ad Adam primum parentem.' See, to the same effect, *Matthæi Westmonast. Flores Historiarum*, part i. pp. 323, 324, 415. In William of Malmesbury's Chronicle (*Scriptores post Bedam*, p. 22 rev.) the genealogy of the Saxon kings is traced back to Adam. For other, and similar, instances, see a note in *Lingard's History of England*, vol. i. p. 403. And Mr. Ticknor (*History of Spanish Literature*, vol. i p. 509) mentions, that the Spanish chroniclers present 'an uninterrupted succession of Spanish kings from Tubal, a grandson of Noah.'

[61] Monteil, in his curious book, *Histoire des divers Etats*, vol. v. p. 70, mentions the old belief 'que les Parisiens sont du sang des rois des anciens Troyens, par Pâris, fils de Priam.' Even in the seventeenth century this idea was not extinct; and Coryat, who travelled in France in 1608, gives another version of it. He says, 'As for her name of Paris, she hath it (as some write) from Paris, the eighteenth king of Gallia Celtica, whom some write to have been lineally descended from Japhet, one of the three sons of Noah, and to have founded this city.' *Coryat's Crudities*, 1611, reprinted 1776, vol. i. pp. 27, 28.

[62] 'Erat ibi quidam Tros nomine Turonus Bruti nepos. . . . . . De nomine ipsius prædicta civitas Turonis vocabulum nacta est; quia ibidem sepultus fuit.' *Galfredi Monumet. Hist. Briton.* lib. i. cap. xv. p. 19. And Mathew of Westminster, who wrote in the fourteenth century, says (*Flores

while the city of Troyes was actually built by the Trojans, as its etymology clearly proves.[63] It was well-ascertained that Nuremberg was called after the Emperor Nero;[64] and Jerusalem after King Jebus,[65] a man of vast celebrity in the Middle Ages, but whose existence later historians have not been able to verify. The river Humber received its name because, in ancient times, a king of the Huns had been drowned in it.[66] The Gauls derived their origin, according to some, from Galathia, a female descendant of Japhet; according to others, from Gomer, the son of Japhet.[67] Prussia was called after Prussus, a brother of Augustus.[68] This was remarkably modern; but Silesia had its name from the prophet Elisha—from whom, indeed, the Silesians descended;[69] while as to the city of Zurich, its exact date was a matter of dispute, but it was unquestionably built in the time of Abraham.[70]

Historiarum, part i. p. 17): 'Tros nomine Turnus. . . . . De nomine verò ipsius Turonorum civitas vocabulum traxit, quia ibidem, ut testatur Homerus, sepultus fuit.'

[63] 'On convient bien que les Troyens de notre Troyes sont du sang des anciens Troyens.' *Monteil, Divers États*, vol. v. p. 69.

[64] Monconys, who was in Nuremberg in 1663, found this opinion still held there; and he seems himself half inclined to believe it; for, in visiting a castle, he observes, 'Mais je ne sçai si c'est un ouvrage de Néron, comme l'on le dit, et que même le nom de Nuremberg en vient.' *Voyages de Monconys*, vol. iv. p. 141, edit. Paris, 1695.

[65] 'Deinceps regnante in ea Jebusæo, dicta Jebus, et sic ex Jebus et Salem dicta est Jebussalem. Unde post dempta *b* littera et addita *r*, dicta est Hierusalem.' *Matthæi Paris Historia Major*, p. 43. This reminds me of another great writer, who was one of the fathers, and was moreover a saint, and who, says M. Matter, 'dérive les Samaritains du roi Samarius, fils de Canaan.' *Matter, Hist. du Gnosticisme*, vol. i. p. 41.

[66] 'Humber rex Hunnorum . . . . . ad flumen diffugiens, submersus est intra ipsum, et nomen suum flumini reliquit.' *Matthæi Westmonast. Flores Historiarum*, part i. p. 19.

[67] These two opinions, which long divided the learned world, are stated in *Le Long, Bibliothèque Historique de la France*, vol. ii. pp. 5, 49.

[68] See a curious allusion to this in *De Thou, Hist. Univ.* vol. viii. p. 160; where, however, it is erroneously supposed to be a Russian invention.

[69] 'The Silesians are not without voluminous writers upon their antiquities; and one of them gravely derives the name and descent of his country from the prophet Elisha.' *Adams's Letters on Silesia*, p. 267, Lond. 8vo, 1804.

[70] In 1608, Coryat, when in Zurich, was 'told by the learned Hospinian that their city was founded in the time of Abraham.' *Coryat's Crudities*, vol. i. Epistle to the Reader, sig. D. I always give the most recent instance I have met with, because, in the history of the European intellect, it is

It was likewise from Abraham and Sarah that the gipsies immediately sprung.[71] The blood of the Saracens was less pure, since they were only descended from Sarah—in what way it is not mentioned; but she probably had them by another marriage, or, may be, as the fruit of an Egyptian intrigue.[72] At all events, the Scotch certainly came from Egypt; for they were originally the issue of Scota, who was a daughter of Pharaoh, and who bequeathed to them her name.[73] On sundry similar matters, the Middle Ages possessed information equally valuable. It was well known that the city of Naples was founded on eggs;[74] and it was also known, that the order of St. Michael was instituted in person by the archangel, who was himself the first knight, and to whom, in fact, chivalry owes its origin.[75] In regard to the Tartars, that

important to know how long the spirit of the Middle Ages survived in different countries.

[71] They were 'seuls enfants légitimes' of Abraham and Sarah. *Monteil, Divers Etats*, vol. v. p. 19.

[72] Mathew Paris, who is apprehensive lest the reputation of Sarah should suffer, says, 'Saraceni perversè se putant ex Sara dici; sed veriùs Agareni dicuntur ab Agar; et Ismaelitæ, ab Ismaele filio Abrahæ.' *Hist. Major*, p. 357. Compare a similar passage in *Mezeray, Histoire de France*, vol. i. p. 127: 'Sarrasins, ou de la ville de Sarai, ou de Sara femme d'Abraham, duquel ils se disent faussement légitimes héritiers.' After this, the idea, or the fear of the idea, soon died away; and Beausobre (*Histoire Critique de Manichée*, vol. i. p. 24) says: 'On dérive vulgairement le nom de Sarasins du mot arabe Sarah, ou Sarak, qui signifie effectivement voleur.' A good example of a secular turn given to a theological etymology. For a similar case in northern history, see *Whitelocke's Journal of the Swedish Embassy*, vol. i. pp. 190, 191.

[73] Early in the fourteenth century, this was stated, in a letter to the Pope, as a well-known historical fact. See *Lingard's Hist. of England*, vol. ii. p. 187: 'They are sprung from Scota the daughter of Pharaoh, who landed in Ireland, and whose descendants wrested, by force of arms, the northern half of Britain from the progeny of Brute.'

[74] Mr. Wright (*Narratives of Sorcery*, 8vo, 1851, vol. i. p. 115) says, 'The foundation of the city of Naples upon eggs, and the egg on which its fate depended, seem to have been legends generally current in the Middle Ages;' and he refers to *Montfaucon, Monumens de la Mon. Fr.* vol. ii. p. 329, for proof, that by the statutes of the order of the Saint Esprit, 'a chapter of the knights was appointed to be held annually in castello ovi incantati in mirabili periculo.'

[75] 'The order of Saint Michael, in France, pretends to the possession of a regular descent from Michael the Archangel, who, according to the enlightened judgment of French antiquarians, was the premier chevalier in the world; and it was he, they say, who established the earliest chivalric order in Paradise itself.' *Mills's Hist. of Chivalry*, vol. i. pp. 363, 364.

people, of course, proceeded from Tartarus; which some theologians said was an inferior kind of hell, but others declared to be hell itself.[76] However this might be, the fact of their birth-place being from below was indisputable, and was proved by many circumstances which showed the fatal and mysterious influence they were able to exercise. For the Turks were identical with the Tartars; and it was notorious, that since the Cross had fallen into Turkish hands, all Christian children had ten teeth less than formerly; a universal calamity, which there seemed to be no means of repairing.[77]

Other points relating to the history of past events were cleared up with equal facility. In Europe during many centuries, the only animal food in general use was pork; beef, veal, and mutton, being comparatively unknown.[78] It was, therefore, with no small astonishment

[76] The etymology of Tartars from Tartarus is ascribed to the piety of Saint Louis in *Prichard's Physical History*, vol. iv. p. 278; but I think that I have met with it before his time, though I cannot now recover the passage. The earliest instance I remember is in 1241, when the saint was twenty-six years old. See a letter from the emperor Frederick, in *Matthæi Paris Historia Major*, p. 497: 'Pervenissent dicti Tartari (imo Tartarei),' &c.; and on the expression of Louis, see p. 496: 'Quos vocamus Tartaros ad suas Tartareas sedes.' Since the thirteenth century, the subject has attracted the attention of English divines; and the celebrated theologian Whiston mentions 'my last famous discovery, or rather my revival of Dr. Giles Fletcher's famous discovery, that the Tartars are no other than the ten tribes of Israel, which have been so long sought for in vain.' *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of William Whiston*, p. 575. Compare, on the opinions held respecting the Tartars, *Journal Asiatique*, I. série, vol. vi. p. 374, Paris, 1825.

[77] Peignot (*Dict. des Livres*, vol. ii. p. 69, Paris, 1806) says, that Rigord, in his history of Philip Augustus, assures his readers 'que depuis que la vraie croix a été prise par les Turcs, les enfans n'ont plus que 20 ou 23 dents, au lieu qu'ils en avaient 30 ou 32 auparavant.' Even in the fifteenth century, it was believed that the number of teeth had diminished from 32 to 22, or at most 24. See *Sprengel, Hist. de la Médecine*, vol. ii. pp. 481, 482, Paris, 1815. Compare *Hecker on the Black Death*, pp. 31, 32, in his learned work, *Epidemics of the Middle Ages*, published by the Sydenham Society.

[78] In the sacred books of the Scandinavians, pork is represented as the principal food, even in heaven. See *Mallet's Northern Antiquities*, p. 105. It was the chief food of the Irish in the twelfth century: *Ledwich, Antiquities of Ireland*, Dublin, 1804, p. 370; and also of the Anglo-Saxons at an earlier period: *Turner's Hist. of England*, vol. iii. p. 22. In France it was equally common, and Charlemagne kept in his forests immense droves of pigs. *Note in Esprit des Lois*, in *Œuvres de Montesquieu*, p. 513. In Spain those who did not like pork were tried by the Inquisition as suspected Jews: *Llorente, Hist. de l'Inquisition*, vol. i. pp. 269, 442, 445. Late in the six-

that the crusaders, on returning from the East, told their countrymen that they had been among a people who, like the Jews, thought pork unclean, and refused to eat it. But the feelings of lively wonder which this intelligence excited, were destroyed as soon as the cause of the fact was explained. The subject was taken up by Mathew Paris, the most eminent historian during the thirteenth century, and one of the most eminent during the Middle Ages.[79] This celebrated writer informs us, that the Mohammedans refuse to eat pork on account of a singular circumstance which happened to their prophet. It appears that Mohammed, having, on one occasion, gorged himself with food and drink till he was in a state of insensibility, fell asleep on a dunghill, and, in this disgraceful condition, was seen by a litter of pigs. The pigs attacked the fallen prophet, and suffocated him to death; for which reason his followers abominate pigs, and refuse to partake of their flesh.[80] This striking fact explains one great peculiarity of the Mohammedans;[81] and

teenth century, there was a particular disease, said to be caused by the quantity of it eaten in Hungary. *Sprengel, Hist. de la Médecine*, vol. iii. p. 93; and even at present, the barbarous Lettes are passionately fond of it. *Kohl's Russia*, pp. 386, 387. In the middle of the sixteenth century, I find that Philip II., when in England, generally dined on bacon; of which he ate so much, as frequently to make himself very ill. See *Ambassades de Messieurs de Noailles en Angleterre*, vol. v. pp. 240, 241, edit. 1763. The ambassador writes, that Philip was 'grand mangeur oultre mesure,' and used to consume large quantities 'de lard, dont il faict le plus souvent son principal repas.' In the Middle Ages, 'les Thuringiens payaient leur tribut en porcs, la denrée la plus précieuse de leur pays.' *Œuvres de Michelet*, vol. ii. p. 389.

79 Sismondi (*Hist. des Français*, vol. vii. pp. 325, 326) passes a high eulogy upon him; and Mosheim (*Ecclesiast. History*, vol. i. p. 313) says: 'Among the historians (of the thirteenth century), the first place is due to Mathew Paris; a writer of the highest merit, both in point of knowledge and prudence.'

80 *Matthæi Paris Historia Major*, p. 362. He concludes his account by saying, 'Unde adhuc Saraceni sues præ cæteris animalibus exosas habent et abominabiles.' Mathew Paris obtained his information from a clergyman, 'quendam magni nominis celebrem prædicatorem,' p. 360. According to Mathew of Westminster, the pigs not only suffocated Mohammed, but actually ate the greater part of him: 'In maxima parte a porcis corrosum invenerunt.' *Matthæi Westmonast. Flores Historiarum*, part i. p. 215.

81 By a singular contradiction, the African Mohammedans now 'believe that a great enmity subsists between hogs and Christians.' *Mungo Park's Travels*, vol. i. p. 185. Many medical authors have supposed that pork is

another fact, equally striking, explains how it was that their sect came into existence. For it was well known, that Mohammed was originally a cardinal, and only became a heretic because he failed in his design of being elected pope.[82]

In regard to the early history of Christianity, the great writers of the Middle Ages were particularly inquisitive; and they preserved the memory of events, of which otherwise we should have been entirely ignorant. After Froissart, the most celebrated historian of the fourteenth century, was certainly Mathew of Westminster, with whose name, at least, most readers are familiar. This eminent man directed his attention, among other matters, to the history of Judas, in order to discover the circumstances under which the character of that arch-apostate was formed. His researches seem to have been very extensive; but their principal results were, that Judas, when an infant, was deserted by his parents, and exposed on an island called Scarioth, from whence he received the name of Judas Iscariot. To this the historian adds, that after Judas grew up, he, among other enormities, slew his own father, and then married his own mother.[83] The same writer, in another part of his history, mentions a fact interesting to those who study the antiquities of the Holy See. Some

peculiarly unwholesome in hot countries; but this requires confirmation: and it is certain, that it is recommended by Arabian physicians, and is more generally eaten both in Asia and in Africa than is usually believed. Comp. *Sprengel, Hist. de la Médecine*, vol. ii. p. 323; *Volney, Voyage en Syrie*, vol. i. p. 449; *Buchanan's Journey through the Mysore*, vol. ii. p. 88, vol. iii. p. 57; *Raffles' Hist. of Java*, vol. ii. p. 5; *Ellis's Hist. of Madagascar*, vol. i. pp. 201, 403, 416; *Cook's Voyages*, vol. ii. p. 265; *Burnes's Travels into Bokhara*, vol. iii. p. 141. As facts of this sort are important physiologically and socially, it is advisable that they should be collected; and I therefore add, that the North-American Indians are said to have 'a disgust for pork.' *Journal of the Geog. Society*, vol. xv. p. 30; and that Dobell (*Travels*, vol. ii. p. 260, 8vo, 1830) says, 'I believe there is more pork eaten in China than in all the rest of the world put together.'

[82] This idea, which was a favourite one in the Middle Ages, is said to have been a Rabbinical invention. See *Lettres de Gui Patin*, vol. iii. p. 127: 'que Mahomet, le faux prophète, avait été cardinal; et que, par dépit de n'avoir été pape, il s'étoit fait hérésiarque.'

[83] See the ample details in *Matthæi Westmonast. Flores Historiarum*, part i. pp. 86, 87; and at p. 88, 'Judas matrem suam uxorem duxerat, et quòd patrem suum occiderat.'

questions had been raised as to the propriety of kissing the pope's toe, and even theologians had their doubts touching so singular a ceremony. But this difficulty also was set at rest by Mathew of Westminster, who explains the true origin of the custom. He says, that formerly it was usual to kiss the hand of his holiness; but that towards the end of the eighth century, a certain lewd woman, in making an offering to the pope, not only kissed his hand, but also pressed it. The pope—his name was Leo—seeing the danger, cut off his hand, and thus escaped the contamination to which he had been exposed. Since that time, the precaution has been taken of kissing the pope's toe instead of his hand; and lest any one should doubt the accuracy of this account, the historian assures us that the hand, which had been cut off five or six hundred years before, still existed in Rome, and was indeed a standing miracle, since it was preserved in the Lateran in its original state, free from corruption.[84] And as some readers might wish to be informed respecting the Lateran itself, where the hand was kept, this also is considered by the historian, in another part of his great work, where he traces it back to the emperor Nero. For it is said that this wicked persecutor of the faith, on one occasion, vomited a frog covered with blood, which he believed to be his own progeny, and therefore caused to be shut up in a vault, where it remained hidden for some time. Now, in the Latin language, *latente* means hidden, and *rana* means a frog; so that, by putting these two words together, we have the origin of the Lateran, which, in fact, was built where the frog was found.[85]

[84] This took place in the year 798. *Matthæi Westmonast. Flores Historiarum*, part i. p. 293. The historian thus concludes his relation: 'Et statutum est nunc quòd numquam extunc manus Papæ ab offerentibus deoscularetur, sed pes. Cùm ante fuerat consuetudo quòd manus, non pes, deòscularetur. In hujus miraculi memoriam reservatur adhuc manus abscissa in thesauro lateranensi, quam dominus custodit incorruptam ad laudem matris suæ.'

[85] '.... Ita ut Nero se puero gravidum existimaret..... Tandem dolore nimio vexatus, medicis ait: Accelerate tempus partus, quia languore vix anhelitum habeo respirandi. Tunc ipsum ad vomitum impotionaverunt, et ranam visu terribilem, humoribus infectam, et sanguine edidit cruentatam. ..... Unde et pars illa civitatis, ut aliqui dicunt, ubi rana latuerat, Latera-

It would be easy to fill volumes with similar notions; all of which were devoutly believed in those ages of darkness, or, as they have been well called, Ages of Faith. Those, indeed, were golden days for the ecclesiastical profession, since the credulity of men had reached a height which seemed to ensure to the clergy a long and universal dominion. How the prospects of the church were subsequently darkened, and how the human reason began to rebel, will be related in another part of this Introduction, where I shall endeavour to trace the rise of that secular and sceptical spirit to which European civilization owes its origin. But, before closing the present chapter, it may be well to give a few more illustrations of the opinions held in the Middle Ages; and, for this purpose, I will select the two historical accounts, which, of all others, were the most popular, exercised most influence, and were most universally believed.

The histories to which I refer, are those of Arthur and Charlemagne; both of which bear the names of dignitaries of the church, and were received with the respect due to their illustrious authors. That concerning Charlemagne is called the Chronicle of Turpin, and purports to be written by Turpin, archbishop of Rheims, a friend of the emperor and his companion in war.[86] From some passages it contains, there is reason to think that it was really composed at the beginning of the twelfth century;[87] but, in the Middle Ages, men were not nice in these matters, and no one was likely to dispute its authenticity. Indeed, the name of an archbishop of Rheims was sufficient recommendation; and we find accordingly, that

num à latente rana, nomen accepit.' *Matthæi Westmonast.* part i. p. 98. Compare the account given by Roger of Hoveden, of a woman who vomited two toads. *Script. post Bedam*, p. 457 rev. In the Middle Ages there were many superstitions respecting these animals, and they appear to have been used by heralds as marks of degradation. See *Lankester's Memorials of Ray*, p. 197.

[86] '..... Ego Turpinus in valle Caroli loco præfato, astante rege,' &c. *De Vita Caroli Magni*, p. 74, edit. Ciampi.

[87] Turner (*History of England*, vol. vii. pp. 256-268) has attempted to prove that it was written by Calixtus II.; but his arguments, though ingenious and learned, are not decisive. Warton (*Hist. Eng. Poetry*, vol. i. p. 128) says it was composed about 1110.

in the year 1122 it received the formal approbation of the pope;[88] and that Vincent de Beauvais, one of the most celebrated writers in the thirteenth century, and tutor to the sons of Louis IX., mentions it as a work of value, and as being the principal authority for the reign of Charlemagne.[89]

A book thus generally read, and sanctioned by such competent judges, must be a tolerable standard for testing the knowledge and opinions of those times. On this account, a short notice of it will be useful for our present purpose, as it will enable us to understand the extreme slowness with which history has improved, and the almost imperceptible steps by which it advanced, until fresh life was breathed into it by the great thinkers of the eighteenth century.

In the Chronicle of Turpin, we are informed that the invasion of Spain by Charlemagne took place in consequence of the direct instigation of St. James, the brother of St. John.[90] The apostle, being the cause of the attack, adopted measures to secure its success. When Charlemagne besieged Pamplona, that city made an obstinate resistance; but as soon as prayers were offered up by the invaders, the walls suddenly fell to the ground.[91] After this, the emperor rapidly overran the whole country,

[88] The pope 'statuit historiam Sancti Caroli descriptam a beato Turpino Remensi Archiepiscopo esse authenticam.' *Note in Turner*, vol. vii. p. 250.

[89] In his famous Speculum, 'il recommande spécialement les études historiques, dont il parait que la plupart de ses contemporains méconnaissaient l'utilité; mais lorsqu'il indique les sources où il puisera ce genre d'instruction, c'est Turpin qu'il désigne comme le principal historien de Charlemagne.' *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, vol. xviii. p. 474, Paris, 1835, 4to; see also p. 517; and on its influence in Spain, see *Ticknor's History of Spanish Literature*, vol. i. pp. 222, 223.

[90] *Caroli Magni Historia*, edit. Ciampi, pp. 3-5.

[91] '... Muri collapsi funditus corruerunt.' *De Vita Caroli*, p. 5. On this, Ciampi, in his notes on Turpin, gravely says (pp. 94, 95): 'Questo fatto della presa di Pamplona è reso maraviglioso per la subitanea caduta delle mura, a somiglianza delle mura di Gerico.' This reminds me of a circumstance mentioned by Monconys, who, on visiting Oxford in 1663, was shown a horn which was preserved in that ancient city, because it was said to be made in the same way as that by which the walls of Jericho were blown down: 'Les Juifs tiennent que leurs ancêtres se servirent de pareilles pour abbatre les murailles de Jerico.' *Voyages de Monconys*, vol. iii. p. 95, edit. Paris, 1695.

almost annihilated the Mohammedans, and built innumerable churches.[92] But, the resources of Satan are inexhaustible. On the side of the enemy, a giant now appeared, whose name was Fenacute, and who was descended from Goliath of old.[93] This Fenacute was the most formidable opponent the Christians had yet encountered. His strength was equal to that of forty men;[94] his face measured one cubit; his arms and legs four cubits; his total height was twenty cubits. Against him Charlemagne sent the most eminent warriors; but they were easily discomfited by the giant; of whose prodigious force some idea may be formed from the fact, that the length even of his fingers was three palms.[95] The Christians were filled with consternation. In vain did more than twenty chosen men advance against the giant; not one returned from the field; Fenacute took them all under his arms, and carried them off into captivity.[96] At length the celebrated Orlando came forward, and challenged him to mortal combat. An obstinate fight ensued; and the Christian, not meeting with the success he expected, engaged his adversary in a theological discussion.[97] Here the pagan was easily defeated; and Orlando, warmed by the controversy, pressed on his enemy, smote the giant with his sword, and dealt him a fatal wound. After this, the last hope of the Mohammedans was extinct; the Christian arms had finally triumphed, and Charlemagne divided Spain among those gallant followers who had aided him in effecting its conquest.[98]

On the history of Arthur, the Middle Ages possessed information equally authentic. Different accounts had been

[92] *De Vita Caroli*, cap. v. pp. 11, 12; is headed 'De ecclesiis quas Carolus fecit.'

[93] 'Gigas nomine Fenacutus, qui fuit de genere Goliat.' *De Vita Caroli*, p. 39.

[94] 'Vim xl. fortium possidebat.' p. 39.

[95] 'Erat enim statura ejus quasi cubitis xx., facies erat longa quasi unius cubiti, et nasus illius unius palmi mensurati, et brachia et crura ejus quatuor cubitorum erant, et digiti ejus tribus palmis.' p. 40.

[96] *De Vita Caroli*, p. 40.

[97] Ibid. pp. 43-47.

[98] Ibid. p. 52. On the twelve peers of Charlemagne, in connexion with Turpin, see *Sismondi, Hist. des Français*, vol. v. pp. 240, 537, 538, vol. vi. 534.

circulated respecting this celebrated king;[99] but their comparative value was still unsettled, when, early in the twelfth century, the subject attracted the attention of Geoffrey, the well-known Archdeacon of Monmouth. This eminent man, in A.D. 1147, published the result of his inquiries, in a work which he called *History of the Britons.*[100] In this book, he takes a comprehensive view of the whole question; and not only relates the life of Arthur, but also traces the circumstances which prepared the way for the appearance of that great conqueror. In regard to the actions of Arthur, the historian was singularly fortunate, inasmuch as the materials necessary for that part of his subject were collected by Walter Archdeacon of Oxford, who was a friend of Geoffrey, and who, like him, took great interest in the study of history.[101] The work is, therefore, the joint composition of the two archdeacons; and is entitled to respect, not only on this account, but also because it was one of the most popular of all the productions of the Middle Ages.

The earlier part of this great history is occupied with the result of those researches which the Archdeacon of Monmouth had made into the state of Britain before the accession of Arthur. With this we are not so much concerned; though it may be mentioned, that the archdeacon ascertained that, after the capture of Troy, Ascanius fled from the city, and begat a son, who became father to Brutus.[102]

[99] The Welsh, however, accused Gildas of having thrown his history 'into the sea.' *Palgrave's Anglo-Saxon Commonwealth,* vol. i. p. 453. The industrious Sharon Turner (*Hist. of England,* vol. i. pp. 282-295) has collected a great deal of evidence respecting Arthur; of whose existence he, of course, entertains no doubt. Indeed, at p. 292, he gives us an account of the discovery, in the twelfth century, of Arthur's body!

[100] In *Turner's Hist. of England,* vol. vii. pp. 269, 270, it is said to have appeared in 1128; but Mr. Wright (*Biog. Brit. Lit.* vol. ii. p. 144) seems to have proved that the real date is 1147.

[101] Geoffrey says, 'A Gualtero Oxinefordensi in multis historiis peritissimo viro audivit' (*i. e. ille* Geoffrey) 'vili licet stylo, breviter tamen propalabit, quæ prœlia inclytus ille rex post victoriam istam, in Britanniam reversus, cum nepote suo commiserit.' *Galfredi Monumetensis Historia Britonum,* lib. xi. sec. i. p. 200. And in the dedication to the Earl of Gloucester, p. 1, he says, 'Walterus Oxinefordensis archidiaconus, vir in oratoria arte atque in exoticis historiis eruditus.' Compare *Matthæi Westmonast. Flores Historiarum,* part i. p. 248.

[102] *Galfredi Historia Britonum,* pp. 3, 4.

In those days, England was peopled by giants, all of whom were slain by Brutus; who, having extirpated the entire race, built London, settled the affairs of the country, and called it, after himself, by the name of Britain.[103] The archdeacon proceeds to relate the actions of a long line of kings who succeeded Brutus, most of whom were remarkable for their abilities, and some were famous for the prodigies which occurred in their time. Thus, during the government of Rivallo, it rained blood for three consecutive days;[104] and when Morvidus was on the throne, the coasts were infested by a horrid sea-monster, which, having devoured innumerable persons, at length swallowed the king himself.[105]

These and similar matters are related by the Archdeacon of Monmouth as the fruit of his own inquiries; but in the subsequent account of Arthur, he was aided by his friend the Archdeacon of Oxford. The two archdeacons inform their readers, that King Arthur owed his existence to a magical contrivance of Merlin, the celebrated wizard; the particulars of which they relate with a minuteness which, considering the sacred character of the historians, is rather remarkable.[106] The subsequent actions of Arthur did not belie his supernatural origin. His might nothing was able to withstand. He slew an immense number of Saxons; he overran Norway, invaded Gaul, fixed his court at Paris, and made preparations to effect the conquest of all Europe.[107] He engaged two

[103] 'Erat tunc nomen insulæ Albion, quæ a nemine, exceptis paucis gigantibus, inhabitabatur. . . . . Denique Brutus de nomine suo insulam Britanniam, sociosque suos Britones appellat.' *Galf. Hist. Britonum*, p. 20.

[104] 'In tempore ejus tribus diebus cecidit pluvia sanguinea, et muscarum affluentia; quibus homines moriebantur.' *Hist. Brit.* p. 36.

[105] 'Advenerat namque ex partibus Hibernici maris inauditæ feritatis bellua, quæ incolas maritimos sine intermissione devorabat. Cumque fama aures ejus attigisset, accessit ipse ad illam, et solus cum sola congressus est. At cum omnia tela sua in illam in vanum consumpsisset, acceleravit monstrum illud, et apertis faucibus ipsum velut pisciculum devoravit.' *Hist. Brit.* p. 51.

[106] The particulars of the intrigue are in *Galf. Hist. Brit.* pp. 151, 152. For information respecting Merlin, see also *Matthæi Westmonast. Flores Historiarum*, part i. pp. 161, 162; and *Naudé, Apologie pour les Grands Hommes*, pp. 308, 309, 318, 319, edit. Amsterdam, 1712.

[107] *Hist. Britonum*, pp. 167-170; a brilliant chapter.

giants in single combat, and killed them both. One of these giants, who inhabited the Mount of St. Michael, was the terror of the whole country, and destroyed all the soldiers sent against him, except those he took prisoners, in order to eat them while they were yet alive.[108] But he fell a victim to the prowess of Arthur; as also did another giant, named Ritho, who was, if possible, still more formidable. For Ritho, not content with warring on men of the meaner sort, actually clothed himself in furs which were entirely made of the beards of the kings he had killed.[109]

Such were the statements which, under the name of history, were laid before the world in the twelfth century; and that, too, not by obscure writers, but by high dignitaries of the church. Nor was anything wanting by which the success of the work might be ensured. Its vouchers were the Archdeacon of Monmouth, and the Archdeacon of Oxford; it was dedicated to Robert Earl of Gloucester, the son of Henry I.; and it was considered so important a contribution to the national literature, that its principal author was raised to the bishopric of Asaph, —a preferment which he is said to owe to his success in investigating the annals of English history.[110] A book thus stamped with every possible mark of approbation, is surely no bad measure of the age in which it was admired. Indeed, the feeling was so universal, that, during several centuries, there are not more than two or three instances of any critic suspecting its accuracy.[111] A Latin

[108] 'Sed et plures capiebat quos semivivos devorabat.' *Hist. Brit.* p. 181.

[109] 'Hic namque ex barbis regum quos peremerat, fecerat sibi pelles, et mandaverat Arturo ut barbam suam diligenter excoriaret, atque excoriatam sibi dirigeret: ut quemadmodum ipse ceteris præerat regibus, ita quoque in honorem ejus ceteris barbis ipsam superponeret.' *Galf. Hist. Brit.* p. 184.

[110] 'It was partly, perhaps, the reputation of this book, which procured its author the bishopric of St. Asaph.' *Life of Geoffrey of Monmouth*, in *Wright's Biog. Brit. Lit.* vol. ii. p. 144, 8vo, 1846. According to the Welsh writers, he was Bishop of Llandaff. See *Stephens's Literature of the Kymry*, 8vo, 1849, p. 323.

[111] Mr. Wright (*Biog. Brit. Lit.* vol. ii. p. 146) says: 'Within a century after its first publication, it was generally adopted by writers on English history; and during several centuries, only one or two rare instances occur of persons who ventured to speak against its veracity.' And Sir Henry

abridgment of it was published by the well-known historian, Alfred of Beverley;[112] and, in order that it might be more generally known, it was translated into English by Layamon,[113] and into Anglo-Norman, first by Gaimar, and afterwards by Wace;[114] zealous men, who were anxious that the important truths it contained should be diffused as widely as circumstances would allow.

It will hardly be necessary that I should adduce further evidence of the way in which history was written during the Middle Ages; for the preceding specimens have not been taken at random, but have been selected from the ablest and most celebrated authors; and as such present a very favourable type of the knowledge and judgment of Europe in those days. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, there appeared, for the first time, faint signs of an approaching change;[115] but this improvement was not very marked until late in the sixteenth century,

Ellis says of Polydore Vergil, who wrote early in the sixteenth century, 'For the repudiation of Geoffrey of Monmouth's history, Polydore Vergil was considered almost as a man deprived of reason. Such were the prejudices of the time.' *Polydore Vergil's English Hist.* vol. i. p. x. edit. Ellis, 1846, 4to. See also, on its popularity, *Lappenberg's Hist. of the Anglo-Saxon Kings*, vol. i. p. 102. In the seventeenth century, which was the first sceptical century in Europe, men began to open their eyes on these matters; and Boyle, for example, classes together 'the fabulous labours of Hercules, and exploits of Arthur of Britain.' *Boyle's Works*, vol. iv. p. 425.

[112] *Wright's Biog. Brit. Lit.* vol. ii. p. 156; *Turner's Hist. of England*, vol. vii. p. 282.

[113] According to Mr. Wright (*Biog. Brit.* vol. ii. p. 439), it was translated through the medium of Wace. But it would be more correct to say, that Layamon made the absurdities of Geoffrey the basis of his work, rather than translated them; for he amplifies 15,000 lines of Wace's *Brut* into 32,000 of his own jargon. See *Sir F. Madden's Preface to Layamon's Brut*, 8vo, 1847, vol. i. p. xiii. I cannot refrain from bearing testimony to the great philological value of this work of Layamon's, by the publication of which its accomplished editor has made an important contribution towards the study of the history of the English language. So far, however, as Layamon is concerned, we can only contemplate with wonder an age of which he was considered an ornament.

[114] *Wright's Biog. Brit. Lit.* vol. ii. pp. 151, 207; *Hallam's Literature of Europe*, vol. i. p. 35.

[115] Of which Froissart is the earliest instance; since he is the first who took a secular view of affairs, all the preceding historians being essentially theological. In Spain, too, we find, late in the fourteenth century, a political spirit beginning to appear among historians. See the remarks on Ayala, in *Ticknor's Hist. of Spanish Lit.* vol. i. pp. 165, 166; where, however, Mr. Ticknor represents Froissart as more unworldly than he really was.

or even early in the seventeenth. The principal steps of this interesting movement will be traced in another part of the Introduction, when I shall show, that although in the seventeenth century the progress was unmistakeable, there was no attempt to take a comprehensive view of history until nearly the middle of the eighteenth century; when the subject was studied, first by the great French thinkers, then by one or two of the Scotch, and, some years later, by the Germans. This reformation of history was connected, as I shall point out, with other intellectual changes, which corresponded to it, and which affected the social relations of all the principal countries of Europe. But, without anticipating what will be found in another part of this volume, it is sufficient to say, that not only was no history written before the end of the sixteenth century, but that the state of society was such as to make it impossible for one to be written. The knowledge of Europe was not yet ripe enough to enable it to be successfully applied to the study of past events. For we are not to suppose that the deficiencies of the early historians were caused by a lack of natural abilities. The average intellect of men is probably always the same; but the pressure exercised on them by society is constantly varying. It was, therefore, the general condition of society, which, in former days, compelled even the ablest writers to believe the most childish absurdities. Until that condition was altered, the existence of history was impossible, because it was impossible to find any one who knew what was most important to relate, what to reject, and what to believe.

The consequence was, that even when history was studied by men of such eminent abilities as Macchiavelli and Bodin, they could turn it to no better account than to use it as a vehicle for political speculations; and in none of their works do we find the least attempt to rise to generalizations large enough to include all the social phenomena. The same remark applies to Comines, who, though inferior to Macchiavelli and Bodin, was an observer of no ordinary acuteness, and certainly displays a rare sagacity in his

estimation of particular characters. But this was due to his own intellect; while the age in which he lived made him superstitious, and, for the larger purposes of history, miserably shortsighted. His shortsightedness is strikingly shown in his utter ignorance of that great intellectual movement, which, in his own time, was rapidly overthrowing the feudal institutions of the Middle Ages; but to which he never once alludes, reserving his attention for those trivial political intrigues in the relation of which he believed history to consist.[116] As to his superstition, it would be idle to give many instances of that; since no man could live in the fifteenth century without having his mind enfeebled by the universal credulity. It may, however, be observed, that though he was personally acquainted with statesmen and diplomatists, and had, therefore, the fullest opportunity of seeing how enterprises of the fairest promise are constantly ruined, merely by the incapacity of those who undertake them, he, on all important occasions, ascribes such failure, not to the real cause, but to the immediate interference of the Deity. So marked, and so irresistible, was the tendency of the fifteenth century, that this eminent politician, a man of the world, and well skilled in the arts of life, deliberately asserts that battles are lost, not because the army is ill supplied, nor because the campaign is ill conceived, nor because the general is incompetent; but because the people or their prince are wicked, and Providence seeks to punish them. For, says Comines, war is a great mystery; and being used by God as the means of accomplishing his wishes, He gives victory, sometimes to one side, sometimes to the other.[117] Hence, too, disturbances occur in the

[116] On this, Arnold says, truly enough, 'Comines's Memoirs are striking from their perfect unconsciousness: the knell of the Middle Ages had been already sounded, yet Comines has no other notions than such as they had tended to foster; he describes their events, their characters, their relations, as if they were to continue for centuries.' *Arnold's Lectures on Modern History*, p. 118. To this I may add, that whenever Comines has occasion to mention the lower classes, which is very rarely the case, he speaks of them with great contempt. See two striking instances in *Mémoires de Philippe de Comines*, vol. ii. pp. 277, 287, edit. Paris, 1826.

[117] He says, that a field of battle is 'un des accomplissemens des œuvres

state, solely by divine disposition; and they never would happen, except that princes or kingdoms, having become prosperous, forget the source from which their prosperity proceeded.[118]

Such attempts as these, to make politics a mere branch of theology,[119] are characteristic of the time; and they are the more interesting, as the work of a man of great ability, and of one, too, who had grown old in the experience of public life. When views of this sort were advocated, not by a monk in his cloister, but by a distinguished statesman, well versed in public affairs, we may easily imagine what was the average intellectual condition of those who were every way his inferiors. It is but too evident, that from them nothing could be expected; and that many steps had yet to be taken, before Europe could emerge from the superstition in which it was sunk, and break through those grievous impediments which hindered its future progress.

But, though much remained to be done, there can be

que Dieu a commencées aucunes fois par petites mouvetez et occasions, et en donnant la victoire aucunes fois à l'un, et aucunes fois à l'autre: et est cecy mystère si grand, que les royaumes et grandes seigneuries en prennent aucunes fois fins et désolations, et les autres accroissement, et commencement de régner.' *Mém. de Comines*, vol. i. pp. 361, 362. Respecting the wanton invasion of Italy, he says, that the expedition might have been easily ruined if the enemy had thought of poisoning the wells or the food: 'mais ils n'y eussent point failly, s'ils y eussent voulu essayer; mais il est de croire que nostre sauveur et rédempteur Jésus-Christ leur ostoit leur vouloir.' vol iii. p. 154. So, he adds, p. 155, 'pour conclure l'article, semble que nostre seigneur Jésus-Christ ait voulu que toute la gloire du voyage ait esté attribuée à luy.' Compare the *Institutes of Timour*, p. 7; an instructive combination of superstition and ferocity.

118 'Mais mon advis est que cela ne se fait que par disposition divine; car quand les princes ou royaumes ont esté en grande prospérité ou richesses, et ils ont mesconnoissance dont procède telle grace, Dieu leur dresse un ennemi ou ennemie, dont nul ne se douteroit, comme vous pouvez voir par les rois nommez en la Bible, et par ce que puis peu d'années en avez veu en cette Angleterre, et en cette maison de Bourgogne et autres lieux que avez veu et voyez tous les jours.' *Mém. de Comines*, vol. i. pp. 388, 389. See also his remarks on the Duke of Burgundy, vol. ii. p. 179; and in particular, his extraordinary digression, livre v. chap. xviii. vol. ii. pp. 290-298.

119 Dr. Lingard (*Hist. of England*, vol. i. p. 357) says, 'From the doctrine of a superintending providence, the piety of our ancestors had drawn a rash but very convenient inference, that success is an indication of the Divine will, and that, of course, to resist a victorious competitor, is to resist the judgment of heaven:' see also p. 114. The last vestige of this once universal opinion is the expression, which is gradually falling into disuse, of 'appealing to the God of Battles.'

no doubt that the movement onward was uninterrupted, and that, even while Comines was writing, there were unequivocal symptoms of a great and decisive change. Still, they were only indications of what was approaching; and about a hundred years elapsed, after his death, before the progress was apparent in the whole of its results. For, though the Protestant Reformation was a consequence of this progress, it was for some time unfavourable to it, by encouraging the ablest men in the discussion of questions inaccessible to human reason, and thus diverting them from subjects in which their efforts would have been available for the general purposes of civilization. Hence we find, that little was really accomplished until the end of the sixteenth century, when, as we shall see in the next two chapters, the theological fervour began to subside in England and France, and the way was prepared for that purely secular philosophy, of which Bacon and Descartes were the exponents, but by no means the creators.[120] This epoch belongs to the seventeenth century, and from it we may date the intellectual regeneration of Europe; just as from the eighteenth century we may date its social regeneration. But during the greater part of the sixteenth century, the credulity was still universal, since it affected not merely the lowest and most ignorant classes, but even those who were best educated. Of this innumerable proofs might be given; though, for the sake of brevity, I will confine myself to two instances, which are particularly striking, from the circumstances attending them, and from

[120] See *Guizot, Civilisation en Europe*, p. 166; the best passage in that able, but rather unequal work: 'Parcourez l'histoire du v^e^ au xvi^e^ siècle; c'est la théologie qui possède et dirige l'esprit humain; toutes les opinions sont empreintes de théologie; les questions philosophiques, politiques, historiques, sont toujours considérées sous un point de vue théologique. L'église est tellement souveraine dans l'ordre intellectuel, que même les sciences mathématiques et physiques sont tenues de se soumettre à ses doctrines. L'esprit théologique est en quelque sort le sang qui a coulé dans les veines du monde européen jusqu'à Bacon et Descartes. Pour la première fois, Bacon en Angleterre, et Descartes en France, ont jeté l'intelligence hors des voies de la théologie.' A noble passage, and perfectly true: but what would have been the effect produced by Bacon and Descartes, if, instead of living in the seventeenth century, they had lived in the seventh? Would their philosophy have been equally secular; or, being equally secular, would it have been equally successful?

the influence they exercised over men who might be supposed little liable to similar delusions.

At the end of the fifteenth, and early in the sixteenth century, Stœffler, the celebrated astronomer, was professor of mathematics at Tubingen. This eminent man rendered great services to astronomy, and was one of the first who pointed out the way of remedying the errors in the Julian calendar, according to which time was then computed.[121] But neither his abilities nor his knowledge could protect him against the spirit of his age. In 1524, he published the result of some abstruse calculations, in which he had been long engaged, and by which he had ascertained the remarkable fact, that in that same year the world would again be destroyed by a deluge. This announcement, made by a man of such eminence, and made, too, with the utmost confidence, caused a lively and universal alarm.[122] News of the approaching event was rapidly circulated, and Europe was filled with consternation. To avoid the first shock, those who had houses by the sea, or on rivers, abandoned them;[123] while others, perceiving that such measures could only be temporary, adopted more active precautions. It was suggested that, as a preliminary step, the Emperor Charles V. should appoint inspectors to survey the country, and mark those places which, being least exposed to the coming flood, would be most likely to afford a shelter. That this should be done, was the wish of the imperial general, who was then stationed at Florence, and by whose desire a work was written recommending it.[124] But the minds of men

[121] Compare *Biog. Univ.* vol. xliii. p. 577, with *Montucla, Hist. des Mathématiques*, vol. i. p. 678.

[122] Naudé mentions, that in France it drove many persons almost mad: 'In Gallia parum afuit quin ad insaniam homines non paucos periculi metu (diluvium) adegerit.' *Bayle*, in voce *Stofflerus*, note B.

[123] 'Nam Petrus Cirvellus Hispanorum omnium sui temporis doctissimus, cum theologiæ, in almo Complutensi gymnasio, lectoris munere fungeretur, et vero multos, ut ipsemet inquit, fluviis vel mari finitimos populos, jam stupido metu perculsos, domicilia ac sedes mutare vidisset, ac prædia, supellectilem, bonaque omnia, contra justum valorem sub actione distrahere, ac alia loca vel altitudine, vel siccitate magis secura requirere, sui officii esse putavit, in publica illa consternatione, quam de nihilo excitare persuasum non habebat,' &c. *Bayle*, note B.

[124] Ibid.

were too distracted for so deliberate a plan; and besides, as the height of the flood was uncertain, it was impossible to say whether it would not reach the top of the most elevated mountains. In the midst of these and similar schemes, the fatal day drew near, and nothing had yet been contrived on a scale large enough to meet the evil. To enumerate the different proposals which were made and rejected, would fill a long chapter. One proposal is, however, worth noticing, because it was carried into effect with great zeal, and is, moreover, very characteristic of the age. An ecclesiastic of the name of Auriol, who was then professor of canon law at the University of Toulouse, revolved in his own mind various expedients by which this universal disaster might be mitigated. At length it occurred to him that it was practicable to imitate the course which, on a similar emergency, Noah had adopted with eminent success. Scarcely was the idea conceived, when it was put into execution. The inhabitants of Toulouse lent their aid; and an ark was built, in the hope that some part, at least, of the human species might be preserved, to continue their race, and repeople the earth, after the waters should have subsided, and the land again become dry.[125]

About seventy years after this alarm had passed away, there happened another circumstance, which for a time afforded occupation to the most celebrated men in one of the principal countries of Europe. At the end of the sixteenth century, terrible excitement was caused by a report that a golden tooth had appeared in the jaw of a child born in Silesia. The rumour, on being investigated, turned out to be too true. It became impossible to conceal it from the public; and the miracle was soon known all over Germany, where, being looked on as a mysterious omen, universal anxiety was felt as to what

[125] In addition to the account in Bayle, the reader may refer to *Biog. Univ.* vol. iii. p. 88, vol. xxxi. p. 283, vol. xliii. pp. 577, 578; *Sprengel, Hist. de la Médecine*, vol. iii. p. 251; *Delambre, Hist. de l'Astronomie du Moyen Age*, Paris, 1819, 4to, p. 376; *Montucla, Hist. des Mathématiques*, vol. i. p. 622; *Dict. Philosoph.*, article *Astrologie*, in *Œuvres de Voltaire*, vol. xxxvii. pp. 148, 149.

this new thing might mean. Its real import was first unfolded by Dr. Horst. In 1595, this eminent physician published the result of his researches, by which it appears that, at the birth of the child, the sun was in conjunction with Saturn, at the sign Aries. The event, therefore, though supernatural, was by no means alarming. The golden tooth was the precursor of a golden age, in which the emperor would drive the Turks from Christendom, and lay the foundations of an empire that would last for thousands of years. And this, says Horst, is clearly alluded to by Daniel, in his well-known second chapter, where the prophet speaks of a statue with a golden head.[126]

[126] This history of the golden tooth is partly related by De Thou: see his *Hist. Univ.* vol. xi. pp. 634, 635. And on the controversy to which it gave rise, compare *Hist. des Oracles*, chap. iv., in *Œuvres de Fontenelle*, vol. ii. pp. 219, 220, ed. Paris, 1766; *Sprengel, Hist. de la Médecine*, vol. iii. pp. 247-249; *Biog. Univ.* vol. xx. p. 579.

CHAPTER VII.

OUTLINE OF THE HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH INTELLECT FROM THE MIDDLE OF THE SIXTEENTH TO THE END OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

It is difficult for an ordinary reader, living in the middle of the nineteenth century, to understand, that only three hundred years before he was born, the public mind was in the benighted state disclosed in the preceding chapter. It is still more difficult for him to understand that the darkness was shared not merely by men of an average education, but by men of considerable ability, men in every respect among the foremost of their age. A reader of this sort may satisfy himself that the evidence is indisputable; he may verify the statements I have brought forward, and admit that there is no possible doubt about them; but even then he will find it hard to conceive that there ever was a state of society in which such miserable absurdities were welcomed as sober and important truths, and were supposed to form an essential part of the general stock of European knowledge.

But a more careful examination will do much to dissipate this natural astonishment. In point of fact, so far from wondering that such things were believed, the wonder would have been if they were rejected. For in those times, as in all others, every thing was of a piece. Not only in historical literature, but in all kinds of literature, on every subject—in science, in religion, in legislation—the presiding principle was a blind and unhesitating credulity. The more the history of Europe anterior to the seventeenth century is studied, the more completely will this fact be verified. Now and then a great man arose, who had his doubts respecting the universal belief; who whispered a suspicion as to the existence of giants

thirty feet high, of dragons with wings, and of armies flying through the air; who thought that astrology might be a cheat, and necromancy a bubble; and who even went so far as to raise a question respecting the propriety of drowning every witch and burning every heretic. A few such men there undoubtedly were; but they were despised as mere theorists, idle visionaries, who, unacquainted with the practice of life, arrogantly opposed their own reason to the wisdom of their ancestors. In the state of society in which they were born, it was impossible that they should make any permanent impression. Indeed, they had enough to do to look to themselves, and provide for their own security; for, until the latter part of the sixteenth century, there was no country in which a man was not in great personal peril if he expressed open doubts respecting the belief of his contemporaries.

Yet it is evident, that until doubt began, progress was impossible. For, as we have clearly seen, the advance of civilization solely depends on the acquisitions made by the human intellect, and on the extent to which those acquisitions are diffused. But men who are perfectly satisfied with their own knowledge, will never attempt to increase it. Men who are perfectly convinced of the accuracy of their opinions, will never take the pains of examining the basis on which they are built. They look always with wonder, and often with horror, on views contrary to those which they inherited from their fathers; and while they are in this state of mind, it is impossible that they should receive any new truth which interferes with their foregone conclusions.

On this account it is, that although the acquisition of fresh knowledge is the necessary precursor of every step in social progress, such acquisition must itself be preceded by a love of inquiry, and therefore by a spirit of doubt; because without doubt there will be no inquiry, and without inquiry there will be no knowledge. For knowledge is not an inert and passive principle, which comes to us whether we will or no; but it must be sought before it can be won; it is the product of great labour and

therefore of great sacrifice. And it is absurd to suppose that men will incur the labour, and make the sacrifice, for subjects respecting which they are already perfectly content. They who do not feel the darkness, will never look for the light. If on any point we have attained to certainty, we make no further inquiry on that point; because inquiry would be useless, or perhaps dangerous. The doubt must intervene, before the investigation can begin. Here, then, we have the act of doubting as the originator, or, at all events, the necessary antecedent, of all progress. Here we have that scepticism, the very name of which is an abomination to the ignorant; because it disturbs their lazy and complacent minds; because it troubles their cherished superstitions; because it imposes on them the fatigue of inquiry; and because it rouses even sluggish understandings to ask if things are as they are commonly supposed, and if all is really true which they from their childhood have been taught to believe.

The more we examine this great principle of scepticism, the more distinctly shall we see the immense part it has played in the progress of European civilization. To state in general terms, what in this Introduction will be fully proved, it may be said, that to scepticism we owe that spirit of inquiry, which, during the last two centuries, has gradually encroached on every possible subject; has reformed every department of practical and speculative knowledge; has weakened the authority of the privileged classes, and thus placed liberty on a surer foundation; has chastized the despotism of princes; has restrained the arrogance of the nobles; and has even diminished the prejudices of the clergy. In a word, it is this which has remedied the three fundamental errors of the olden time: errors which made the people, in politics too confiding; in science too credulous; in religion too intolerant.

This rapid summary of what has actually been effected, may perhaps startle those readers to whom such large investigations are not familiar. The importance, however, of the principle at issue is so great, that I purpose in this Introduction to verify it by an examination of all the pro-

minent forms of European civilization. Such an inquiry will lead to the remarkable conclusion, that no single fact has so extensively affected the different nations as the duration, the amount, and above all the diffusion, of their scepticism. In Spain, the church, aided by the Inquisition, has always been strong enough to punish sceptical writers, and prevent, not indeed the existence, but the promulgation of sceptical opinions.[1] By this means the spirit of doubt being quenched, knowledge has for several centuries remained almost stationary; and civilization, which is the fruit of knowledge, has also been stationary. But in England and France, which, as we shall presently see, are the countries where scepticism first openly appeared, and where it has been most diffused, the results are altogether different; and the love of inquiry being encouraged, there has arisen that constantly-progressive knowledge to which these two great nations owe their prosperity. In the remaining part of this volume, I shall trace the history of this principle in France and England, and examine the different forms under which it has appeared, and the way in which those forms have affected the national interests. In the order of the investigation, I shall give the precedence to England; because, for the reasons already stated, its civilization must be deemed more normal than that of France; and therefore, notwithstanding its numerous deficiencies, it approaches the natural type more closely than its great neighbour has been able to do. But as the fullest details respecting English civilization will be found in the body of the present work, I intend in the Introduction to devote merely a single chapter to it, and to consider our national history simply in reference to the immediate consequences of the

[1] On the influence of the French literature, which, late in the eighteenth century, crept into Spain in spite of the church, and diffused a considerable amount of scepticism among the most educated classes, compare *Llorente, Hist. de l'Inquisition*, vol. i. p. 322, vol. ii. p. 543, vol. iv. pp. 98, 99, 102, 148; *Doblado's Letters from Spain*, pp. 115, 119, 120, 133, 231, 232; *Lord Holland's Foreign Reminiscences*, edit. 1850, p. 76; *Southey's Hist. of Brazil*, vol. iii. p. 607; and an imperfect statement of the same fact in *Alison's Hist. of Europe*, vol. x. p. 8. In regard to the Spanish colonies, compare *Humboldt, Nouv. Espagne*, vol. ii. p. 818, with *Ward's Mexico*, vol. i. p. 83.

sceptical movement; reserving for a future occasion those subsidiary matters which, though less comprehensive, are still of great value. And as the growth of religious toleration is undoubtedly the most important of all, I will, in the first place, state the circumstances under which it appeared in England in the sixteenth century; and I will then point out how other events, which immediately followed, were part of the same progress, and were indeed merely the same principles acting in different directions.

A careful study of the history of religious toleration will prove, that in every Christian country where it has been adopted, it has been forced upon the clergy by the authority of the secular classes.[2] At the present day, it is still unknown to those nations among whom the ecclesiastical power is stronger than the temporal power; and as this, during many centuries, was the general condition, it is not wonderful that, in the early history of Europe, we should find scarcely a trace of so wise and benevolent an opinion. But at the moment when Elizabeth mounted the throne of England, our country was about equally divided between two hostile creeds; and the queen, with remarkable ability, contrived during some time so to balance the rival powers, as to allow to neither a decisive preponderance. This was the first instance which had been seen in Europe of a government successfully carried on without the active participation of the spiritual authority; and the consequence was, that for several years the principle of toleration, though still most imperfectly understood, was pushed to an extent which is truly surpris-

[2] Nearly two hundred years ago, Sir William Temple observed, that in Holland the clergy possessed less power than in other countries; and that, therefore, there existed an unusual amount of toleration. *Observations upon the United Poovinces*, in *Temple's Works*, vol. i. pp. 157-162. About seventy years later, the same inference was drawn by another acute observer, Le Blanc, who, after mentioning the liberality which the different sects displayed towards each other in Holland, adds, 'La grande raison d'une harmonie si parfaite est que tout s'y régle par les séculiers de chacune de ces religions, et qu'on n'y souffriroit pas des ministres, dont le zèle imprudent pourroit détruire cette heureuse correspondance.' *Le Blanc, Lettres d'un Français*, vol. i. p. 73. I merely give these as illustrations of an important principle, which I shall hereafter prove.

ing for so barbarous an age.[3] Unhappily, after a time, various circumstances, which I shall relate in their proper place, induced Elizabeth to change a policy which she, even with all her wisdom, perhaps considered to be a dangerous experiment, and for which the knowledge of the country was as yet hardly ripe. But although she now allowed the Protestants to gratify their hatred against the Catholics, there was, in the midst of the sanguinary scenes which followed, one circumstance very worthy of remark. Although many persons were most unquestionably executed merely for their religion, no one ventured to state their religion as the cause of their execution.[4] The most barbarous punishments were inflicted upon them; but they were told that they might escape the punishment by renouncing certain principles which were said to be injurious to the safety of the state.[5] It is true, that many of these principles were such as no Catholic could abandon without at the same time abandoning his religion, of which they formed an essential part. But the mere fact that the

[3] 'In the first eleven years of her reign, not one Roman Catholic was prosecuted capitally for religion.' *Neal's Hist. of the Puritans*, vol. i. p. 444; and the same remark in *Collier's Eccles. Hist.* vol. vii. p. 252, edit. 1840.

[4] Without quoting the impudent defence which Chief-Justice Popham made, in 1606, for the barbarous treatment of the Catholics (*Campbell's Chief Justices*, vol. i. p. 225), I will give the words of the two immediate successors of Elizabeth. James I. says: 'The trewth is, according to my owne knowledge, the late queene of famous memory never punished any Papist for religion.' *Works of King James*, London, 1616, folio, p. 252. And Charles I. says: 'I am informed, neither Queen Elizabeth nor my father did ever avow that any priest in their times was executed merely for religion.' *Parl. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 713.

[5] This was the defence set up in 1583, in a work called *The Execution of Justice in England*, and ascribed to Burleigh. See *Hallam's Const. Hist.* vol. i. pp. 146, 147; and *Somers Tracts*, vol. i. pp. 189-208: 'a number of persons whom they term as martyrs,' p. 195; and at p. 202, the writer attacks those who have 'entitled certain that have suffered for treason to be martyrs for religion.' In the same way, the opponents of Catholic Emancipation in our time, found themselves compelled to abandon the old theological ground, and to defend the persecution of the Catholics rather by political arguments than by religious ones. Lord Eldon, who was by far the most influential leader of the intolerant party, said, in a speech in the House of Lords, in 1810, that 'the enactments against the Catholics were meant to guard, not against the abstract opinions of their religion, but against the political dangers of a faith which acknowledged a foreign supremacy.' *Twiss's Life of Eldon*, vol. i. p. 435; see also pp. 483, 501, 577-580. Compare *Alison's Hist.* vol. vi. pp. 379 seq., a summary of the debate in 1805.

spirit of persecution was driven to such a subterfuge, showed that a great progress had been made by the age. A most important point, indeed, was gained when the bigot became a hypocrite; and when the clergy, though willing to burn men for the good of their souls, were obliged to justify their cruelty by alleging considerations of a more temporal, and, as they considered, a less important character.[6]

A remarkable evidence of the change that was then taking place, is found in the two most important theological works which appeared in England during the reign of Elizabeth. *Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity* was published at the end of the sixteenth century,[7] and is still considered one of the greatest bulwarks of our national church. If we compare this work with *Jewel's Apology for the Church of England*, which was written thirty years before it,[8] we shall at once be struck by the different methods these eminent writers employed. Both Hooker and Jewel were men of learning and genius. Both of them were familiar with the Bible, the Fathers, and the Councils. Both of them wrote with the avowed object of defending the Church of England; and both of them

[6] Mr. Sewell seems to have this change in view in his *Christian Politics*, 8vo, 1844, p. 277. Compare *Coleridge's note* in *Southey's Life of Wesley*, vol. i. p. 270. An able writer says of the persecutions which, in the seventeenth century, the Church of England directed against her opponents. 'This is the stale pretence of the clergy in all countries, after they have solicited the government to make penal laws against those they call heretics or schismaticks, and prompted the magistrates to a vigorous execution, then they lay all the odium on the civil power; for whom they have no excuse to allege, but that such men suffered, not for religion, but for disobedience to the laws.' *Somers Tracts*, vol. xii. p. 534. See also *Butler's Mem. of the Catholics*, vol. i. p. 389, and vol. ii. pp. 44–46.

[7] The first four books, which are in every point of view the most important, were published in 1594. *Walton's Life of Hooker*, in *Wordsworth's Ecclesiast. Biog.* vol. iii. p. 509. The sixth book is said not to be authentic; and doubts have been thrown upon the seventh and eighth books; but Mr. Hallam thinks that they are certainly genuine. *Literature of Europe*, vol. ii. pp. 24, 25.

[8] *Jewel's Apology* was written in 1561 or 1562. See *Wordsworth's Eccles. Biog.* vol. iii. p. 313. This work, the Bible, and *Fox's Martyrs*, were ordered, in the reign of Elizabeth, 'to be fixed in all parish churches, to be read by the people.' *Aubrey's Letters*, vol. ii. p. 42. The order, in regard to Jewel's *Defence*, was repeated by James I. and Charles I. *Butler's Mem. of the Catholics*, vol. iv. p. 413.

were well acquainted with the ordinary weapons of theological controversy. But here the resemblance stops. The men were very similar; their works are entirely different. During the thirty years which had elapsed, the English intellect had made immense progress; and the arguments which in the time of Jewel were found perfectly satisfactory, would not have been listened to in the time of Hooker. The work of Jewel is full of quotations from the Fathers and the Councils, whose mere assertions, when they are uncontradicted by Scripture, he seems to regard as positive proofs. Hooker, though he shows much respect to the Councils, lays little stress upon the Fathers, and evidently considered that his readers would not pay much attention to their unsupported opinions. Jewel inculcates the importance of faith; Hooker insists upon the exercise of reason.[9] The first employs all his talents in collecting the decisions of antiquity, and in deciding upon the meaning which they may be supposed to bear. The other quotes the ancients, not so much from respect for their authority, as with the view of illustrating his own arguments. Thus, for instance, both Hooker and Jewel assert the undoubted right of the

[9] 'Wherefore the natural measure whereby to judge our doings is, the sentence of Reason determining and setting down what is good to be done.' *Eccl. Polity*, book i. sec. viii. in *Hooker's Works*, vol. i. p. 99. He requires of his opponents, 'not to exact at our hands for every action the knowledge of some place of Scripture out of which we stand bound to deduce it, as by divers testimonies they seek to enforce; but rather, as the truth is, so to acknowledge, that *it sufficeth if such actions be framed according to the law of reason*.' Book ii. sec. i. *Works*, vol. i. p. 151. 'For men to be tied and led by authority, as it were with a kind of captivity of judgment, and, though there be reason to the contrary, not to listen unto it, but to follow, like beasts, the first in the herd, they know not nor care not whither: this were brutish. Again, that authority of men should prevail with men, either against or above Reason, is no part of our belief. Companies of learned men, be they never so great and reverend, are to yield unto Reason.' Book ii. sec. vii. vol. i. pp. 182, 183. In book v. sec. viii. vol. ii. p. 23, he says, that even 'the voice of the church' is to be held inferior to reason. See also a long passage in book vii. sec. xi. vol. iii. p. 152; and on the application of reason to the general theory of religion, see vol. i. pp. 220-223, book iii. sec. viii. Again, at p. 226: 'Theology, what is it, but the science of things divine? What science can be attained unto, without the help of natural discourse and Reason?' And he indignantly asks those who insist on the supremacy of faith, 'May we cause our faith without Reason to appear reasonable in the eyes of men?' vol. i. p. 230.

sovereign to interfere in ecclesiastical affairs. Jewel, however, fancied that he had proved the right, when he had pointed out that it was exercised by Moses, by Joshua, by David, and by Solomon.[10] On the other hand, Hooker lays down that this right exists, not because it is ancient, but because it is advisable; and because it is unjust to suppose that men who are not ecclesiastics will consent to be bound by laws which ecclesiastics alone have framed.[11] In the same opposite spirit do these great writers conduct their defence of their own church. Jewel, like all the authors of his time, had exercised his memory more than his reason; and he thinks to settle the whole dispute by crowding together texts from the Bible, with the opinions of the commentators upon them.[12] But Hooker, who lived

[10] After referring to Isaiah, he adds: 'Præter, inquam, hæc omnia, ex historiis et optimorum temporum exemplis videmus pios principes procurationem ecclesiarum ab officio suo nunquam putasse alienam.

'Moses civilis magistratus, ac ductor populi, omnem religionis, et sacrorum rationem, et accepit a Deo, et populo tradidit, et Aaronem episcopum de aureo vitulo, et de violata religione, vehementer et graviter castigavit. Josue, etsi non aliud erat, quàm magistratus civilis, tamen cùm primùm inaugurаretur et præficeretur populo, accepit mandata nominatim de religione, deque colendo Deo.

'David rex, cùm omnis jam religio, ab impio rege Saulo prorsus esset dissipata, reduxit arcam Dei, hoc est, religionem restituit: nec tantùm adfuit ut admonitor aut hortator operis, sed etiam psalmos et hymnos dedit, et classes disposuit, et pompam instituit, et quodammodo præfuit sacerdotibus.

'Salomon rex ædificavit templum Domino, quod ejus pater David animo tantùm destinaverat: et postremò orationem egregiam habuit ad populum de religione, et cultu Dei; et Abiatharum episcopum postea summovit, et in ejus locum Sadocum surrogavit.' *Apolog. Eccles. Anglic.* pp. 161, 162.

[11] He says that, although the clergy may be supposed more competent than laymen to regulate ecclesiastical matters, this will practically avail them nothing: 'It were unnatural not to think the pastors and bishops of our souls a great deal more fit than men of secular trades and callings; howbeit, when all which the wisdom of all sorts can do is done, for the devising of laws in the church, it is the general consent of all that giveth them the form and vigour of laws; without which they could be no more unto us than the counsels of physicians to the sick.' *Ecclesiastical Polity*, book viii. sec. vi. vol. iii. p. 303. He adds, p. 326: 'Till it be proved that some special law of Christ hath for ever annexed unto the clergy alone the power to make ecclesiastical laws, we are to hold it a thing most *consonant with equity and reason*, that no ecclesiastical laws be made in a Christian commonwealth, without consent as well of the laity as of the clergy, but least of all without consent of the highest power.'

[12] 'Quòd si docemus sacrosanctum Dei evangelium, et veteres episcopos, atque ecclesiam primitivam nobiscum facere.' If this be so, then, indeed, 'speramus, neminem illorum' (his opponents) 'ita negligentem fore sa-

in the age of Shakespeare and Bacon, found himself constrained to take views of a far more comprehensive character. His defence rests neither upon tradition nor upon commentators, nor ever upon revelation; but he is content that the pretensions of the hostile parties shall be decided by their applicability to the great exigencies of society, and by the ease with which they adapt themselves to the general purposes of ordinary life.[13]

It requires but little penetration to see the immense importance of the change which these two great works represent. As long as an opinion in theology was defended by the old dogmatic method, it was impossible to assail it without incurring the imputation of heresy. But

lutis suæ, quin ut velit aliquando cogitationem suscipere, ad utros potiùs se adjungat.' *Apolog. Eccles. Anglic.* p. 17. At p. 53, he indignantly asks if any one will dare to impeach the Fathers: 'Ergo Origenes, Ambrosius, Augustinus, Chrysostomus, Gelasius, Theodoretus erant desertores fidei catholicæ? Ergo tot veterum episcoporum et doctorum virorum tanta consensio nihil aliud erat quàm conspiratio hæreticorum? Aut quod tum laudabatur in illis, id nunc damnatur in nobis? Quodque in illis erat catholicum, id nunc mutatis tantùm hominum voluntatibus, repentè factum est schismaticum? Aut quod olim erat verum, nunc statim, quia istis non placet, erit falsum?' His work is full of this sort of eloquent, but, as it appears to our age, pointless declamation.

[13] This large view underlies the whole of the *Ecclesiastical Polity*. I can only afford room for a few extracts, which will be illustrations rather than proofs: the proof will be obvious to every competent reader of the work itself. 'True it is, the ancienter the better ceremonies of religion are; howbeit not absolutely true and without exception; *but true only so far forth as those different ages do agree* in the state of those things for which, at the first, those rites, orders, and ceremonies were instituted.' vol. i. p. 36. 'We count those things perfect which want nothing requisite for the end whereto they were instituted,' vol. i. p. 191. 'Because when a thing doth cease to be available unto the end which gave it being, the continuance of it must then of necessity appear superfluous.' And even of the laws of God, he boldly adds: 'Notwithstanding the authority of their Maker, the mutability of that end for which they are made doth also make them changeable.' vol. i. p. 236. 'And therefore laws, though both ordained of God himself, and the end for which they were ordained continuing, may notwithstanding cease, if by alteration of persons or times they be found unsufficient to attain unto that end.' vol. i. p. 238. At p. 240: 'I therefore conclude, that neither God's being Author of laws for government of his church, nor his committing them unto Scripture, is any reason sufficient wherefore all churches should for ever be bound to keep them without change. See, too, vol. iii. p. 169, on 'the exigence of necessity.' Compare pp. 182, 183, and vol. i. p. 323, vol. ii. pp. 273, 424. Not a vestige of such arguments can be found in Jewel; who, on the contrary, says (*Apologia*, p. 114), 'Certè in religionem Dei nihil gravius dici potest, quàm si ea accusetur novitatis. Ut enim in Deo ipso, ita in ejus cultu nihil oportet esse novum.'

when it was chiefly defended by human reasoning, its support was seriously weakened. For by this means the element of uncertainty was let in. It might be alleged, that the arguments of one sect are as good as those of another; and that we cannot be sure of the truth of our principles, until we have heard what is to be said on the opposite side. According to the old theological theory, it was easy to justify the most barbarous persecution. If a man knew that the only true religion was the one which he professed, and if he also knew that those who died in a contrary opinion were doomed to everlasting perdition—if he knew these things beyond the remotest possibility of a doubt, he might fairly argue, that it is merciful to punish the body in order to save the soul, and secure to immortal beings their future salvation, even though he employed so sharp a remedy as the halter or the stake.[14] But if this same man is taught to think that questions of religion are to be settled by reason as well as by faith, he can scarcely avoid the reflection, that the reason even of the strongest minds is not infallible, since it has led the ablest men to the most opposite conclusions. When this idea is once diffused among a people, it cannot fail to influence their conduct. No one of common sense and common honesty will dare to levy upon another, on account of his religion, the extreme penalty of the law, when he knows it possible that his own opinions may be wrong, and that those of the man he has punished may be right. From the moment when questions of religion begin to evade the jurisdiction of faith, and submit to the jurisdiction of reason, persecution becomes a crime of the deepest dye. Thus it was in England in the seventeenth century. As theology became more reasonable, it became less confident, and therefore more merciful. Seventeen years after the publication of the great work of Hooker, two men were publicly burned by the English bishops, for holding heretical opinions.[15]

[14] Archbishop Whately has made some very good remarks on this. See his *Errors of Romanism traced to their Origin in Human Nature*, pp. 237, 238.

[15] Their names were Legat and Wightman, and they suffered in 1611:

But this was the last gasp of expiring bigotry; and since that memorable day, the soil of England has never been stained by the blood of a man who has suffered for his religious creed.[16]

We have thus seen the rise of that scepticism which in physics must always be the beginning of science, and in religion must always be the beginning of toleration. There is, indeed, no doubt that in both cases individual thinkers may, by a great effort of original genius, emancipate themselves from the operation of this law. But in the progress of nations no such emancipation is possible. As long as men refer the movements of the comets to the immediate finger of God, and as long as they believe that an eclipse is one of the modes by which the Deity expresses his anger, they will never be guilty of the blasphemous presumption of attempting to predict such supernatural appearances. Before they could dare to investigate the causes of these mysterious phenomena, it is necessary that they should believe, or at all events that they should suspect, that the phenomena themselves were capable of being explained by the human mind. In the same way, until men are content in some degree to bring their religion before the bar of their own reason, they never can understand how it is that there should be a diversity of creeds, or how any one can differ from themselves without being guilty of the most enormous and unpardonable crime.[17]

see the contemporary account in *Somers Tracts*, vol. ii. pp. 400-408. Compare *Blackstone's Comment.* vol. iv. p. 49; *Harris's Lives of the Stuarts*, vol. i. pp. 143, 144; and note in *Burton's Diary*, vol. i. p. 118. Of these martyrs to their opinions, Mr. Hallam says: 'The first was burned by King, bishop of London; the second by Neyle, of Litchfield.' *Const. Hist.* vol. i. pp. 611, 612.

[16] It should be mentioned, to the honour of the Court of Chancery, that late in the sixteenth, and early in the seventeenth century, its powers were exerted against the execution of those cruel laws, by which the Church of England was allowed to persecute men who differed from its own views. See *Campbell's Chancellors*, vol. ii. pp. 135, 176, 231.

[17] 'To tax any one, therefore, with want of reverence, because he pays no respect to what we venerate, is either irrelevant, or is a mere confusion. The fact, so far as it is true, is no reproach, but an honour; because to reverence all persons and all things is absolutely wrong: reverence shown to that which does not deserve it, is no virtue; no, nor even an amiable weak-

If we now continue to trace the progress of opinions in England, we shall see the full force of these remarks. A general spirit of inquiry, of doubt, and even of insubordination, began to occupy the minds of men. In physics, it enabled them, almost at a blow, to throw off the shackles of antiquity, and give birth to sciences founded not on notions of old, but on individual observations and individual experiments.[18] In politics, it stimulated them to rise against the government, and eventually bring their king to the scaffold. In religion, it vented itself in a thousand sects, each of which proclaimed, and often exaggerated, the efficiency of private judgment.[19] The details of this vast movement form one of the most interesting parts of the history of England: but without anticipating what

ness, but a plain folly and sin. But if it be meant that he is wanting in proper reverence, not respecting what is really to be respected, that is assuming the whole question at issue, because what we call divine, he calls an idol; and as, supposing that we are in the right, we are bound to fall down and worship, so, supposing him to be in the right, he is no less bound to pull it to the ground and destroy it.' *Arnold's Lectures on Modern History*, pp. 210, 211. Considering the ability of Dr. Arnold, considering his great influence, and considering his profession, his antecedents, and the character of the university in which he was speaking, it must be allowed that this is a remarkable passage, and one well worthy the notice of those who wish to study the tendencies of the English mind during the present generation.

[18] On the connexion between the rise of the Baconian philosophy and the change in the spirit of theologians, compare *Comte, Philosophie Positive*, vol. v. p. 701, with *Whately on Dangers to Christian Faith*, pp. 148, 149. It favoured, as Tennemann (*Gesch. der Philos.* vol. x. p. 14) says, the 'Belebung der selbstthätigen Kraft des menschlichen Geistes;' and hence the attack on the inductive philosophy in *Newman's Development of Christian Doctrine*, pp. 179-183. But Mr. Newman does not seem to be aware how irrevocably we are now pledged to the movement which he seeks to reverse.

[19] The rapid increase of heresy in the middle of the seventeenth century is very remarkable, and it greatly aided civilization in England by encouraging habits of independent thought. In Feb. 1646-7, Boyle writes from London, 'There are few days pass here, that may not justly be accused of the brewing or broaching of some new opinion. Nay, some are so studiously changling in that particular, they esteem an opinion as a diurnal, after a day or two scarce worth the keeping. If any man have lost his religion, let him repair to London, and I'll warrant him he shall find it: I had almost said too, and if any man has a religion, let him but come hither now, and he shall go near to lose it.' *Birch's Life of Boyle*, in *Boyle's Works*, vol. i. pp. 20, 21. See also *Bates's Account of the late Troubles*, edit. 1685, part ii. p. 219, on 'that unbridled licentiousness of hereticks which grew greater and greater daily.' Compare to the same effect *Carlyle's Cromwell*, vol. i. p. 289; *Hallam's Const. Hist.* vol. i. p. 608; and *Carwithen's Hist. of the Church of England*, vol. ii. p. 203: 'sectaries began to swarm.'

I must hereafter relate, I will at present mention only one instance, which, from the circumstances attending it, is very characteristic of the age. The celebrated work by Chillingworth on the *Religion of Protestants*, is generally admitted to be the best defence which the Reformers have been able to make against the church of Rome.[20] It was published in 1637,[21] and the position of the author would induce us to look for the fullest display of bigotry that was consistent with the spirit of his time. Chillingworth had recently abandoned the creed which he now came forward to attack; and he, therefore, might be expected to have that natural inclination to dogmatize with which apostasy is usually accompanied. Besides this, he was the godson and the intimate friend of Laud,[22] whose memory is still loathed, as the meanest, the most cruel, and the most narrow-minded man who ever sat on the episcopal bench.[23] He was, moreover, a fellow of Oxford, and was a constant resident at that ancient university, which has always been esteemed as the refuge of superstition, and which has preserved to our own day its unenviable fame.[24] If now we turn to the work that was written under these auspices, we can scarcely believe that it was produced in the same generation, and in the same country, where, only twenty-six years before, two men had been publicly burned because they advocated opinions

[20] Not to quote the opinions of inferior men respecting Chillingworth, it is enough to mention, that Lord Mansfield said he was 'a perfect model of argumentation.' *Butler's Reminiscences*, vol. i. p. 126. Compare a letter from Warburton, in *Nichols's Illustrations of the Eighteenth Century*, vol. iv. p. 849.

[21] *Des Maizeaux, Life of Chillingworth*, p. 141.

[22] *Aubrey's Letters and Lives*, vol. ii. p. 285; *Des Maizeaux, Life of Chillingworth*, pp. 2, 9. The correspondence between Laud and Chillingworth is supposed to be lost. *Des Maizeaux*, p. 12. Carwithen (*Hist. of the Church of England*, vol. ii. p. 214) says, 'Laud was the godfather of Chillingworth.'

[23] The character of Laud is now well understood and generally known. His odious cruelties made him so hated by his contemporaries, that after his condemnation, many persons shut up their shops, and refused to open them till he was executed. This is mentioned by Walton, an eye-witness. See *Walton's Life of Sanderson*, in *Wordsworth's Eccles. Biog.* vol. iv. p. 429.

[24] A modern writer suggests, with exquisite simplicity, that Chillingworth derived his liberal principles *from* Oxford: 'the very same college which nursed the high intellect and tolerant principles of Chillingworth.' *Bowles's Life of Bishop Ken*, vol. i. p. xxi.

different to those of the established church. It is, indeed, a most remarkable proof of the prodigious energy of that great movement which was now going on, that its pressure should be felt under circumstances the most hostile to it which can possibly be conceived; and that a friend of Laud, and a fellow of Oxford, should, in a grave theological treatise, lay down principles utterly subversive of that theological spirit which for many centuries had enslaved the whole of Europe.

In this great work, all authority in matters of religion is openly set at defiance. Hooker, indeed, had appealed from the jurisdiction of the Fathers to the jurisdiction of reason; he had, however, been careful to add, that the reason of individuals ought to bow before that of the church, as we find it expressed in great Councils, and in the general voice of ecclesiastical tradition.[25] But Chillingworth would hear of none of these things. He would admit of no reservations which tended to limit the sacred right of private judgment. He not only went far beyond Hooker in neglecting the Fathers,[26] but he even ventured to despise the Councils. Although the sole object of his work was to decide on the conflicting claims of the two greatest sects into which the Christian Church has broken, he never quotes as authorities the Councils of that very church respecting which the disputes were agitated.[27] His strong and subtle intellect, penetrating the depths of

[25] Hooker's undue respect for the Councils of the Church is noticed by Mr. Hallam, *Const. Hist.* vol. i. p. 213. Compare the hesitating remarks in *Coleridge's Literary Remains*, vol. iii. pp. 35, 36.

[26] Reading the Fathers he contemptuously calls travelling on a 'north-west discovery.' *Chillingworth's Religion of Protestants*, p. 366. Even to Augustine, who was probably the ablest of them, Chillingworth pays no deference. See what he says at pp. 196, 333, 376; and as to the authority of the Fathers in general, see pp. 252, 346. Chillingworth observed, happily enough, that churchmen 'account them fathers when they are for them, and children when they are against them.' *Calamy's Life*, vol. i. p. 253.

[27] As to the supposed authority of Councils, see *Religion of Protestants*, pp. 132, 463. It affords curious evidence of the slow progress of theologians to observe the different spirit in which some of our clergy consider these matters. See, for instance, *Palmer on the Church*, 1839, vol. ii. pp. 150-171. In no other branch of inquiry do we find this obstinate determination to adhere to theories which all thinking men have rejected for the last two centuries.

the subject, despised that sort of controversy which had long busied the minds of men. In discussing the points upon which the Catholics and Protestants were at issue, he does not inquire whether the doctrines in question met the approval of the early church, but he asks if they are in accordance with human reason; and he does not hesitate to say that, however true they may be, no man is bound to believe them if he finds that they are repugnant to the dictates of his own understanding. Nor will he consent that faith should supply the absence of authority. Even this favourite principle of theologians is by Chillingworth made to yield to the supremacy of the human reason.[28] Reason, he says, gives us knowledge; while faith only gives us belief, which is a part of knowledge, and is, therefore, inferior to it. It is by reason, and not by faith, that we must discriminate in religious matters; and it is by reason alone that we can distinguish truth from falsehood. Finally, he solemnly reminds his readers, that in religious matters no one ought to be expected to draw strong conclusions from imperfect premises, or to credit improbable statements upon scanty evidence; still less, he says, was it ever intended that men should so prostitute their reason, as to believe with infallible faith that which they are unable to prove with infallible arguments.[29]

[28] Indeed, he attempts to fasten the same doctrine upon the Catholics; which, if he could have done, would of course have ended the controversy. He says, rather unfairly, 'Your church you admit, because you think you have reason to do so; so that by you, as well as Protestants, all is finally resolved into your own reason.' *Relig. of Protest.* p. 134.

[29] 'God desires only that we believe the conclusion, as much as the premises deserve; that the strength of our faith be equal or proportionable to the credibility of the motives to it.' *Relig. of Protest.* p. 66. 'For my part, I am certain that God hath given us our reason to discern between truth and falsehood; and he that makes not this use of it, but believes things he knows not why, I say it is by chance that he believes the truth, and not by choice; and I cannot but fear that God will not accept of this sacrifice of fools.' p. 133. 'God's spirit, if he please, may work more,—a certainty of adherence beyond a certainty of evidence; but neither God doth, nor man may, require of us, as our duty, to give a greater assent to the conclusion than the premises deserve; to build an infallible faith upon motives that are only highly credible and not infallible; as it were a great and heavy building upon a foundation that hath not strength proportionate.' p. 149. 'For faith is not knowledge, no more than three is four, but eminently contained in it; so that he that knows, believes, and some-

No one of ordinary reflection can fail to perceive the manifest tendency of these opinions. But what is more important to observe is, the process through which, in the march of civilization, the human mind had been obliged to pass before it could reach such elevated views. The Reformation, by destroying the dogma of an infallible church, had of course weakened the reverence which was paid to ecclesiastical antiquity. Still, such was the force of old associations, that our countrymen long continued to respect what they had ceased to venerate. Thus it was, that Jewel, though recognizing the supreme authority of the Bible, had, in cases where it was silent or ambiguous, anxiously appealed to the early church, by whose decision he supposed all difficulties could be easily cleared. He, therefore, only used his reason to ascertain the discrepancies which existed between Scripture and tradition; but when they did not clash, he paid what is now considered a superstitious deference to antiquity. Thirty years after him came Hooker;[30] who made a step in advance, and laying down principles from which Jewel would have shrunk with fear, did much to weaken that which it was reserved for Chillingworth utterly to destroy. Thus it is, that these three great men represent the three distinct epochs of the three successive generations in which they respectively lived. In Jewel, reason is, if I may so say, the superstructure of the system; but authority is the basis upon which the superstructure is built. In Hooker, authority is only the superstructure, and reason is the basis.[31] But in Chillingworth, whose writings were

thing more; but he that believes many times does not know—nay, if he doth barely and merely believe, he doth never know.' p. 412. See also p. 417.

[30] On the connexion between the Reformation and the views advocated in the *Ecclesiastical Polity*, compare *Newman's Development of Christian Doctrine*, p. 47, with some able remarks by Locke, in *King's Life of Locke*, vol. ii. pp. 99-101. Locke, who was anything but a friend to the church, was a great admirer of Hooker, and in one place calls him 'the arch-philosopher.' *Essay on Government*, in *Locke's Works*, vol. iv. p. 380.

[31] The opposition between Jewel and Hooker was so marked, that some of the opponents of Hooker quoted against him Jewel's Apology. See *Wordsworth's Eccl. Biog.* vol. iii. p. 513. Dr. Wordsworth calls this 'curious;' but it would be much more curious if it had not happened. Compare the re-

harbingers of the coming storm, authority entirely disappears, and the whole fabric of religion is made to rest upon the way in which the unaided reason of man shall interpret the decrees of an omnipotent God.

The immense success of this great work of Chillingworth, must have aided that movement of which it is itself an evidence.[32] It formed a decisive vindication of religious dissent;[33] and thus justified the breaking-up of the Anglican church, which the same generation lived to witness. Its fundamental principle was adopted by the most influential writers of the seventeenth century,—such as Hales, Owen, Taylor, Burnet, Tillotson, Locke, and even the cautious and time-serving Temple; all of whom insisted upon the authority of private judgment, as forming a tribunal from which no one had the power of appeal. The inference to be drawn from this seems obvious.[34] If the ultimate test of truth is individual judgment, and if no one can affirm that the judgments of men, which are often contradictory, can ever be infallible, it follows of necessity that there is no decisive criterion of religious truth. This is a melancholy, and, as I firmly believe, a most inaccurate conclusion; but it is one which every nation must entertain, before it can achieve that great work

marks made by the Bishop of Limerick (*Parr's Works*, vol. ii. p. 470, *Notes on the Spital Sermon*), who says, that Hooker 'opened that fountain of reason,' &c.; language which will hardly be considered too strong by those who have compared the *Ecclesiastical Polity* with the theological works previously produced by the English church.

[32] Des Maizeaux (*Life of Chillingworth*, pp. 220, 221) says: 'His book was received with a general applause; and, what perhaps never happened to any other controversial work of that bulk, two editions of it were published within less than five months. . . . The quick sale of a book, and especially of a book of controversy, in folio, is a good proof that the author hit the taste of his time.' See also *Biographia Britannica*, edit. Kippis, vol. iii. pp. 511, 512.

[33] Or, as Calamy cautiously puts it, Chillingworth's work 'appeared to me to go a great way towards the justifying of moderate conformity.' *Calamy's Life*, vol. i. p. 234. Compare *Palmer on the Church*, vol. i. pp. 267, 268; and what is probably an allusion to Chillingworth in *Doddridge's Correspond. and Diary*, vol. ii. p. 81. See also the opinion of Hobbes, in *Aubrey's Letters and Lives*, vol. ii. pp. 288, 629.

[34] A short but able view of the aspect which the English mind now began to assume, will be found in *Stäudlin, Geschichte der theologischen Wissenschaften*, vol. ii. pp. 95 seq.

of toleration, which, even in our own country, and in our own time, is not yet consummated. It is necessary that men should learn to doubt, before they begin to tolerate; and that they should recognize the fallibility of their own opinions, before they respect the opinions of their opponents.[35] This great process is far from being yet completed in any country; and the European mind, barely emerged from its early credulity, and from an overweening confidence in its own belief, is still in a middle, and, so to say, a probationary stage. When that stage shall be finally passed, when we shall have learned to estimate men solely by their character and their acts, and not at all by their theological dogmas, we shall then be able to form our religious opinions by that purely transcendental process, of which in every age glimpses have been granted to a few gifted minds. That this is the direction in which things are now hastening, must be clear to every one who has studied the progress of modern civilization. Within the short space of three centuries, the old theological spirit has been compelled, not only to descend from its long-established supremacy, but to abandon those strongholds to which, in the face of advancing knowledge, it has vainly attempted to secure a retreat. All its most cherished pretensions it has been forced gradually to relinquish.[36] And although in England a temporary prominence has recently been given to certain religious controversies, still the circumstances attending them show the alteration in

[35] In *Whately's Dangers to Christian Faith*, pp. 188-198, there is a perspicuous statement of the arguments now commonly received against coercing men for their religious opinions. But the most powerful of these arguments are based entirely upon expediency, which would have insured their rejection in an age of strong religious convictions. Some, and only some, of the theological difficulties respecting toleration, are noticed in *Coleridge's Lit. Remains*, vol. i. pp. 312-315; and in another work (*The Friend*, vol. i. p. 73), he mentions, what is the real fact, 'that same indifference which makes toleration so easy a virtue with us.' See also *Archdeacon Hare's Guesses at Truth*, 2nd series, 1848, p. 278; and *Nichols's Illustrations of Lit. Hist.* vol. v. p. 817: 'a spirit of mutual toleration and forbearance has appeared (at least one good consequence of religious indifference).'

[36] It would be idle to offer proofs of so notorious a fact; but the reader will be interested by some striking remarks in *Capefigue, Hist. de la Réforme*, vol. i. pp. 228, 229.

the character of the age. Disputes which, a century ago, would have set the whole kingdom in a flame, are now regarded with indifference by the vast majority of educated men. The complications of modern society, and the immense variety of interests into which it is divided, have done much to distract the intellect, and to prevent it from dwelling upon subjects which a less-occupied people would deem of paramount importance. Besides this, the accumulations of science are far superior to those of any former age, and offer suggestions of such surpassing interest, that nearly all our greatest thinkers devote to them the whole of their time, and refuse to busy themselves with matters of mere speculative belief. The consequence is, that what used to be considered the most important of all questions, is now abandoned to inferior men, who mimic the zeal, without possessing the influence of those really great divines whose works are among the glories of our early literature. These turbulent polemics have, indeed, distracted the church by their clamour, but they have not made the slightest impression upon the great body of English intellect; and an overwhelming majority of the nation is notoriously opposed to that monastic and ascetic religion which it is now vainly attempted to reconstruct. The truth is, that the time for these things has gone by. Theological interests have long ceased to be supreme; and the affairs of nations are no longer regulated according to ecclesiastical views.[37] In England,

[37] A writer intimately acquainted with the social condition of the great European countries, says: 'Ecclesiastical power is almost extinct as an active element in the political or social affairs of nations or of individuals, in the cabinet or in the family circle; and a new element, literary power, is taking its place in the government of the world.' *Laing's Denmark*, 1852, p. 82. On this natural tendency in regard to legislation, see *Meyer, Esprit des Institut. Judiciaires*, vol. i. p. 267 note; and a good summary in *Stäudlin, Gesch. der theolog. Wissenschaften*, vol. ii. pp. 304, 305. It is not surprising to find that many of the clergy complain of a movement so subversive of their own power. Compare *Ward's Ideal of a Christian Church*, pp. 40, 108-111, 388; *Sewell's Christian Politics*, pp. 276, 277, 279; *Palmer's Treatise on the Church*, vol. ii. p. 361. It is thus that everything is tending to confirm the remarkable prediction of Sir James Mackintosh, that 'church-power (unless some revolution, auspicious to priestcraft, should replunge Europe in ignorance) will certainly not survive the nineteenth century.' *Mem. of Mackintosh*, vol. i. p. 67.

where the march has been more rapid than elsewhere, this change is very observable. In every other department we have had a series of great and powerful thinkers, who have done honour to their country, and have won the admiration of mankind. But for more than a century, we have not produced a single original work in the whole field of controversial theology. For more than a century, the apathy on this subject has been so marked, that there has been made no addition of value to that immense mass of divinity which, among thinking men, is in every successive generation losing something of its former interest.[38]

[38] 'The "divines" in England at the present day, her bishops, professors, and prebendaries, are not theologians. They are logicians, chemists, skilled in the mathematics, historians, poor commentators upon Greek poets.' *Theodore Parker's Critical and Miscellaneous Writings*, 1848, p. 302. At p. 33, the same high authority says: 'But, within the present century, what has been written in the English tongue, in any department of theological scholarship, which is of value and makes a mark on the age? The *Bridgewater Treatises*, and the new edition of *Paley*,—we blush to confess it,—are the best things.' Sir William Hamilton (*Discussions on Philosophy*, 1852, p. 699) notices the decline of 'British theology,' though he appears ignorant of the cause of it. The Rev. Mr. Ward (*Ideal of a Christian Church*, p. 405) remarks, that 'we cannot wonder, however keenly we may mourn, at the decline and fall of dogmatic theology.' See also *Lord Jeffrey's Essays*, vol. iv. p. 337: 'Warburton, we think, was the last of our great divines. . . . The days of the Cudworths and Barrows, the Hookers and Taylors, are long gone by.' Dr. Parr was the only English theologian since Warburton who possessed sufficient learning to retrieve this position; but he always refused to do so, being, unconsciously to himself, held back by the spirit of his age. Thus, we find him writing to Archbishop Magee, in 1823: 'As to myself, I long ago determined not to take any active part in polemical theology.' *Parr's Works*, vol. vii. p. 11.

In the same way, since the early part of the eighteenth century, hardly any one has carefully read the Fathers, except for mere historical and secular purposes. The first step was taken about the middle of the seventeenth century, when the custom of quoting them in sermons began to be abandoned. *Burnet's Own Time*, vol. i. pp. 320, 330; *Orme's Life of Owen*, p. 184. After this they rapidly fell into contempt; and the Rev. Mr. Dowling (*Study of Ecclesiast. History*, p. 195) asserts, that 'Waterland, who died in 1740, was the last of our great patristical scholars.' To this I may add, that nine years subsequent to the death of Waterland, the obvious decay of professional learning struck Warburton, afterwards Bishop of Gloucester, so much, that he wrote to Jortin, somewhat roughly, 'anything makes a divine among our parsons.' See his *Letter*, written in 1749, in *Nichols's Illustrations of Lit. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 173; and for other evidence of the neglect by the clergy of their ancient studies, see *Jones's Memoirs of Horne, Bishop of Norwich*, pp. 68, 184; and the complaint of Dr. Knowler, in 1766, in *Nichols's Lit. Anec.* vol. ii. p. 130. Since then, attempts have been made at Oxford to remedy this tendency; but such attempts, being opposed by the general march of affairs, have been, and must be, futile. Indeed, so manifest is the

These are only some of the innumerable signs, which must be discerned by every man who is not blinded by the prejudices of an imperfect education. An immense majority of the clergy,—some from ambitious feelings, but the greater part, I believe, from conscientious motives,—are striving to check the progress of that scepticism which is now gathering in upon us from every quarter.[39] It is time that these well-intentioned, though mistaken, men should see the delusion under which they labour. That by which they are so much alarmed, is the intermediate step which leads from superstition to toleration. The higher order of minds have passed through this stage, and are approaching what is probably the ultimate form of the religious history of the human race. But the people at large, and even some of those who are commonly called educated men, are only now entering that earlier epoch in which scepticism[40] is the leading feature of the mind. So

inferiority of these recent efforts, that one of the most active cultivators in that field frankly admits, that, in point of knowledge, his own party has effected nothing; and he even asserts, with great bitterness, that 'it is melancholy to say it, but the chief, perhaps the only, English writer who has any claim to be considered an ecclesiastical historian, is the infidel Gibbon.' *Newman on the Development of Christian Doctrine*, p. 5.

39 As some writers, moved by their wishes rather than by their knowledge, seek to deny this, it may be well to observe, that the increase of scepticism since the latter part of the eighteenth century is attested by an immense mass of evidence, as will appear to whoever will compare the following authorities: *Whately's Dangers to Christian Faith*, p. 87; *Kay's Social Condition of the People*, vol. ii. p. 506; *Tocqueville, de la Démocratie*, vol. iii. p. 72; *J. H. Newman on Development*, pp. 28, 29; *F. W. Newman's Natural History of the Soul*, p. 197; *Parr's Works*, vol. ii. p. 5, vol. iii. pp. 688, 689; *Felkin's Moral Statistics*, in *Journal of Statist. Soc.* vol. i. p. 541; *Watson's Observations on the Life of Wesley*, pp. 155, 194; *Matter, Hist. du Gnosticisme*, vol. ii. p. 485; *Ward's Ideal of a Christian Church*, pp. 266, 267, 404; *Turner's Hist. of England*, vol. ii. pp. 129, 142, vol. iii. p. 509; *Priestley's Memoirs*, vol. i. pp. 127, 128, 446, vol. ii. p. 751; *Cappe's Memoirs*, p. 367; *Nichols's Lit. Anec. of Eighteenth Century*, vol. iv. p. 671, vol. viii. p. 473; *Nichols's Illust. of Lit. Hist.* vol. v. p. 640; *Combe's Notes on the United States*, vol. ii. pp. 171, 172, 183.

40 It has been suggested to me by an able friend, that there is a class of persons who will misunderstand this expression; and that there is another class who, without misunderstanding it, will intentionally misrepresent its meaning. Hence, it may be well to state distinctly what I wish to convey by the word 'scepticism.' By scepticism I merely mean hardness of belief; so that an increased scepticism is an increased perception of the difficulty of proving assertions; or, in other words, it is an increased application, and an increased diffusion, of the rules of reasoning, and of the laws of evidence.

far, therefore, from our apprehensions being excited by this rapidly-increasing spirit, we ought rather to do everything in our power to encourage that which, though painful to some, is salutary to all; because by it alone can religious bigotry be effectually destroyed. Nor ought we to be surprised that, before this can be done, a certain degree of suffering must first intervene.[41] If one age believes too much, it is but a natural reaction that another age should believe too little. Such are the imperfections of our nature, that we are compelled, by the very laws of its progress, to pass through those crises of scepticism and of mental distress, which to a vulgar eye are states of national decline and national shame; but which are only as the fire by which the gold must be purged before it can leave its dross in the pot of the refiner. To apply the imagery of the great allegorist, it is necessary that the

This feeling of hesitation and of suspended judgment has, in every department of thought, been the invariable preliminary to all the intellectual revolutions through which the human mind has passed; and without it, there could be no progress, no change, no civilization. In physics, it is the necessary precursor of science; in politics, of liberty; in theology, of toleration. These are the three leading forms of scepticism; it is, therefore, clear, that in religion the sceptic steers a middle course between atheism and orthodoxy, rejecting both extremes, because he sees that both are incapable of proof.

[41] What a learned historian has said of the effect which the method of Socrates produced on a very few Greek minds, is applicable to that state through which a great part of Europe is now passing: 'The Socratic dialectics, clearing away from the mind its mist of fancied knowledge, and laying bare the real ignorance, produced an immediate effect, like the touch of the torpedo. The newly-created consciousness of ignorance was alike unexpected, painful, and humiliating,—a season of doubt and discomfort, yet combined with an internal working and yearning after truth, never before experienced. Such intellectual quickening, which could never commence until the mind had been disabused of its original illusion of false knowledge, was considered by Socrates not merely as the index and precursor, but as the indispensable condition of future progress.' *Grote's Hist. of Greece*, vol. viii. pp. 614, 615, 8vo, 1851. Compare *Kritik der reinen Vernunft*, in *Kant's Werke*, vol. ii. pp. 572, 577: 'So ist der Skeptizismus ein Ruheplatz für die menschliche Vernunft, da sie sich über ihre dogmatische Wanderung besinnen und den Entwurf von der Gegend machen kann, wo sie sich befindet, um ihren Weg fernerhin mit mehrerer Sicherheit wählen zu können, aber nicht ein Wohnplatz zum beständigen Aufenthalte. . . . . . So ist das skeptische Verfahren zwar an sich selbst für die Vernunftfragen nicht befriedigend, aber doch vorübend, um ihre Vorsichtigkeit zu erwecken und auf gründliche Mittel zu weisen, die sie in ihren rechtmässigen Besitzen sichern können.'

poor pilgrim, laden with the weight of accumulated superstitions, should struggle through the Slough of Despond and the Valley of Death, before he can reach that glorious city, glittering with gold and with jewels, of which the first sight is sufficient recompense for his toils and his fears.

During the whole of the seventeenth century, this double movement of scepticism and of toleration continued to advance; though its progress was constantly checked by the two successors of Elizabeth, who in everything reversed the enlightened policy of the great queen. These princes exhausted their strength in struggling against the tendencies of an age they were unable to understand; but, happily, the spirit which they wished to quench had reached a height that mocked their control. At the same time, the march of the English mind was still further aided by the nature of those disputes which, during half a century, divided the country. In the reign of Elizabeth, the great contest had been between the church and its opponents; between those who were orthodox, and those who were heretical. But in the reigns of James and Charles, theology was for the first time merged in politics. It was no longer a struggle of creeds and dogmas; but it was a struggle between those who favoured the crown, and those who supported the parliament. The minds of men, thus fixed upon matters of real importance, neglected those inferior pursuits that had engrossed the attention of their fathers.[42] When, at length, public affairs had reached

[42] Dr. Arnold, whose keen eye noted this change, says (*Lectures on Modern History*, p. 232), 'What strikes us predominantly, is, that what, in Elizabeth's time, was a controversy between divines, was now a great political contest between the crown and the parliament.' The ordinary compilers, such as Sir A. Alison (*Hist. of Europe*, vol. i. p. 51), and others, have entirely misrepresented this movement; an error the more singular, because the eminently political character of the struggle was recognized by several contemporaries. Even Cromwell, notwithstanding the difficult game he had to play, distinctly stated, in 1655, that the origin of the war was not religious. See *Carlyle's Cromwell*, vol. iii. p. 103; and corroborative evidence in *Walker's History of Independency*, part i. p. 132. James I. also saw that the Puritans were more dangerous to the state than to the church: 'do not so far differ from us in points of religion, as in their confused form of policy and parity; being ever discontented with the present government,

their crisis, the hard fate of the king, which eventually advanced the interests of the throne, was most injurious to those of the church. There can, indeed, be no doubt that the circumstances connected with the execution of Charles, inflicted a blow upon the whole system of ecclesiastical authority, from which, in this country, it has never been able to recover. The violent death of the king excited the sympathies of the people; and by thus strengthening the hands of the royalists, hastened the restoration of the monarchy.[43] But the mere name of that great party which had risen to power, was suggestive of the change that, in a religious point of view, was taking place in the national mind. It was, indeed, no light thing, that England should be ruled by men who called themselves Independents; and who, under that title, not only beat back the pretensions of the clergy, but professed an unbounded contempt for all those rites and dogmas which the clergy had, during many centuries, continued to amass.[44] True it is, that the Independents did not always

and impatient to suffer any superiority; which maketh their sects insufferable in any well-governed commonwealth.' *Speech of James I.*, in *Parl. Hist.* vol. i. p. 982. See also the observations ascribed to De Foe, in *Somers Tracts*, vol. ix. p. 572: 'The king and parliament fell out about matters of civil right; . . . . the first difference between the king and the English parliament did not respect religion, but civil property.'

[43] See *Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion*, p. 716. Sir W. Temple, in his *Memoirs*, observes, that the throne of Charles II. was strengthened by 'what had passed in the last reign.' *Temple's Works*, vol. ii. p. 344. This may be illustrated by the remarks of M. Lamartine on the execution of Louis XVI. *Hist. des Girondins*, vol. v. pp. 86-7: 'Sa mort, au contraire, aliénait de la cause française cette partie immense des populations qui né juge les événements humains que par le cœur. La nature humaine est pathétique; la république l'oublia, elle donna à la royauté quelque chose du martyre, à la liberté quelque chose de la vengeance. Elle prépara ainsi une réaction contre la cause républicaine, et mit du côté de la royauté la sensibilité, l'intérêt, les larmes d'une partie des peuples.'

[44] The energy with which the House of Commons, in 1646, repelled the pretensions of 'the Assembly of Divines,' is one of many proofs of the determination of the predominant party not to allow ecclesiastical encroachments. See the remarkable details in *Parl. Hist.* vol. iii. pp. 459-463; see also p. 1305. As a natural consequence, the Independents were the first sect which, when possessed of power, advocated toleration. Compare *Orme's Life of Owen*, pp. 63-75, 102-111; *Somers Tracts*, vol. xii. p. 542; *Walker's Hist. of Independency*, part ii. pp. 50, 157, part iii. p. 22; *Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion*, pp. 610, 640. Some writers ascribe great merit to Jeremy Taylor for his advocacy of toleration (*Heber's Life of Taylor*, p. xxvii.; and

push to their full extent the consequences of their own doctrines.[45] Still, it was a great matter to have those doctrines recognized by the constituted authorities of the state. Besides this, it is important to remark, that the Puritans were more fanatical than superstitious.[46] They were so ignorant of the real principles of government, as to direct penal laws against private vices; and to suppose that immorality could be stemmed by legislation.[47] But, notwithstanding this serious error, they always resisted the aggressions even of their own clergy; and the destruction of the old episcopal hierarchy, though perhaps

Parr's Works, vol. iv. p. 417); but the truth is that when he wrote the famous *Liberty of Prophesying*, his enemies were in power; so that he was pleading for his own interests. When, however, the Church of England again obtained the upper hand, Taylor withdrew the concessions which he had made in the season of adversity. See the indignant remarks of Coleridge (*Lit. Remains*, vol. iii. p. 250), who, though a great admirer of Taylor, expresses himself strongly on this dereliction: see also a recently published *Letter to Percy, Bishop of Dromore*, in *Nichols's Illustrations of Lit. History*, vol. vii. p. 464.

[45] However, Bishop Short (*History of the Church of England*, 8vo, 1847, pp. 452, 458) says, what is undoubtedly true, that the hostility of Cromwell to the church was not theological, but political. The same remark is made by Bishop Kennet. *Note* in *Burton's Diary*, vol. ii. p. 479. See also *Vaughan's Cromwell*, vol. i. p. xcvii.; and on the generally tolerant spirit of this great man, see *Hallam's Const. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 14; and the evidence in *Harris's Lives of the Stuarts*, vol. iii. pp. 37-47. But the most distinct recognition of the principle, is in a *Letter from Cromwell to Major-General Crawford*, recently printed in *Carlyle's Cromwell*, vol. i. pp. 201, 202, 8vo, 1846. In it Cromwell writes, 'Sir, the state, in choosing men to serve it, takes no notice of their opinions; if they be willing faithfully to serve it—that satisfies.' See additional proof in *Carwithen's Hist. of the Church of England*, vol. ii. pp. 245, 249.

[46] No one can understand the real history of the Puritans, who does not take this into consideration. In the present Introduction, it is impossible to discuss so large a subject; and I must reserve it for the future part of this work, in which the history of England will be specially treated. In the mean time, I may mention, that the distinction between fanaticism and superstition is clearly indicated, but not analyzed, by Archbishop Whately, in his *Errors of Romanism traced to their Origin in Human Nature*, p. 49. This should be compared with *Hume's Philosophical Works*, vol. iii. pp. 81-89, Edinb. 1826, on the difference between enthusiasm and superstition; a difference which is noticed, but, as it appears to me, misunderstood, by Maclaine, in his *Additions to Mosheim's Ecclesiast. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 38.

[47] Compare *Barrington's Observations on the Statutes*, p. 143, with *Burton's Diary of the Parliaments of Cromwell*, vol. i. pp. xcviii. 145, 392, vol. ii. pp. 35, 229. In 1650, a second conviction of fornication was made felony, without benefit of clergy; but, after the Restoration, Charles II. and his friends found this law rather inconvenient; so it was repealed. See *Blackstone's Commentaries*, vol. iv. p. 65.

too hastily effected, must have produced many beneficial results. When the great party by whom these things were accomplished, was at length overthrown, the progress of events still continued to tend in the same direction. After the Restoration, the church, though reinstated in her ancient pomp, had evidently lost her ancient power.[48] At the same time, the new king, from levity, rather than from reason, despised the disputes of theologians, and treated questions of religion with what he considered a philosophic indifference.[49] The courtiers followed his example, and thought they could not err in imitating him, whom they regarded as the Lord's anointed. The results were such as must be familiar even to the most superficial readers of English literature. That grave and measured scepticism, by which the Independents had been characterized, lost all its decorum when it was transplanted into the ungenial atmosphere of a court. The men by whom the king was surrounded, were unequal to the difficulties of suspense; and they attempted to fortify their doubts by the blasphemous expression of a wild and desperate infidelity. With scarcely an exception, all those writers who were most favoured by Charles, exhausted the devices of their ribald spirit, in mocking a religion, of the nature of which they were profoundly ignorant. These impious buffooneries would, by themselves, have left no permanent impression on the age; but they deserve attention, because they were the corrupt and exaggerated representatives of

[48] See *Life of Ken, by a Layman*, edit. 1854, vol. i. p. 51. At p. 129, the same writer says, with sorrow, 'The church recovered much of her temporal possessions, but not her spiritual rule.' The power of the bishops was abridged 'by the destruction of the court of high-commission.' *Short's Hist. of the Church of England*, p. 595. See also, on the diminished influence of the Church-of-England clergy after the Restoration, *Southey's Life of Wesley*, vol. i. pp. 278, 279; and *Watson's Observations on the Life of Wesley*, pp. 129-131.

[49] Buckingham and Halifax, the two men who were perhaps best acquainted with Charles II., both declared that he was a deist. Compare *Lingard's Hist. of Engl.* vol. viii. p. 127, with *Harris's Lives of the Stuarts*, vol. v. p. 55. His subsequent conversion to Catholicism is exactly analogous to the increased devotion of Louis XIV. during the latter years of his life. In both cases, superstition was the natural refuge of a worn-out and discontented libertine, who had exhausted all the resources of the lowest and most grovelling pleasures.

a more general tendency. They were the unwholesome offspring of that spirit of disbelief, and of that daring revolt against authority, which characterized the most eminent Englishmen during the seventeenth century. It was this which caused Locke to be an innovator in his philosophy, and an Unitarian in his creed. It was this which made Newton a Socinian; which forced Milton to be the great enemy of the church, and which not only turned the poet into a rebel, but tainted with Arianism the *Paradise Lost*. In a word, it was the same contempt for tradition, and the same resolution to spurn the yoke, which, being first carried into philosophy by Bacon, was afterwards carried into politics by Cromwell; and which, during that very generation, was enforced in theology by Chillingworth, Owen, and Hales; in metaphysics by Hobbes and Glanvil; and in the theory of government by Harrington, Sydney, and Locke.

The progress which the English intellect was now making towards shaking off ancient superstitions,[50] was

[50] One of the most curious instances of this may be seen in the destruction of the old notions respecting witchcraft. This important revolution in our opinions was effected, so far as the educated classes are concerned, between the Restoration and the Revolution; that is to say, in 1660, the majority of educated men still believed in witchcraft; while in 1688, the majority disbelieved it. In 1665, the old orthodox view was stated by Chief-Baron Hale, who, on a trial of two women for witchcraft, said to the jury: 'That there are such creatures as witches, I make no doubt at all; for, first, the Scriptures have affirmed so much; secondly, the wisdom of all nations hath provided laws against such persons, which is an argument of their confidence of such a crime.' *Campbell's Lives of the Chief Justices*, vol. i. pp. 565, 566. This reasoning was irresistible, and the witches were hung; but the change in public opinion began to affect even the judges, and after this melancholy exhibition of the Chief-Baron, such scenes became gradually rarer; though Lord Campbell is mistaken in supposing (p. 563) that this was 'the last capital conviction in England for the crime of bewitching.' So far from this, three persons were executed at Exeter for witchcraft in 1682. See *Hutchinson's Historical Essay concerning Witchcraft*, 1720, pp. 56, 57. Hutchinson says: 'I suppose these are the last three that have been hanged in England.' If, however, one may rely upon a statement made by Dr. Parr, two witches were hung at Northampton in 1705; and in '1712, five other witches suffered the same fate at the same place.' *Parr's Works*, vol. iv. p. 182, 8vo, 1828. This is the more shameful, because, as I shall hereafter prove, from the literature of that time, a disbelief in the existence of witches had become almost universal among educated men; though the old superstition was still defended on the judgment-seat and in the pulpit. As to the opinions of the clergy, compare *Cudworth's Intellect. Syst.* vol. iii.

still further aided by the extraordinary zeal displayed in the cultivation of the physical sciences. This, like all great social movements, is clearly traceable to the events by which it was preceded. It was partly cause, and partly effect, of the increasing incredulity of the age. The scepticism of the educated classes made them dissatisfied with those long-established opinions, which only rested on unsupported authority; and this gave rise to a desire to ascertain how far such notions might be verified or refuted by the real condition of things. A curious instance of the rapid progress of this spirit may be found in the works of an author who was one of the most eminent among the mere literary men of his time. While the Civil War was barely decided, and three years before the execution of the king, Sir Thomas Browne published his celebrated work, called *Inquiries into Vulgar and Common Errors.*[51] This able and learned production has the merit of anticipating some of those results which more modern inquirers have obtained;[52] but it is chiefly remarkable, as being the first systematic and deliberate onslaught ever made in England upon those superstitious fancies which were then prevalent respecting the external world. And what is still more interesting is, that the circumstances under which it appeared make it evident, that while the

pp. 345, 348; *Vernon Correspond.* vol. ii. pp. 302, 303; *Burt's Letters from the North of Scotland,* vol. i. pp. 220, 221; *Wesley's Journals,* pp. 602, 713. Wesley, who had more influence than all the bishops put together, says: 'It is true, likewise, that the English in general, and, indeed, most of the men of learning in Europe, have given up all accounts of witches and apparitions as mere old wives' fables. I am sorry for it. . . . . The giving up witchcraft is, in effect, giving up the Bible. . . . . But I cannot give up, to all the Deists in Great Britain, the existence of witchcraft, till I give up the credit of all history, sacred and profane.'

However, all was in vain. Every year diminished the old belief; and in 1736, a generation before Wesley had recorded these opinions, the laws against witchcraft were repealed, and another vestige of superstition effaced from the English statute-book. See *Barrington on the Statutes,* p. 407; *Note* in *Burton's Diary,* vol. i. p. 26; *Harris's Life of Hardwicke,* vol. i. p. 307.

To this it may be interesting to add, that in Spain a witch was burned so late as 1781. *Ticknor's Hist. of Spanish Literature,* vol. iii. p. 238.

[51] The first edition was published in 1646. *Works of Sir Thomas Browne,* vol. ii. p. 163.

[52] See the notes in Mr. Wilkin's edition of *Browne's Works,* Lond. 1836, vol. ii. pp. 284, 360, 361.

learning and genius of the author belonged to himself, the scepticism which he displayed respecting popular belief was forced on him by the pressure of the age.

In or about 1633, when the throne was still occupied by a superstitious prince; when the Church of England was at the height of her apparent power; and when men were incessantly persecuted for their religious opinions—this same Sir Thomas Browne wrote his *Religio Medici*,[53] in which we find all the qualities of his later work, except the scepticism. Indeed, in the *Religio Medici*, there is shown a credulity that must have secured the sympathy of those classes which were then dominant. Of all the prejudices which at that time were deemed an essential part of the popular creed, there was not one which Browne ventured to deny. He announces his belief in the philosopher's stone;[54] in spirits, and tutelary angels;[55] and in palmistry.[56] He not only peremptorily affirms the reality of witches, but he says that those who deny their existence are not merely infidels, but atheists.[57] He carefully tells us that he reckons his nativity, not from his birth, but from his baptism; for before he was baptized, he could not be said to exist.[58] To these touches of wisdom, he moreover adds, that the more improbable any proposition is, the greater his willingness to assent to it; but that when a thing is actually impossible, he is on that very account prepared to believe it.[59]

[53] The precise date is unknown; but Mr. Wilkin supposes that it was written 'between the years 1633 and 1635.' Preface to *Religio Medici*, in *Browne's Works*, vol. ii. p. iv.

[54] Ibid. vol. ii. p. 58.

[55] Ibid. vol. ii. p. 47.

[56] Or, as he calls it, 'chiromancy.' Ibid. vol. ii. p. 89.

[57] 'For my part, I have ever believed, and do now know, that there are witches. They that doubt of these, do not only deny them, but spirits; and are obliquely, and upon consequence, a sort, not of infidels, but atheists.' Ibid. vol. ii. pp. 43, 44.

[58] 'From this I do compute or calculate my nativity.' Ibid. vol. ii. p. 64.

[59] *Religio Medici*, sec. ix. in *Browne's Works*, vol. ii. pp. 13, 14: unfortunately too long to extract. This is the 'credo quia impossibile est,' originally one of Tertullian's absurdities, and once quoted in the House of Lords by the Duke of Argyle, as 'the ancient religious maxim.' *Parl. Hist.* vol. xi. p. 802. Compare the sarcastic remark on this maxim in the *Essay concerning Human Understanding*, book iv. chap. xviii. *Locke's Works*, vol. ii.

Such were the opinions put forth by Sir Thomas Browne in the first of the two great works he presented to the world. But in his *Inquiries into Vulgar Errors*, there is displayed a spirit so entirely different, that if it were not for the most decisive evidence, we could hardly believe it to be written by the same man. The truth, however, is, that during the twelve years which elapsed between the two works, there was completed that vast social and intellectual revolution, of which the overthrow of the church and the execution of the king were but minor incidents. We know from the literature, from the private correspondence, and from the public acts of that time, how impossible it was, even for the strongest minds, to escape the effects of the general intoxication. No wonder, then, that Browne, who certainly was inferior to several of his contemporaries, should have been affected by a movement which they were unable to resist. It would have been strange, indeed, if he alone had remained uninfluenced by that sceptical spirit, which, because it had been arbitrarily repressed, had now broken all bounds, and in the reaction soon swept away those institutions which vainly attempted to stop its course.

It is in this point of view that a comparison of the two works becomes highly interesting, and, indeed, very important. In this, his later production, we hear no more about believing things because they are impossible; but we are told of 'the two great pillars of truth, experience and solid reason.'[60] We are also reminded that one main cause of error is 'adherence unto authority;'[61] that another is, 'neglect of inquiry;'[62] and, strange to say, that a third is 'credulity.'[63] All this was not very consistent

p. 271. It was the spirit embodied in this sentence which supplied Celsus with some formidable arguments against the Fathers. *Neander's Hist. of the Church*, vol. i. pp. 227, 228.

60 *Inquiries into Vulgar and Common Errors*, book iii. chap. xxviii. in *Browne's Works*, vol. ii. p. 534.

61 Ibid. book i. chap. vii. vol. ii. p. 225.

62 'A supinity, or neglect of inquiry.' Ibid. book i. chap. v. vol. ii. p. 211.

63 'A third cause of common errors is the credulity of men.' Book i. chap. v. vol. ii. p. 208.

with the old theological spirit; and we need not, therefore, be surprised that Browne not only exposes some of the innumerable blunders of the Fathers,[64] but, after speaking of errors in general, curtly adds: 'Many others there are, which we resign unto divinity, and perhaps deserve not controversy.'[65]

The difference between these two works is no bad measure of the rapidity of that vast movement which, in the middle of the seventeenth century, was seen in every branch of practical and speculative life. After the death of Bacon, one of the most distinguished Englishmen was certainly Boyle, who, if compared with his contemporaries, may be said to rank immediately below Newton, though, of course, very inferior to him as an original thinker.[66] With the additions he made to our knowledge we are not immediately concerned; but it may be mentioned, that he was the first who instituted exact experiments into the relation between colour and heat;[67] and by this means, not only ascertained some very important facts, but laid a foundation for that union between optics and thermotics, which, though not yet completed, now merely waits for some great philosopher to strike out a generalization large enough to cover both, and thus fuse the two sciences into a single study. It is also to Boyle, more than to any other Englishman, that we owe the science of hydrostatics, in the state in which we now possess it.[68] He is the original discoverer of that beautiful law, so fertile in valuable results, according to which the elasticity of air varies

[64] See two amusing instances in vol. ii. pp. 267, 438.

[65] *Vulgar and Common Errors*, book vii. chap. xi., in *Browne's Works*, vol. iii. p. 326.

[66] Monk (*Life of Bentley*, vol. i. p. 37) says, that Boyle's discoveries 'have placed his name in a rank second only to that of Newton;' and this, I believe, is true, notwithstanding the immense superiority of Newton.

[67] Compare *Powell on Radiant Heat* (*Brit. Assoc.* vol. i.), p. 287, with *Lloyd's Report on Physical Optics*, 1834, p. 338. For the remarks on colours, see *Boyle's Works*, vol. ii. pp. 1-40; and for the account of his experiments, pp. 41-80; and a slight notice in *Brewster's Life of Newton*, vol. i. pp. 155, 156, 236. It is, I think, not generally known, that Power is said to be indebted to Boyle for originating some of his experiments on colours. See a letter from Hooke, in *Boyle's Works*, vol. v. p. 533.

[68] Dr. Whewell (*Bridgewater Treatise*, p. 266) well observes, that Boyle and Pascal are to hydrostatics what Galileo is to mechanics, and Coper-

as its density.[69] And, in the opinion of one of the most eminent modern naturalists, it was Boyle who opened up those chemical inquiries, which went on accumulating until, a century later, they supplied the means by which Lavoisier and his contemporaries fixed the real basis of chemistry, and enabled it for the first time to take its proper stand among those sciences that deal with the external world.[70]

The application of these discoveries to the happiness of Man, and particularly to what may be called the material interests of civilization, will be traced in another part of this work; but what I now wish to observe, is the way in which such investigations harmonized with the movement I am attempting to describe. In the whole of his physical inquiries, Boyle constantly insists upon two fundamental principles: namely, the importance of individual experiments, and the comparative unimportance of the facts which, on these subjects, antiquity has handed

nicus, Kepler, and Newton to astronomy. See also on Boyle, as the founder of hydrostatics, *Thomson's Hist. of the Royal Society*, pp. 397, 398; and his *Hist. of Chemistry*, vol. i. p. 204.

[69] This was discovered by Boyle about 1650, and confirmed by Mariotte in 1676. See *Whewell's Hist. of the Inductive Sciences*, vol. ii. pp. 557, 588; *Thomson's Hist. of Chemistry*, vol. i. p. 215; *Turner's Chemistry*, vol. i. pp. 41, 200; *Brande's Chemistry*, vol. i. p. 363. This law has been empirically verified by the French Institute, and found to hold good for a pressure even of twenty-seven atmospheres. See *Challis on the Mathematical Theory of Fluids*, in *Sixth Report of Brit. Assoc.* p. 226; and *Herschel's Nat. Philos.* p. 231. Although Boyle preceded Mariotte by a quarter of a century, the discovery is rather unfairly called the law of Boyle and Mariotte; while foreign writers, refining on this, frequently omit the name of Boyle altogether, and term it the law of Mariotte! See, for instance, *Liebig's Letters on Chemistry*, p. 126; *Monteil, Divers Etats*, vol. viii. p. 122; *Kaemtz's Meteorology*, p. 236; *Comte, Philos. Pos.* vol. i. pp. 583, 645, vol. ii. pp. 484, 615; *Pouillet, Elémens de Physique*, vol. i. p. 330, vol. ii. pp. 58, 183.

[70] 'L'un des créateurs de la physique expérimentale, l'illustre Robert Boyle, avait aussi reconnu, dès le milieu du dix-septième siècle, une grande partie des faits qui servent aujourd'hui de base à cette chimie nouvelle.' *Cuvier, Progrès des Sciences*, vol. i. p. 30. The 'aussi' refers to Rey. See also *Cuvier, Hist. des Sciences Naturelles*, part ii. pp. 322, 346-349. A still more recent writer says, that Boyle 'stood, in fact, on the very brink of the pneumatic chemistry of Priestley; he had in his hand the key to the great discovery of Lavoisier.' *Johnston on Dimorphous Bodies*, in *Reports of Brit. Assoc.* vol. vi. p. 163. See further respecting Boyle, *Robin et Verdeil, Chimie Anatomique*, Paris, 1853, vol. i. pp. 576, 577, 579, vol. ii. p. 24; and *Sprengel, Hist. de la Médecine*, vol. iv. p. 177.

down.[71] These are the two great keys to his method: they are the views which he inherited from Bacon, and they are also the views which have been held by every man who, during the last two centuries, has added anything of moment to the stock of human knowledge. First to doubt,[72] then to inquire, and then to discover, has been the process universally followed by our great teachers. So strongly did Boyle feel this, that though he was an eminently religious man,[73] he gave to the most popular of his scientific works the title of *The Sceptical Chemist*; meaning to intimate, that until men were sceptical concerning the chemistry of their own time, it would be impossible that they should advance far in the career which lay before them. Nor can we fail to observe that this remarkable work, in which such havoc was made with old notions, was published in 1661,[74] the year after the acces-

[71] This disregard of ancient authority appears so constantly in his works, that it is difficult to choose among innumerable passages which might be quoted. I will select one which strikes me as well expressed, and is certainly very characteristic. In his *Free Inquiry into the vulgarly received Notion of Nature*, he says (*Boyle's Works*, vol. iv. p. 359), 'For I am wont to judge of opinions as of coins: I consider much less, in any one that I am to receive, whose inscription it bears, than what metal it is made of. It is indifferent enough to me whether it was stamped many years or ages since, or came but yesterday from the mint.' In other places he speaks of the 'schoolmen' and 'gownmen' with a contempt not much inferior to that expressed by Locke himself.

[72] In his *Considerations touching Experimental Essays*, he says (*Boyle's Works*, vol. i. p. 197), 'Perhaps you will wonder, Pyrophilus, that in almost every one of the following essays I should speak so doubtingly, and use so often *perhaps, it seems, it is not improbable*, and such other expressions as argue a diffidence of the truth of the opinions I incline to,' &c. Indeed, this spirit is seen at every turn. Thus his *Essay on Crystals*, which, considering the then state of knowledge, is a remarkable production, is entitled 'Doubts and Experiments touching the curious Figures of Salts.' *Works*, vol. ii. p. 488. It is, therefore, with good reason that M. Humboldt terms him 'the cautious and doubting Robert Boyle.' *Humboldt's Cosmos*, vol. ii. p. 730.

[73] On the sincere Christianity of Boyle, compare *Burnet's Lives and Characters*, edit. Jebb, 1833, pp. 351-360; *Life of Ken, by a Layman*, vol. i. pp. 32, 33; *Whewell's Bridgewater Treatise*, p. 273. He made several attempts to reconcile the scientific method with the defence of established religious opinions. See one of the best instances of this, in *Boyle's Works*, vol. v. pp. 38, 39.

[74] The *Sceptical Chemist* is in *Boyle's Works*, vol. i. pp. 290-371. It went through two editions in the author's lifetime, an unusual success for a book of that kind. *Boyle's Works*, vol. i. p. 375, vol. iv. p. 89, vol. v. p. 345. I find, from a letter written in 1696 (*Fairfax Correspondence*, vol. iv. p. 344),

sion of Charles II., in whose reign the spread of incredulity was indeed rapid, since it was seen not only among the intellectual classes, but even among the nobles and personal friends of the king. It is true, that in that rank of society, it assumed an offensive and degenerate form. But the movement must have been one of no common energy, which, in so early a stage, could thus penetrate the recesses of the palace, and excite the minds of the courtiers; a lazy and feeble race, who from the frivolity of their habits are, under ordinary circumstances, predisposed to superstition, and prepared to believe whatever the wisdom of their fathers has bequeathed to them.

In everything this tendency was now seen. Everything marked a growing determination to subordinate old notions to new inquiries. At the very moment when Boyle was prosecuting his labours, Charles II. incorporated the Royal Society, which was formed with the avowed object of increasing knowledge by direct experiment.[75] And it is well worthy of remark, that the charter now first granted to this celebrated institution declares that its object is the extension of natural knowledge, as opposed to that which is supernatural.[76]

that Boyle's works were then becoming scarce, and that there was an intention of reprinting the whole of them. In regard to the *Sceptical Chemist*, it was so popular, that it attracted the attention of Monconys, a French traveller, who visited London in 1663, and from whom we learn that it was to be bought for four shillings, 'pour quatre chelins.' *Voyages de Monconys*, vol. iii. p. 67, edit. 1695; a book containing some very curious facts respecting London in the reign of Charles II.; but, so far as I am aware, not quoted by any English historian. In *Sprengel's Hist. de la Médecine*, vol. v. pp. 78-9, there is a summary of the views advocated in the *Sceptical Chemist*, respecting which Sprengel says, 'Ce fut cependant aussi en Angleterre que s'élevèrent les premiers doutes sur l'exactitude des explications chimiques.'

[75] 'From the nature and constitution of the Royal Society, the objects of their attention were necessarily unlimited. The physical sciences, however, or those which are promoted by experiment, were their declared objects; and experiment was the method which they professed to follow in accomplishing their purpose.' *Thomson's Hist. of the Royal Society*, p. 6. When the society was first instituted, experiments were so unusual, that there was a difficulty of finding the necessary workmen in London. See a curious passage in *Weld's Hist. of the Royal Society*, 1848, vol. ii. p. 88.

[76] Dr. Paris (*Life of Sir H. Davy*, 1831, vol. ii. p. 178) says, 'The charter of the Royal Society states, that it was established for the improvement of *natural* science. This epithet *natural* was originally intended to imply a meaning, of which very few persons, I believe, are aware. At the period of

It is easy to imagine with what terror and disgust these things were viewed by those inordinate admirers of antiquity, who, solely occupied in venerating past ages, are unable either to respect the present or hope for the future. These great obstructors of mankind played, in the seventeenth century, the same part as they play in our own day, rejecting every novelty, and therefore opposing every improvement. The angry contest which arose between the two parties, and the hostility directed against the Royal Society, as the first institution in which the idea of progress was distinctly embodied, are among the most instructive parts of our history, and on another occasion I shall relate them at considerable length. At present it is enough to say, that the reactionary party, though led by an overwhelming majority of the clergy, was entirely defeated; as, indeed, was to be expected, seeing that their opponents had on their side nearly all the intellect of the country, and were moreover reinforced by such aid as the court could bestow. The progress was, in truth, so rapid, as to carry away with it some of the ablest members even of the ecclesiastical profession; their love of knowledge proving too strong for the old traditions in which they had been bred. But these were exceptional cases, and, speaking generally, there is no doubt that in the reign of Charles II. the antagonism between physical science and the theological spirit was such as to induce nearly the whole of the clergy to array themselves against the science, and seek to bring it into discredit. Nor ought we to be surprised that they should have adopted this course. That inquisitive and experimental spirit which they wished to check, was not only offensive to their prejudices, but it was also detrimental to their power. For in the first

the establishment of the society, the arts of witchcraft and divination were very extensively encouraged; and the word *natural* was therefore introduced in contradistinction to *supernatural*.' The charters granted by Charles II. are printed in *Weld's History of the Royal Society*, vol. ii. pp. 481-521. Evelyn (*Diary*, 13 *Aug*. 1662, vol. ii. p. 195) mentions, that the object of the Royal Society was 'natural knowledge.' See also *Aubrey's Letters and Lives*, vol. ii. p. 358; *Pulteney's Hist. of Botany*, vol. ii. pp. 97, 98; and on the distinction thus established in the popular mind between natural and supernatural, compare *Boyle's Works*, vol. ii. p. 455, vol. iv. pp. 288, 359.

place, the mere habit of cultivating physical science taught men to require a severity of proof which it was soon found that the clergy were, in their own department, unable to supply. And in the second place, the additions made to physical knowledge opened new fields of thought, and thus tended still further to divert attention from ecclesiastical topics. Both these effects would of course be limited to the comparatively few persons who were interested in scientific inquiries: it is, however, to be observed, that the ultimate results of such inquiries must have been extended over a far wider surface. This may be called their secondary influence; and the way in which it operated is well worth our attention, because an acquaintance with it will go far to explain the reason of that marked opposition which has always existed between superstition and knowledge.

It is evident, that a nation perfectly ignorant of physical laws, will refer to supernatural causes all the phenomena by which it is surrounded.[77] But so soon as natural science begins to do its work, there are introduced the elements of a great change. Each successive discovery, by ascertaining the law that governs certain events, deprives them of that apparent mystery in which they were formerly involved.[78] The love of the marvellous becomes

[77] The speculative view of this tendency has been recently illustrated in the most comprehensive manner by M. Auguste Comte, in his *Philosophie Positive*; and his conclusions in regard to the earliest stage of the human mind are confirmed by everything we know of barbarous nations; and they are also confirmed, as he has decisively proved, by the history of physical science. In addition to the facts he has adduced, I may mention, that the history of geology supplies evidence analogous to that which he has collected from other departments.

A popular notion of the working of this belief in supernatural causation may be seen in a circumstance related by Combe. He says, that in the middle of the eighteenth century the country west of Edinburgh was so unhealthy, 'that every spring the farmers and their servants were seized with fever and ague.' As long as the cause of this was unknown, 'these visitations were believed to be sent by Providence;' but after a time the land was drained, the ague disappeared, and the inhabitants perceived that what they had believed to be supernatural was perfectly natural, and that the cause was the state of the land, not the intervention of the Deity. *Combe's Constitution of Man*, Edinb. 1847, p. 156.

[78] I say apparent mystery, because it does not at all lessen the real mystery. But this does not affect the accuracy of my remark, inasmuch as

proportionably diminished; and when any science has made such progress as to enable those who are acquainted with it to foretell the events with which it deals, it is clear that the whole of those events are at once withdrawn from the jurisdiction of supernatural, and brought under the authority of natural powers.[79] The business of physical philosophy is, to explain external phenomena with a view to their prediction; and every successful prediction which is recognised by the people, causes a disruption of one of those links which, as it were, bind the imagination to the occult and invisible world. Hence it is that, supposing other things equal, the superstition of a nation must always bear an exact proportion to the extent of its physical knowledge. This may be in some degree verified by the ordinary experience of mankind. For if we compare the different classes of society, we shall find that they are

the people at large never enter into such subtleties as the difference between Law and Cause; a difference, indeed, which is so neglected, that it is often lost sight of even in scientific books. All that the people know is, that events which they once believed to be directly controlled by the Deity, and modified by Him, are not only foretold by the human mind, but are altered by human interference. The attempts which Paley and others have made to solve this mystery by rising from the laws to the cause, are evidently futile, because to the eye of reason the solution is as incomprehensible as the problem; and the arguments of the natural theologians, in so far as they are arguments, must depend on reason. As Mr. Newman truly says, 'A God uncaused and existing from eternity, is to the full as incomprehensible as a world uncaused and existing from eternity. We must not reject the latter theory as incomprehensible; for so is every other possible theory.' *Newman's Natural History of the Soul*, 1849, p. 36. The truth of this conclusion is unintentionally confirmed by the defence of the old method, which is set up by Dr. Whewell in his *Bridgewater Treatise*, pp. 262-5; because the remarks made by that able writer refer to men who, from their vast powers, were most likely to rise to that transcendental view of religion which is slowly but steadily gaining ground among us. Kant, probably the deepest thinker of the eighteenth century, clearly saw that no arguments drawn from the external world could prove the existence of a First Cause. See, among other passages, two particularly remarkable in *Kritik der reinen Vernunft*, *Kant's Werke*, vol. ii. pp. 478, 481, on 'der physikotheologische Beweis.'

[79] This is tersely expressed by M. Lamennais: 'Pourquoi les corps gravitent-ils les uns vers les autres? Parceque Dieu l'a voulu, disaient les anciens. Parceque les corps s'attirent, dit la science.' *Maury, Légendes du Moyen Age*, p. 33. See to the same effect *Mackay's Religious Development*, 1850, vol. i. pp. 5, 30, 31, and elsewhere. See also a partial statement of the antithesis in *Copleston's Inquiry into Necessity and Predestination*, p. 49; an ingenious but overrated book.

superstitious in proportion as the phenomena with which they are brought in contact, have or have not been explained by natural laws. The credulity of sailors is notorious, and every literature contains evidence of the multiplicity of their superstitions, and of the tenacity with which they cling to them.[80] This is perfectly explicable by the principle I have laid down. Meteorology has not yet been raised to a science; and the laws which regulate winds and storms being in consequence still unknown, it naturally follows, that the class of men most exposed to their dangers should be precisely the class which is most superstitious.[81] On the other hand, soldiers live upon an element much more obedient to man, and they are less liable than sailors to those risks which defy the calculations of science. Soldiers, therefore, have fewer inducements to appeal to supernatural interference; and it is universally observed, that as a body they are less superstitious than sailors. If, again, we compare agriculturists with manufacturers, we shall see the operation of the same principle. To the cultivators of land, one of the most important circumstances is the weather, which, if it turn out unfavourable, may at once defeat all their calculations. But science not having yet succeeded in discovering the laws of rain, men are at present unable to foretell it for

[80] I much regret that I did not collect proof of this at an earlier period of my reading. But having omitted taking the requisite notes, I can only refer, on the superstition of sailors, to *Heber's Journey through India*, vol. i. p. 423; *Richardson's Travels in the Sahara*, vol. i. p. 11; *Burckhardt's Travels in Arabia*, vol. ii. p. 347; *Davis's Chinese*, vol. iii. pp. 16, 17; *Travels of Ibn Batuta in the Fourteenth Century*, p. 43; *Journal of Asiat. Soc.* vol. i. p. 9; *Works of Sir Thomas Browne*, vol. i. p. 130; *Alison's Hist. of Europe*, vol. iv. p. 566; *Burnes's Travels into Bokhara*, vol. iii. p. 53; *Leigh Hunt's Autobiography*, 1850, vol. ii. p. 255; *Cumberland's Memoirs*, 1807, vol. i. pp. 422-425; *Walsh's Brazil*, vol. i. pp. 96, 97; *Richardson's Arctic Expedition*, vol. i. p. 93; *Holcroft's Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 207, vol. iii. p. 197.

[81] Andokides, when accused before the dikastery at Athens, said, 'No, dikasts; the dangers of accusation and trial are human, but the dangers encountered at sea are divine.' *Grote's Hist. of Greece*, vol. xi. p. 252. Thus, too, it has been observed, that the dangers of the whale-fishery stimulated the superstition of the Anglo-Saxons. See *Kemble's Saxons in England*, vol. i. pp. 390, 391. Erman, who mentions the dangerous navigation of the Lake of Baikal, says, 'There is a saying at Irkutsk, that it is only upon the Baikal, in the autumn, that a man learns to pray from his heart.' *Erman's Travels in Siberia*, vol. ii. p. 186.

any considerable period; the inhabitant of the country is, therefore, driven to believe that it is the result of supernatural agency, and we still see the extraordinary spectacle of prayers offered up in our churches for dry weather or for wet weather; a superstition which to future ages will appear as childish as the feelings of pious awe with which our fathers regarded the presence of a comet, or the approach of an eclipse. We are now acquainted with the laws which determine the movements of comets and eclipses; and as we are able to predict their appearance, we have ceased to pray that we may be preserved from them.[82] But because our researches into the phenomena of rain happen to have been less successful,[83] we

[82] In Europe, in the tenth century, an entire army fled before one of those appearances, which would now scarcely terrify a child: 'Toute l'armée d'Othon se dispersa subitement à l'apparition d'une éclipse de soleil, qui la remplit de terreur, et qui fut regardée comme l'annonce du malheur qu'on attendait depuis long-temps.' *Sprengel, Hist. de la Médecine*, vol. ii. p. 368. The terror inspired by eclipses was not finally destroyed before the eighteenth century; and in the latter half of the seventeenth century they still caused great fear both in France and in England. See *Evelyn's Diary*, vol. ii. p. 52, vol. iii. p. 372; *Carlyle's Cromwell*, vol. ii. p. 366; *Lettres de Patin*, vol. iii. p. 36. Compare *Voyages de Monconys*, vol. v. p. 104, with *Hare's Guesses at Truth*, 2nd series, pp. 194, 195. There probably never has been an ignorant nation whose superstition has not been excited by eclipses. For evidence of the universality of this feeling, see *Symes's Embassy to Ava*, vol. ii. p. 296; *Raffles' Hist. of Java*, vol. i. p. 530; *Southey's Hist. of Brazil*, vol. i. p. 354, vol. ii. p. 371; *Marsden's Hist. of Sumatra*, p. 159; *Niebuhr, Description de l'Arabie*, p. 105; *Moffat's Southern Africa*, p. 337; *Mungo Park's Travels*, vol. i. p. 414; *Moorcroft's Travels in the Himalayan Provinces*, vol. ii. p. 4; *Crawfurd's Hist. of the Indian Archipelago*, vol. i. p. 305; *Ellis's Polynesian Researches*, vol. i. p. 331; *Mackay's Religious Development*, vol. i. p. 425; *Works of Sir W. Jones*, vol. iii. p. 176, vol. vi. p. 16; *Wilson's Note* in the *Vishnu Purana*, p. 140; *Wilson's Theatre of the Hindus*, vol. i. part ii. p. 90; *Montucla, Hist. des Mathématiques*, vol. i. p. 444; *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xii. p. 484; *Ward's View of the Hindoos*, vol. i. p. 101; *Prescott's Hist. of Peru*, vol. i. p. 123; *Kohl's Russia*, p. 374; *Thirlwall's Hist. of Greece*, vol. iii. p. 440, vol. vi. p. 216; *Murray's Life of Bruce*, p. 103; *Turner's Embassy to Tibet*, p. 289; *Grote's Hist. of Greece*, vol. vii. p. 432, vol. xii. pp. 205, 557; *Journal Asiatique*, I. série, vol. iii. p. 202, Paris, 1823; *Clot-Bey, de la Peste*, Paris, 1840, p. 224.

In regard to the feelings inspired by comets, and the influence of Bayle in removing those superstitions late in the seventeenth century, compare *Tennemann, Gesch. der Philosoph.* vol. xi. p. 252; *Le Vassor, Hist. de Louis XIII*, vol. iii. p. 415; *Lettres de Sevigné*, vol. iv. p. 336; *Autobiography of Sir S. D'Ewes*, edit. Halliwell, vol. i. pp. 122, 123, 136.

[83] On the peculiar complications which have retarded meteorology, and thus prevented us from accurately predicting the weather, compare *Forbes on Meteorology*, in *Second Report of British Association*, pp. 249-251; *Cuvier*,

resort to the impious contrivance of calling in the aid of the Deity to supply those deficiencies in science which are the result of our own sloth; and we are not ashamed, in our public churches, to prostitute the rites of religion by using them as a cloak to conceal an ignorance we ought frankly to confess.[84] The agriculturist is thus taught to

Progrès des Sciences, vol. i. pp. 69, 248; *Kaemtz's Meteorology*, pp. 2-4; *Prout's Bridgewater Treatise*, pp. 290-295; *Somerville's Physical Geog.* vol. ii. pp. 18, 19. But all the best authorities are agreed that this ignorance cannot last long; and that the constant advance which we are now making in physical science will eventually enable us to explain even these phenomena. Thus, for instance, Sir John Leslie says, 'It cannot be disputed, however, that all the changes which happen in the mass of our atmosphere, involved, capricious, and irregular as they may appear, are yet the necessary results of principles as fixed, and perhaps as simple, as those which direct the revolutions of the solar system. Could we unravel the intricate maze, we might trace the action of each distinct cause, and hence deduce the ultimate effects arising from their combined operation. With the possession of such data, we might safely predict the state of the weather at any future period, as we now calculate an eclipse of the sun or moon, or foretell a conjunction of the planets.' *Leslie's Natural Philosophy*, p. 405: see also p. 185, and the remarks of Mr. Snow Harris (*Brit. Assoc. for* 1844, p. 241), and of Mr. Hamilton (*Journal of Geog. Soc.* vol. xix. p. xci.). Thus, too, Dr. Whewell (*Bridgewater Treatise*, p. 3) says, that 'the changes of winds and skies' are produced by causes, of whose rules 'no philosophical mind' will doubt the fixity.

[84] This connexion between ignorance and devotion is so clearly marked, that many nations have a separate god for the weather, to whom they say their prayers. In countries where men stop short of this, they ascribe the changes to witchcraft, or to some other supernatural power. See *Mariner's Tonga Islands*, vol. ii. pp. 7, 108; *Tuckey's Expedit. to the Zaire*, pp. 214, 215; *Ellis's Hist. of Madagascar*, vol. ii. p. 354; *Asiatic Researches*, vol. vi. pp. 193, 194, 297, vol. xvi. pp. 223, 342; *Southey's Hist. of Brazil*, vol. iii. p. 187; *Davis's Chinese*, vol. ii. p. 154; *Beausobre, Hist. de Manichée*, vol. ii. p. 394; *Cudworth's Intellect. Syst.* vol. ii. p. 539. The Hindus refer rain to supernatural causes in the *Rig Veda*, which is the oldest of their religious books; and they have held similar notions ever since. *Rig Veda Sanhita*, vol. i. pp. xxx. 10, 19, 26, 145, 175, 205, 224, 225, 265, 266, vol. ii. pp. 28, 41, 62, 110, 153, 158, 164, 166, 192, 199, 231, 258, 268, 293, 329; *Journal of Asiatic Soc.* vol. iii. p. 91; *Coleman's Mythol. of the Hindus*, p. 111; *Ward's View of the Hindoos*, vol. i. p. 38. See further two curious passages in the *Dabistan*, vol. i. p. 115, vol. ii. p. 337; and on the 'Rain-makers,' compare *Catlin's North-American Indians*, vol. i. pp. 134-140, with *Buchanan's North-American Indians*, pp. 258, 260: also a precisely similar class in Africa (*Moffat's Southern Africa*, pp. 305-325), and in Arabia (*Niebuhr, Desc. de l'Arabie*, pp. 237, 238).

Coming to a state of society nearer our own, we find that in the ninth century it was taken for granted in Christian countries that wind and hail were the work of wizards (*Neander's Hist. of the Church*, vol. vi. pp. 118, 139); that similar views passed on to the sixteenth century, and were sanctioned by Luther (*Maury, Légendes Pieuses*, pp. 18, 19); and finally, that when Swinburne was in Spain, only eighty years ago, he found the clergy on the

ascribe to supernatural agency the most important phenomena with which he is concerned;[85] and there can be no doubt that this is one of the causes of those superstitious feelings by which the inhabitants of the country are unfavourably contrasted with those of the town.[86] But the manufacturer, and, indeed, nearly every one engaged in the business of cities, has employments, the success of which being regulated by his own abilities, has no connexion with those unexplained events that perplex the imagination of the cultivators of the earth. He who, by his ingenuity, works up the raw material, is evidently less affected by uncontrollable occurrences, than he by whom the raw material is originally grown. Whether it is fair, or whether it is wet, he pursues his labours with equal success, and learns to rely solely upon his own energy, and the cunning of his own arm. As the sailor is naturally more superstitious than the soldier, because he has to deal with a more unstable element; just in the same way is the agriculturist more superstitious than the mechanic, because he is more frequently and more seriously affected by events which the ignorance of some men makes them call capricious, and the ignorance of other men makes them call supernatural.

It would be easy, by an extension of these remarks, to show how the progress of manufactures, besides increasing the national wealth, has done immense service to civilization, by inspiring Man with a confidence in his

point of putting an end to the opera, because they 'attributed the want of rain to the influence of that ungodly entertainment.' *Swinburne's Travels through Spain in* 1775 *and* 1776, vol. i. p. 177, 2nd edit. London, 1787.

[85] See some remarks by the Rev. Mr. Ward, which strike me as rather incautious, and which certainly are dangerous to his own profession, as increasing the hostility between it and science, in *Ward's Ideal of a Christian Church*, p. 278. What Coleridge has said, is worth attending to: see *The Friend*, vol. iii. pp. 222, 223.

[86] M. Kohl, whose acuteness as a traveller is well known, has found that the agricultural classes are the 'most blindly ignorant and prejudiced' of all. *Kohl's Russia*, p. 365. And Sir R. Murchison, who has enjoyed extensive means of observation, familiarly mentions the 'credulous farmers.' *Murchison's Siluria*, p. 61. In Asia, exactly the same tendency has been noticed: see *Marsden's Hist. of Sumatra*, p. 63. Some curious evidence of agricultural superstitions respecting the weather may be seen in *Monteil, Hist. des divers Etats*, vol. iii. pp. 31, 39.

own resources;[87] and how, by giving rise to a new class of employments, it has, if I may so say, shifted the scene in which superstition is most likely to dwell. But to trace this would carry me beyond my present limits; and the illustrations already given are sufficient to explain how the theological spirit must have been diminished by that love of experimental science, which forms one of the principal features in the reign of Charles II.[88]

I have now laid before the reader what I conceive to be the point of view from which we ought to estimate a period whose true nature seems to me to have been grievously misunderstood. Those political writers who judge events without regard to that intellectual development of which they are but a part, will find much to condemn, and scarcely anything to approve, in the reign of Charles II. By such authors, I shall be censured for having travelled out of that narrow path in which history has been too often confined. And yet I am at a loss to perceive how it is possible, except by the adoption of such a course, to understand a period which, on a superficial view, is full of the grossest inconsistencies. This difficulty will be rendered very obvious, if we compare for a moment the nature of the government of Charles with the great things which, under that government, were peaceably effected. Never before was there such a want of apparent connexion between the means and the end. If we look only at the characters of the rulers, and at their foreign policy, we must pronounce the reign of Charles II. to be the worst

[87] In this point of view, the opposite tendencies of agriculture and manufactures are judiciously contrasted by Mr. Porter, at the end of his essay on the *Statistics of Agriculture, Journal of the Statist. Soc.* vol. ii. pp. 295, 296.

[88] Indeed, there never has been a period in England in which physical experiments were so fashionable. This is merely worth observing as a symptom of the age, since Charles II. and the nobles were not likely to add, and did not add, anything to our knowledge; and their patronage of science, such as it was, degraded it rather than advanced it. Still, the prevalence of the taste is curious; and in addition to the picture drawn by Mr. Macaulay (*History of England*, 1st edit. vol. i. pp. 408-412), I may refer the reader to *Monconys' Voyages*, vol. iii. p. 31; *Sorbiere's Voyage to England*, pp. 32, 33; *Evelyn's Diary*, vol. ii. pp. 199, 286; *Pepys' Diary*, vol. i. p. 375, vol. ii. p. 34, vol. iii. p. 85, vol. iv. p. 229; *Burnet's Own Time*, vol. i. pp. 171, 322, vol. ii. p. 275; *Burnet's Lives*, p. 144; *Campbell's Chief-Justices*, vol. i. p. 582.

that has ever been seen in England. If, on the other hand, we confine our observations to the laws which were passed, and to the principles which were established, we shall be obliged to confess that this same reign forms one of the brightest epochs in our national annals. Politically and morally, there were to be found in the government all the elements of confusion, of weakness, and of crime. The king himself was a mean and spiritless voluptuary, without the morals of a Christian, and almost without the feelings of a man.[89] His ministers, with the exception of Clarendon, whom he hated for his virtues, had not one of the attributes of statesmen, and nearly all of them were pensioned by the crown of France.[90] The weight of taxation was increased,[91] while the security of the kingdom was diminished.[92] By the forced surrender of the charters of the towns, our municipal rights were endangered.[93] By shutting the exchequer, our national credit was destroyed.[94] Though immense sums were spent in main-

[89] His treatment of his young wife immediately after marriage is perhaps the worst thing recorded of this base and contemptible prince. *Lister's Life of Clarendon*, vol. ii. pp. 145-153. This is matter of proof; but Burnet (*Own Time*, vol. i. p. 522, and vol. ii. p. 467) whispers a horrible suspicion, which I cannot believe to be true, even of Charles II., and which Harris, who has collected some evidence of his astounding profligacy, does not mention, though he quotes one of the passages in Burnet. *Harris's Lives of the Stuarts*, vol. v. pp. 36-43. However, as Dr. Parr says, in reference to another accusation against him, 'There is little occasion to blacken the memory of that wicked monarch, Charles II., by the aid of invidious conjectures.' *Notes on James II.* in *Parr's Works*, vol. iv. p. 477. Compare *Fox's History of James II.* p. 71.

[90] Even Clarendon has been charged with receiving bribes from Louis XIV.; but for this there appears to be no good authority. Compare *Hallam's Const. Hist.* vol. ii. pp. 66, 67 note, with *Campbell's Chancellors*, vol. iii. p. 213.

[91] *Lister's Life of Clarendon*, vol. ii. p. 377; *Harris's Lives of the Stuarts*, vol. iv. pp. 340-344.

[92] Immediately after the Restoration, the custom began of appointing to naval commands incompetent youths of birth, to the discouragement of those able officers who had been employed under Cromwell. Compare *Burnet's Own Time*, vol. i. p. 290, with *Pepys' Diary*, vol. ii. p. 413, vol. iii. pp. 68, 72.

[93] *Harris's Lives of the Stuarts*, vol. v. pp. 323-328. The court was so bent on abrogating the charter of the city of London, that Saunders was made chief-justice for the express purpose. See *Campbell's Chief-Justices*, vol. ii. p. 59. Roger North says (*Lives of the Norths*, vol. ii. p. 67), 'Nothing was accounted at court so meritorious as the procuring of charters, as the language then was.' Compare *Bulstrode's Memoirs*, pp. 379, 388.

[94] The panic caused by this scandalous robbery is described by De Foe;

taining our naval and military power, we were left so defenceless, that when a war broke out, which had long been preparing, we seemed suddenly to be taken by surprise. Such was the miserable incapacity of the government, that the fleets of Holland were able, not only to ride triumphant round our coasts, but to sail up the Thames, attack our arsenals, burn our ships, and insult the metropolis of England.[95] Yet, notwithstanding all these things, it is an undoubted fact, that in this same reign of Charles II. more steps were taken in the right direction than had been taken, in any period of equal length, during the twelve centuries we had occupied the soil of Britain. By the mere force of that intellectual movement, which was unwittingly supported by the crown, there were effected, in the course of a few years, reforms which changed the face of society.[96] The two great obstacles by which the nation had long been embarrassed, consisted of a spiritual tyranny and a territorial tyranny: the tyranny of the church and the tyranny of the nobles. An attempt was now made to remedy these evils; not by palliatives, but by striking at the power of the classes who did the mischief. For now it was that a law was placed

Wilson's Life of De Foe, vol. i. p. 52. See also *Calamy's Life of Himself*, vol. i. p. 78; *Parker's Hist. of his Own Time*, pp. 141-143. The amount stolen by the king is estimated at 1,328,526*l.* *Sinclair's Hist. of the Revenue*, vol. i. p. 315. According to Lord Campbell, 'nearly a million and a half.' *Lives of the Chancellors*, vol. iv. p. 113.

[95] There is a very curious account in *Pepys' Diary*, vol. iii. pp. 242-264, of the terror felt by the Londoners on this occasion. Pepys himself buried his gold (p. 261 and pp. 376-379). Evelyn (*Diary*, vol. ii. p. 287) says: 'The alarme was so greate, that it put both country and citty into a paniq, feare, and consternation, such as I hope I shall never see more; every body was flying, none knew why or whither.'

[96] The most important of these reforms were carried, as is nearly always the case, in opposition to the real wishes of the ruling classes. Charles II. and James II. often said of the Habeas Corpus Act, 'that a government could not subsist with such a law.' *Dalrymple's Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 104. Lord-Keeper Guilford was even opposed to the abolition of military tenures. 'He thought,' says his brother, 'the taking away of the tenures a desperate wound to the liberties of the people of England.' *Lives of the Norths*, vol. ii. p. 82. These are the sort of men by whom great nations are governed. A passage in *Life of James, by Himself*, edit. Clarke, vol. ii. p. 621, confirms the statement in Dalrymple, so far as James is concerned. This should be compared with a letter from Louis XIV., in the Barillon correspondence. *Appendix to Fox's James II.*, p. cxxiv.

on the statute-book, taking away that celebrated writ, which enabled the bishops or their delegates to cause those men to be burned whose religion was different to their own.[97] Now it was that the clergy were deprived of the privilege of taxing themselves, and were forced to submit to an assessment made by the ordinary legislature.[98] Now, too, there was enacted a law forbidding any bishop, or any ecclesiastical court, to tender the *ex-officio* oath, by which the church had hitherto enjoyed the power of compelling a suspected person to criminate himself.[99] In regard to the nobles, it was also during the reign of Charles II. that the House of Lords, after a sharp struggle, was obliged to abandon its pretensions to an original jurisdiction in civil suits; and thus lost for ever an important resource for extending its own influence.[100] It was in the same reign that there was settled the right of the people

[97] *Blackstone's Commentaries*, vol. iv. p. 48; *Campbell's Chancellors*, vol. iii. p. 431. This destruction of the writ *De Hæretico comburendo* was in 1677. It is noticed in *Palmer's Treatise on the Church*, vol. i. p. 500; and in *Collier's Ecclesiast. Hist.* vol. viii. p. 478.

[98] This was in 1664. See the account of it in *Collier's Ecclesiast. Hist.* vol. viii. pp. 463-466. Collier, who is evidently displeased by the change, says: 'The consenting, therefore, to be taxed by the temporal Commons, makes the clergy more dependent on a foreign body, takes away the right of disposing of their own money, and lays their estates in some measure at discretion.' See also, on the injury this has inflicted on the church, *Lathbury's Hist. of Convocation*, pp. 259, 260. And Coleridge (*Literary Remains*, vol. iv. pp. 152, 153) points this out as characterizing one of the three 'grand evil epochs of our present church.' So marked, however, was the tendency of that time, that this most important measure was peaceably effected by an arrangement between Sheldon and Clarendon. See the notes by Onslow in *Burnet's Own Time*, vol. i. p. 340, vol. iv. pp. 508, 509. Compare Lord Camden's statement (*Parl. Hist.* vol. xvi. p. 169) with the speech of Lord Bathurst (vol. xxii. p. 77); and of Lord Temple on Tooke's case (vol. xxxv. p. 1357). Mr. Carwithen (*Hist. of the Church of England*, vol. ii. p. 354, Oxford, 1849) grieves over 'this deprivation of the liberties of the English clergy.'

[99] 13 Car. II. c. 12. Compare *Stephens's Life of Tooke*, vol. i. pp. 169, 170, with *Blackstone's Commentaries*, vol. iii. p. 101. Mr. Hallam (*Const. Hist.* vol. i. pp. 197, 198) has adduced evidence of the way in which the clergy were accustomed to injure their opponents by the *ex-officio* oath.

[100] This was the issue of the famous controversy respecting Skinner, in 1669; and 'from this time,' says Mr. Hallam, 'the Lords have tacitly abandoned all pretensions to an original jurisdiction in civil suits.' *Const. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 184. There is an account of this case of Skinner, which was connected with the East-India Company, in *Mill's Hist. of India*, vol. i. pp. 102, 103.

to be taxed entirely by their representatives; the House of Commons having ever since retained the sole power of proposing money bills, and regulating the amount of imposts, merely leaving to the Peers the form of consenting to what has been already determined.[101] These were the attempts which were made to bridle the clergy and the nobles. But there were also effected other things of equal importance. By the destruction of the scandalous prerogatives of Purveyance and Pre-emption, a limit was set to the power of the sovereign to vex his refractory subjects.[102] By the Habeas Corpus Act, the liberty of every Englishman was made as certain as law could make it; it being guaranteed to him, that if accused of crime, he, instead of languishing in prison, as had often been the case, should be brought to a fair and speedy trial.[103] By the Statute of Frauds and Perjuries, a security hitherto unknown was conferred upon private property.[104] By the

[101] *Hallam's Const. Hist.* vol. ii. pp. 189-192; and *Eccleston's English Antiquities*, p. 326. The disputes between the two houses respecting taxation, are noticed very briefly in *Parker's Hist. of his Own Time*, pp. 135, 136.

[102] The 'famous rights of purveyance and pre-emption' were abolished by 12 Car. II. c. 24. *Hallam's Const. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 11. Burke, in his magnificent speech on Economical Reform, describes the abuses of the old system of purveyance. *Burke's Works*, vol. i. p. 239. See also *Kemble's Saxons in England*, vol. ii. p. 88 note; *Barrington on the Statutes*, pp. 183-185, 237; *Lingard's Hist. of England*, vol. ii. pp. 338, 339; *Sinclair's Hist. of the Revenue*, vol. i. p. 232; *Parl. Hist.* vol. iii. p. 1299. These passages will give an idea of the iniquities practised under this 'right,' which, like most gross injustices, was one of the good old customs of the British constitution, being at least as ancient as Canute. See *Allen on the Royal Prerogative*, p. 152. Indeed, a recent writer of considerable learning (*Spence, Origin of the Laws of Europe*, p. 319) derives it from the Roman law. A bill had been brought in to take it away in 1656. See *Burton's Cromwellian Diary*, vol. i. p. 81. When Adam Smith wrote, it still existed in France and Germany. *Wealth of Nations*, book iii. chap. ii. p. 161.

[103] On the Habeas Corpus Act, which became law in 1679, see *Campbell's Chancellors*, vol. iii. pp. 345-347; *Mackintosh, Revolution of* 1688, p. 49; and *Lingard's Hist. of England*, vol. viii. p. 17. The peculiarities of this law, as compared with the imitations of it in other countries, are clearly stated in *Meyer, Esprit des Institutions Judiciaires*, vol. ii. p. 283. Mr. Lister (*Life of Clarendon*, vol. ii. p. 454) says: 'Imprisonment in gaols beyond the seas was not prevented by law till the passing of the Habeas Corpus Act, in 1679.'

[104] Blackstone (*Commentaries*, vol. iv. p. 439) calls this 'a great and necessary security to private property;' and Lord Campbell (*Chancellors*, vol. iii. p. 423) terms it 'the most important and most beneficial piece of juridical legislation of which we can boast.' On its effects, compare Jones's valuable

abolition of general impeachments, an end was put to a great engine of tyranny, with which powerful and unscrupulous men had frequently ruined their political adversaries.[105] By the cessation of those laws which restricted the liberty of printing, there was laid the foundation of that great Public Press, which, more than any other single cause, has diffused among the people a knowledge of their own power, and has thus, to an almost incredible extent, aided the progress of English civilization.[106] And, to complete this noble picture, there were finally destroyed those feudal incidents, which our Norman conquerors had imposed,—the military tenures; the court of wards; the fines for alienation; the right of forfeiture for marriage by reason of tenure; the aids, the homages, the escuages, the primer seisins; and all those mischievous subtleties, of which the mere names sound in modern ears as a wild and barbarous jargon, but which pressed upon our ancestors as real and serious evils.[107]

These were the things which were done in the reign of Charles II.; and if we consider the miserable incompetence of the king, the idle profligacy of his court, the unblushing

Commentary on Isæus (*Works of Sir W. Jones*, vol. iv. p. 239), with *Story's Conflict of Laws*, pp. 521, 522, 627, 884; and *Tayler on Statute Law*, in *Journal of Statist. Soc.* vol. xvii. p. 150.

105 Lord Campbell (*Lives of the Chancellors*, vol. iii. p. 247) says, that the struggle in 1667 'put an end to general impeachments.'

106 Printing at first was regulated by royal proclamations; then by the Star-chamber; and afterwards by the Long Parliament. The decrees of the Star-chamber were taken as the basis of 13 and 14 Car. II. c. 33; but this act expired in 1679, and was not renewed during the reign of Charles II. Compare *Blackstone's Comment.* vol. iv. p. 152, with *Hunt's Hist. of Newspapers*, vol. i. p. 154, and *Fox's Hist. of James II.* p. 146.

107 The fullest account I have seen in any history, of this great Revolution, which swept away the traditions and the language of feudalism, is that given in *Harris's Lives of the Stuarts*, vol. iv. pp. 369-378. But Harris, though an industrious collector, was a man of slender ability, and not at all aware of the real nature of a change, of which the obvious and immediately practical results formed the smallest part. The true point of view is, that it was a formal recognition by the legislature that the Middle Ages were extinct, and that it was necessary to inaugurate a more modern and innovating policy. Hereafter I shall have occasion to examine this in detail, and show how it was merely a symptom of a revolutionary movement. In the mean time the reader may refer to the very short notices in *Dalrymple's Hist. of Feudal Property*, p. 89; *Blackstone's Comment.* vol. ii. pp. 76, 77; *Hallam's Const. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 11; *Parl. Hist.* vol. iv. pp. 53, 167, 168; *Meyer, Institutions Judiciaires*, vol. ii. p. 58.

venality of his ministers, the constant conspiracies to which the country was exposed from within, and the unprecedented insults to which it was subjected from without; if we, moreover, consider that to all this there were added two natural calamities of the most grievous description,—a Great Plague, which thinned society in all its ranks, and scattered confusion through the kingdom, and a Great Fire, which, besides increasing the mortality from the pestilence, destroyed in a moment those accumulations of industry by which industry itself is nourished;—if we put all these things together, how can we reconcile inconsistencies apparently so gross? How could so wonderful a progress be made in the face of these unparalleled disasters? How could such men, under such circumstances, effect such improvements? These are questions which our political compilers are unable to answer; because they look too much at the peculiarities of individuals, and too little at the temper of the age in which those individuals live. Such writers do not perceive that the history of every civilized country is the history of its intellectual development, which kings, statesmen, and legislators are more likely to retard than to hasten; because, however great their power may be, they are at best the accidental and insufficient representatives of the spirit of their time; and because, so far from being able to regulate the movements of the national mind, they themselves form the smallest part of it, and, in a general view of the progress of Man, are only to be regarded as the puppets who strut and fret their hour upon a little stage; while, beyond them, and on every side of them, are forming opinions and principles which they can scarcely perceive, but by which alone the whole course of human affairs is ultimately governed.

The truth is, that the vast legislative reforms, for which the reign of Charles II. is so remarkable, merely form a part of that movement, which, though traceable to a much earlier period, had only for three generations been in undisguised operation. These important improvements were the result of that bold, sceptical, inquiring, and re-

forming spirit, which had now seized the three great departments of Theology, of Science, and of Politics. The old principles of tradition, of authority, and of dogma, were gradually becoming weaker; and of course, in the same proportion, there was diminished the influence of the classes by whom those principles were chiefly upheld. As the power of particular sections of society thus declined, the power of the people at large increased. The real interests of the nation began to be perceived, so soon as the superstitions were dispersed by which those interests had long been obscured. This, I believe, is the real solution of what at first seems a curious problem,—namely, how it was that such comprehensive reforms should have been accomplished in so bad, and in many respects so infamous, a reign. It is, no doubt, true, that those reforms were essentially the result of the intellectual march of the age; but, so far from being made in spite of the vices of the sovereign, they were actually aided by them. With the exception of the needy profligates who thronged his court, all classes of men soon learned to despise a king who was a drunkard, a libertine, and a hypocrite; who had neither shame nor sensibility; and who, in point of honour, was unworthy to enter the presence of the meanest of his subjects. To have the throne filled for a quarter of a century by such a man as this, was the surest way of weakening that ignorant and indiscriminate loyalty, to which the people have often sacrificed their dearest rights. Thus, the character of the king, merely considered from this point of view, was eminently favourable to the growth of national liberty.[108] But the advantage did not stop there. The reckless debaucheries of Charles made him

[108] Mr. Hallam has a noble passage on the services rendered to English civilization by the vices of the English court: 'We are, however, much indebted to the memory of Barbara duchess of Cleveland, Louisa duchess of Portsmouth, and Mrs. Eleanor Gwyn. We owe a tribute of gratitude to the Mays, the Killigrews, the Chiffinches, and the Grammonts. They played a serviceable part in ridding the kingdom of its besotted loyalty. They saved our forefathers from the Star-chamber and the High-commission court; they laboured in their vocation against standing armies and corruption; they pressed forward the great ultimate security of English freedom—the expulsion of the House of Stuart.' *Hallam's Const. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 50.

abhor everything approaching to restraint; and this gave him a dislike to a class, whose profession, at least, presupposes a conduct of more than ordinary purity. The consequence was, that he, not from views of enlightened policy, but merely from a love of vicious indulgence, always had a distaste for the clergy; and, so far from advancing their power, frequently expressed for them an open contempt.[109] His most intimate friends directed against them those coarse and profligate jokes, which are preserved in the literature of the time; and which, in the opinion of the courtiers, were to be ranked among the noblest specimens of human wit. From men of this sort the church had, indeed, little to apprehend; but their language, and the favour with which it was received, are part of the symptoms by which we may study the temper of that age. Many other illustrations will occur to most readers; I may, however, mention one, which is interesting on account of the eminence of the philosopher concerned in it. The most dangerous opponent of the clergy in the seventeenth century, was certainly Hobbes, the subtlest dialectician of his time; a writer, too, of singular clearness, and, among British metaphysicians, inferior only to Berkeley. This profound thinker published several speculations very unfavourable to the church, and directly opposed to principles which are essential to ecclesiastical authority. As a natural consequence, he was hated by the clergy; his doctrines were declared to be

[109] Burnet (*Own Time*, vol. i. p. 448) tells us that, in 1667, the king, even at the council-board, expressed himself against the bishops, and said, that the clergy 'thought of nothing but to get good benefices, and to keep a good table.' See also, on his dislike to the bishops, vol. ii. p. 22; and *Pepys' Diary*, vol. iv. p. 2. In another place, vol. iv. p. 42, Pepys writes: 'And I believe the hierarchy will in a little time be shaken, whether they will or no; the king being offended with them, and set upon it, as I hear.' Evelyn, in a conversation with Pepys, noticed with regret such conduct of Charles, 'that a bishop shall never be seen about him, as the king of France hath always.' *Pepys*, vol. iii. p. 201. Evelyn, in his benevolent way, ascribes this to 'the negligence of the clergy;' but history teaches us that the clergy have never neglected kings, except when the king has first neglected them. Sir John Reresby gives a curious account of a conversation Charles II. held with him respecting 'mitred heads,' in which the feeling of the king is very apparent. *Reresby's Travels and Memoirs*, p. 238.

highly pernicious; and he was accused of wishing to subvert the national religion, and corrupt the national morals.[110] So far did this proceed, that, during his life, and for several years after his death, every man who ventured to think for himself was stigmatized as a Hobbist, or, as it was sometimes called, a Hobbian.[111] This marked hostility on the part of the clergy, was a sufficient recommendation to the favour of Charles. The king, even before his accession, had imbibed many of his principles;[112] and, after the Restoration, he treated the author with what was deemed a scandalous respect. He protected him from his enemies; he somewhat ostentatiously hung up his portrait in his own private room at Whitehall;[113] and he even conferred a pension on this, the most formidable opponent who had yet appeared against the spiritual hierarchy.[114]

If we look for a moment at the ecclesiastical appointments of Charles, we shall find evidence of the same tend-

110 On the animosity of the clergy against Hobbes, and on the extent to which he reciprocated it, compare *Aubrey's Letters and Lives*, vol. ii. pp. 532, 631; *Tennemann, Gesch. der Philos.* vol. x. p. 111; with the angry language of Burnet (*Own Time*, vol. i. p. 322), and of Whiston (*Memoirs*, p. 251). See also *Wood's Athenæ Oxonienses*, edit. Bliss, vol. iii. p. 1211. Monconys, who was in London in 1663, says of Hobbes, 'Il me dit l'aversion que tous les gens d'église tant catholiques que protestans avoient pour lui.' *Monconys' Voyages*, vol. iii. p. 43; and p. 115, 'M. Hobbes, que je trouvai toujours fort ennemi des prêtres catholiques et des protestans.' About the same time, Sorbiere was in London; and he writes respecting Hobbes: 'I know not how it comes to pass, the clergy are afraid of him, and so are the Oxford mathematicians and their adherents; wherefore his majesty (Charles II.) was pleased to make a very good comparison when he told me, he was like a bear, whom they baited with dogs to try him.' *Sorbiere's Voyage to England*, p. 40.

111 This was a common expression for whoever attacked established opinions late in the seventeenth, and even early in the eighteenth century. For instances of it, see *Baxter's Life of Himself*, folio, 1696, part iii. p. 48; *Boyle's Works*, vol. v. pp. 505, 510; *Monk's Life of Bentley*, vol. i. p. 41; *Vernon Correspond.* vol. iii. p. 13; *King's Life of Locke*, vol. i. p. 191; *Brewster's Life of Newton*, vol. ii. p. 149.

112 Burnet says, they 'made deep and lasting impressions on the king's mind.' *Own Time*, vol. i. p. 172.

113 A likeness, by Cooper. See *Wood's Athenæ Oxonienses*, edit. Bliss, vol. iii. p. 1208.

114 *Sorbiere's Voyage to England*, p. 39; *Wood's Athenæ Oxonienses*, vol. iii. p. 1208. On the popularity of the works of Hobbes in the reign of Charles II. compare *Pepys' Diary*, vol. iv. p. 164, with *Lives of the Norths*, vol. iii. p. 339.

ency. In his reign, the highest dignities in the church were invariably conferred upon men who were deficient either in ability or in honesty. It would perhaps be an over-refinement to ascribe to the king a deliberate plan for lowering the reputation of the episcopal bench; but it is certain, that if he had such a plan, he followed the course most likely to effect his purpose. For it is no exaggeration to say, that, during his life, the leading English prelates were, without exception, either incapable or insincere; they were unable to defend what they really believed, or else they did not believe what they openly professed. Never before were the interests of the Anglican church so feebly guarded. The first Archbishop of Canterbury appointed by Charles was Juxon, whose deficiencies were notorious; and of whom his friends could only say, that his want of ability was compensated by the goodness of his intentions.[115] When he died, the king raised up as his successor Sheldon, whom he had previously made Bishop of London; and who not only brought discredit on his order by acts of gross intolerance,[116] but who was so regardless of the common decencies of his station, that he used to amuse his associates, by having exhibitions in his own house, imitating the way in which the Presbyterians delivered their sermons.[117] After the death of Sheldon, Charles appointed to the archbishopric Sancroft; whose superstitious fancies exposed him to the contempt even of his own profession, and who was as much despised as Sheldon had been hated.[118] In the rank

[115] Bishop Burnet says of him, at his appointment: 'As he was never a great divine, so he was now superannuated.' *Own Time*, vol. i. p. 303.

[116] Of which his own friend, Bishop Parker, gives a specimen. See *Parker's History of his own Time*, pp. 31-33. Compare *Neal's Hist. of the Puritans*, vol. iv. p. 429; *Wilson's Mem. of De Foe*, vol. i. p. 46.

[117] In 1669, Pepys was at one of these entertainments, which took place not only at the house, but in the presence of the archbishop. See the scandalous details in *Pepys' Diary*, vol. iv. pp. 321, 322; or in *Wilson's De Foe*, vol. i. pp. 44, 45.

[118] Burnet, who knew Sancroft, calls him 'a poor-spirited and fearful man' (*Own Time*, vol. iii. p. 354); and mentions (vol. iii. p. 138) an instance of his superstition, which will be easily believed by whoever has read his ridiculous sermons, which D'Oyly has wickedly published. See Appendix to *D'Oyly's Sancroft*, pp. 339-420. Dr. Lake says that everybody was

immediately below this, we find the same principle at work. The three Archbishops of York, during the reign of Charles II., were Frewen, Stearn, and Dolben; who were so utterly devoid of ability, that, notwithstanding their elevated position, they are altogether forgotten, not one reader out of a thousand having ever heard their names.[119]

Such appointments as these are indeed striking; and what makes them more so, is, that they were by no means necessary; they were not forced on the king by court intrigue, nor was there a lack of more competent men. The truth seems to be, that Charles was unwilling to confer ecclesiastical promotion upon any one who had ability enough to increase the authority of the church, and restore it to its former pre-eminence. At his accession, the two ablest of the clergy were undoubtedly Jeremy Taylor and Isaac Barrow. Both of them were notorious for their loyalty; both of them were men of unspotted virtue; and both of them have left a reputation which will hardly perish while the English language is remembered. But Taylor, though he had married the king's sister,[120] was treated with marked neglect; and, being exiled to an Irish bishopric, had to pass the remainder of his life in what, at that time, was truly called a barbarous country.[121] As to Barrow,

amazed when it was known that Sancroft was to be archbishop. *Lake's Diary*, 30th Dec. 1677, p. 18, in vol. i. of the *Camden Miscellany*, 1847, 4to. His character, so far as he had one, is fairly drawn by Dr. Birch: 'slow, timorous, and narrow-spirited, but at the same time a good, honest, and well-meaning man.' *Birch's Life of Tillotson*, p. 151. See also respecting him, *Macaulay's Hist. of England*, vol. ii. p. 616, vol. iii. p. 77, vol. iv. pp. 40-42.

[119] Frewen was so obscure a man, that there is no life of him either in *Chalmers' Biographical Dictionary*, or in Rose's more recent, but inferior work. The little that is known of Stearn, or Sterne, is unfavourable. Compare *Burnet*, vol. ii. p. 427, with *Baxter's Life of Himself*, folio, 1696, part ii. p. 338. And of Dolben I have been unable to collect anything of interest, except that he had a good library. See the traditionary account in *Jones's Memoirs of Bishop Horne*, p. 66.

[120] His wife was Joanna Bridges, a bastard of Charles I. Compare *Notes and Queries*, vol. vii. p. 305, with *Heber's Life of Jeremy Taylor*, in *Taylor's Works*, vol. i. p. xxxiv. Bishop Heber, p. xxxv., adds, 'But, notwithstanding the splendour of such an alliance, there is no reason to believe that it added materially to Taylor's income.'

[121] Coleridge (*Lit. Remains*, vol. iii. p. 208) says, that this neglect of Jeremy Taylor by Charles 'is a problem of which perhaps his virtues present the most probable solution.'

who, in point of genius, was probably superior to Taylor,[122] he had the mortification of seeing the most incapable men raised to the highest posts in the church, while he himself was unnoticed; and, notwithstanding that his family had greatly suffered in the royal cause,[123] he received no sort of preferment until five years before his death, when the king conferred on him the mastership of Trinity College, Cambridge.[124]

It is hardly necessary to point out how all this must have tended to weaken the church, and accelerate that great movement for which the reign of Charles II. is remarkable.[125] At the same time, there were many other circumstances which, in this preliminary sketch, it is impossible to notice, but which were stamped with the general character of revolt against ancient authority. In a subsequent volume, this will be placed in a still clearer light, because I shall have an opportunity of bringing forward evidence which, from the abundance of its details, would be unsuited to the present Introduction. Enough, however, has been stated, to indicate the general march of

[122] Superior, certainly, in comprehensiveness, and in the range of his studies; so that it is aptly said by a respectable authority, that he was at once 'the great precursor of Sir Isaac Newton, and the pride of the English pulpit.' *Wordsworth's Ecclesiast. Biog.* vol. iv. p. 344. See also, respecting Barrow, *Montucla, Hist. des Mathémat.* vol. ii. pp. 88, 89, 359, 360, 504, 505, vol. iii. pp. 436-438.

[123] 'His father having suffered greatly in his estate by his attachment to the royal cause.' *Chalmers' Biog. Dict.* vol. iv. p. 39.

[124] Barrow, displeased at not receiving preferment after the Restoration, wrote the lines:

'Te magis optavit rediturum Carole nemo;
Et sensit nemo te rediisse minus.'

Hamilton's Life of Barrow, in *Barrow's Works*, Edinb. 1845, vol. i. p. xxiii.

[125] Everything Mr. Macaulay has said on the contempt into which the clergy fell in the reign of Charles II. is perfectly accurate; and from evidence which I have collected, I know that this very able writer, of whose immense research few people are competent judges, has rather understated the case than overstated it. On several subjects I should venture to differ from Mr. Macaulay; but I cannot refrain from expressing my admiration of his unwearied diligence, of the consummate skill with which he has arranged his materials, and of the noble love of liberty which animates his entire work. These are qualities which will long survive the aspersions of his puny detractors,—men who, in point of knowledge and ability, are unworthy to loosen the shoe-latchet of him they foolishly attack.

the English mind, and supply the reader with a clue by which he may understand those still more complicated events, which, as the seventeenth century advanced, began to thicken upon us.

A few years before the death of Charles II., the clergy made a great effort to recover their former power by reviving those doctrines of Passive Obedience and Divine Right, which are obviously favourable to the progress of superstition.[126] But as the English intellect was now sufficiently advanced to reject such dogmas, this futile attempt only increased the opposition between the interests of the people as a body, and the interests of the clergy as a class. Scarcely had this scheme been defeated, when the sudden death of Charles placed on the throne a prince whose most earnest desire was to restore the Catholic church, and reinstate among us that mischievous system which openly boasts of subjugating the reason of Man. This change in affairs was, if we consider it in its ultimate results, the most fortunate circumstance which could have happened to our country. In spite of the difference of their religion, the English clergy had always displayed an affection towards James, whose reverence for the priesthood they greatly admired; though they were anxious that the warmth of his affections should be lavished on

[126] *Hallam's Const. Hist.* vol. ii. pp. 142, 143, 153-156; from which it appears that this movement began about 1681. The clergy, as a body, are naturally favourable to this doctrine; and the following passage, published only twelve years ago, will give the reader an idea of the views that some of them entertain. The Rev. Mr. Sewell (*Christian Politics*, Lond. 1844, p. 157) says, that the reigning prince is 'a being armed with supreme physical power by the hand and permission of Providence; as such, the lord of our property, the master of our lives, the fountain of honour, the dispenser of law, before whom each subject must surrender his will and conform his actions. . . . . Who, when he errs, errs as a man, and not as a king, and is responsible, not to man, but to God.' And at p. 111, the same writer informs us that the church, 'with one uniform, unhesitating voice, has proclaimed the duty of "passive obedience."' See also on this slavish tenet, as upheld by the church, *Wordsworth's Ecclesiast. Biog.* vol. iv. p. 668; *Life of Ken, by a Layman*, vol. ii. p. 523; *Lathbury's Hist. of Convocation*, p. 228; *Lathbury's Nonjurors*, pp. 50, 135, 197; and a letter from Nelson, author of the *Fasts and Festivals*, in *Nichols's Lit. Anec.* vol. iv. p. 216. With good reason, therefore, did Fox tell the House of Commons, that 'by being a good churchman, a person might become a bad citizen.' *Parl. Hist.* vol. xxix. p. 1377.

the Church of England and not on the Church of Rome. They were sensible of the advantages which would accrue to their own order, if his piety could be turned into a new channel.[127] They saw that it was for his interest to abandon his religion; and they thought that to a man so cruel and so vicious, his own interest would be the sole consideration.[128] The consequence was, that in one of the most critical moments of his life, they made in his favour a great and successful effort; and they not only used all their strength to defeat the bill by which it was proposed to exclude him from the succession, but when the measure was rejected, they presented an address to Charles, congratulating him on the result.[129] When James actually mounted the throne, they continued to display the same spirit. Whether they still hoped for his conversion, or whether, in their eagerness to persecute the dissenters, they overlooked the danger to their own church, is uncertain; but it is one of the most singular and unquestionable facts in our history, that for some time there existed a strict alliance between a Protestant hierarchy and a Popish king.[130] The terrible crimes which were the result of this compact are but too notorious. But what is more worthy of attention is, the circumstance that caused the dissolution of this conspiracy between the crown and

[127] The Archbishop of Canterbury, in 1678, was engaged in an attempt to convert James; and in a letter to the Bishop of Winchester, he notices the 'happy consequences' which would result from his success. See this characteristic letter in *Clarendon Corresp.* vol. ii. pp. 465, 466. See also the motives of the bishops, candidly but broadly stated, in Mr. Wilson's valuable work, *Life of De Foe*, vol. i. p. 74.

[128] In a high-church pamphlet, published in 1682, against the Bill of Exclusion, the cause of James is advocated; but the inconvenience he would suffer by remaining a Catholic is strongly insisted upon. See the wily remarks in *Somers Tracts*, vol. viii. pp. 258, 259.

[129] *Wordsworth's Ecclesiast. Biog.* vol. iv. p. 665. On their eagerness against the bill, see *Harris's Lives of the Stuarts*, vol. v. p. 181; *Burnet's Own Time*, vol. ii. p. 246; *Somers Tracts*, vol. x. pp. 216, 253; *Campbell's Chancellors*, vol. iii. p. 353; *Carwithen's Hist. of the Church of England*, vol. ii. p. 431.

[130] At the accession of James II. 'the pulpits throughout England resounded with thanksgivings; and a numerous set of addresses flattered his Majesty, in the strongest expressions, with assurances of unshaken loyalty and obedience, without limitation or reserve.' *Neal's Hist. of the Puritans*, vol. v. p. 2. See also *Calamy's Life*, vol. i. p. 118.

the church. The ground of the quarrel was an attempt made by the king to effect, in some degree, a religious toleration. By the celebrated Test and Corporation Acts, it had been ordered, that all persons who were employed by government should be compelled, under a heavy penalty, to receive the sacrament according to the rites of the English church. The offence of James was, that he now issued what was called a Declaration of Indulgence, in which he announced his intention of suspending the execution of these laws.[131] From this moment, the position of the two great parties was entirely changed. The bishops clearly perceived that the statutes which it was thus attempted to abrogate, were highly favourable to their own power; and hence, in their opinion, formed an essential part of the constitution of a Christian country. They had willingly combined with James, while he assisted them in persecuting men who worshipped God in a manner different from themselves.[132] So long as this compact held good, they were indifferent as to matters which they considered to be of minor importance. They looked on in silence, while the king was amassing the materials with which he hoped to turn a free government into an absolute monarchy.[133] They saw Jeffreys and Kirke torturing

[131] On the 18th March, 1687, the king announced to the Privy Council that he had determined 'to grant, by his own authority, entire liberty of conscience to all his subjects. On the 4th April appeared the memorable Declaration of Indulgence.' *Macaulay's Hist. of England*, vol. ii. p. 211; and see *Life of James II.*, edited by Clarke, vol. ii. p. 112. There is a summary of the Declaration in *Neal's Hist. of the Puritans*, vol. v. pp. 30, 31. As to the second Declaration, see *Macaulay*, vol. ii. pp. 344, 345; *Clarendon Correspond.* vol. ii. p. 170.

[132] It was in the autumn of 1685, that the clergy and the government persecuted the dissenters with the greatest virulence. See *Macaulay's Hist.* vol. i. pp. 667, 668. Compare *Neal's Hist. of the Puritans*, vol. v. pp. 4-12, with a letter from Lord Clarendon, dated 21st December 1685, in *Clarendon Correspond.* vol. i. p. 192. It is said (*Burnet's Own Time*, vol. iii. pp. 175, 176), that on many occasions the church party made use of the ecclesiastical courts to extort money from the Nonconformists; and for confirmation of this, see *Mackintosh's Revolution of* 1688, pp. 173, 640.

[133] It appears from the accounts in the War-Office, that James, even in the first year of his reign, had a standing army of nearly 20,000 men. *Mackintosh's Revolution*, pp. 3, 77, 688: 'A disciplined army of about 20,000 men was, for the first time, established during peace in this island.' As this naturally inspired great alarm, the king gave out that the number did not exceed 15,000. *Life of James II.*, edited by Clarke, vol. ii. pp. 52, 57.

their fellow-subjects; they saw the gaols crowded with prisoners, and the scaffold streaming with blood.[134] They were well pleased that some of the best and ablest men in the kingdom should be barbarously persecuted; that Baxter should be thrown into prison, and that Howe should be forced into exile. They witnessed with composure the most revolting cruelties, because the victims of them were the opponents of the English church. Although the minds of men were filled with terror and with loathing, the bishops made no complaint. They preserved their loyalty unimpaired, and insisted on the necessity of humble submission to the Lord's anointed.[135] But the moment James proposed to protect against persecution those who were hostile to the church; the moment he announced his intention of breaking down that monopoly of offices and of honours which the bishops had long secured for their own party;—the moment this took place, the hierarchy became alive to the dangers with which the country was threatened from the violence of so arbitrary a prince.[136] The

[134] Compare *Burnet*, vol. iii. pp. 55-62, with *Dalrymple's Memoirs*, vol. i. part i. book ii. pp. 198-203. Ken, so far as I remember, was the only one who set his face against these atrocities. He was a very humane man, and did what he could to mitigate the sufferings of the prisoners in Monmouth's rebellion; but it is not mentioned that he attempted to stop the persecutions directed against the innocent Nonconformists, who were barbarously punished, not because they rebelled, but because they dissented. *Life of Ken, by a Layman*, vol. i. p. 298.

[135] 'From the conduct of the clergy in this and the former reign, it is quite clear, that if the king had been a Protestant, of the profession of the Church of England, or even a quiet, submissive Catholic, without any zeal for his religion,—confining himself solely to matters of state, and having a proper respect for church-property,—he might have plundered other Protestants at his pleasure, and have trampled upon the liberties of his country, without the danger of resistance.' *Wilson's Life of De Foe*, vol. i. p. 136. Or, as Fox says, 'Thus, as long as James contented himself with absolute power in civil matters, and did not make use of his authority against the church, everything went smooth and easy.' *Fox's Hist. of James II.*, p. 165.

[136] Compare *Neal's Hist. of the Puritans*, vol. v. p. 58, with *Life of James II.*, edit. Clarke, vol. ii. p. 70; where it is well said, that the clergy of the Church of England 'had preached prerogative and the sovereign power to the highest pitch, while it was favourable to them; but when they apprehended the least danger from it, they cried out as soon as the shoe pinched, though it was of their own putting on.' See also pp. 113, 164. What their servility was to the crown, while they thought that the crown was with them, may be estimated from the statement of De Foe: 'I have heard it publicly preached, that if the king commanded my head, and sent his messengers to

king had laid his hand on the ark, and the guardians of the temple flew to arms. How could they tolerate a prince who would not allow them to persecute their enemies? How could they support a sovereign who sought to favour those who differed from the national church? They soon determined on the line of conduct it behoved them to take. With an almost unanimous voice, they refused to obey the order by which the king commanded them to read in their churches the edict for religious toleration.[137] Nor did they stop there. So great was their enmity against him they had recently cherished, that they actually applied for aid to those very dissenters whom, only a few weeks before, they had hotly persecuted; seeking by magnificent promises to win over to their side men they had hitherto hunted even to the death.[138] The most eminent of the Nonconformists were far from being duped by this sudden affection.[139] But their hatred of Popery,

fetch it, I was bound to submit, and stand while it was cut off.' *Wilson's Life of De Foe*, vol. i. p. 118.

[137] D'Oyly (*Life of Sancroft*, p. 164) says, 'On the whole, it is supposed that not more than 200 out of the whole body of clergy, estimated at 10,000, complied with the king's requisition.' 'Only seven obeyed in the city of London, and not above 200 all England over.' *Burnet's Own Time*, vol. iii. p. 218. On Sunday, 20th May 1688, Lord Clarendon writes: 'I was at St. James's church; in the evening I had an account that the Declaration was read only in four churches in the city and liberties.' *Clarendon Corresp.* vol. ii. pp. 172, 173. When this conduct became known, it was observed that the church 'supported the crown only so long as she dictated to it; and became rebellious at the moment when she was forbidden to be intolerant.' *Mackintosh's Revolution of* 1688, p. 255.

[138] The first advances were made when the Declaration of the king in favour of 'liberty of conscience' was on the point of being issued, and immediately after the proceedings at Oxford had shown his determination to break down the monopoly of offices possessed by the church. 'The clergy at the same time prayed and entreated the dissenters to appear on their side, and stand by the Establishment, making large promises of favour and brotherly affection if ever they came into power.' *Neal's Hist. of the Puritans*, vol. v. p. 29. See also, at pp. 58, 59, the conciliating letter from the Archbishop of Canterbury after the Declaration. 'Such,' says Neal, 'such was the language of the church in distress!' Compare *Birch's Life of Tillotson*, p. 153; *Ellis's Correspond.* vol. ii. p. 63; *Ellis's Orig. Letters*, 2nd series, vol. iv. p. 117; *Mackintosh's Revolution*, p. 286; *Somers Tracts*, vol. ix. p. 132; *Macaulay's Hist. of England*, vol. ii. pp. 218, 219.

[139] See the indignant language of De Foe (*Wilson's Life of De Foe*, vol. i. pp. 130, 131, 133, 134); and a *Letter from a Dissenter to the Petitioning Bishops*, in *Somers Tracts*, vol. ix. pp. 117, 118. The writer says: 'Pray, my lords, let me ask you a question. Suppose the king, instead of his Decla-

and their fear of the ulterior designs of the king, prevailed over every other consideration; and there arose that singular combination between churchmen and dissenters, which has never since been repeated. This coalition, backed by the general voice of the people, soon overturned the throne, and gave rise to what is justly deemed one of the most important events in the history of England.

Thus it was, that the proximate cause of that great revolution which cost James his crown, was the publication by the king of an edict of religious toleration, and the consequent indignation of the clergy at seeing so audacious an act performed by a Christian prince. It is true, that if other things had not conspired, this alone could never have effected so great a change. But it was the immediate cause of it, because it was the cause of the schism between the church and the throne, and of the alliance between the church and the dissenters. This is a fact never to be forgotten. We ought never to forget, that the first and only time the Church of England has made war upon the crown, was when the crown had declared its intention of tolerating, and in some degree protecting, the rival religions of the country.[140] There is no doubt that the Declaration which was then issued was illegal, and that it was conceived in an insidious spirit. But declarations equally illegal, equally insidious, and much more tyrannical, had on other occasions been made by the sovereign, without exciting the anger of the clergy.[141]

ration, had issued out a proclamation, commanding justices of the peace, constables, informers, and all other persons, to be more rigorous, if possible, against dissenters, and do their utmost to the perfect quelling and destroying them; and had ordered this to be read in your churches in the time of divine service,—would you have made any scruple of that?'

140 That this was the immediate cause, so far as the head of the church-party was concerned, is unblushingly avowed by the biographer and defender of the then Archbishop of Canterbury. 'The order published from the king in council, May 4th, 1688, directing the archbishops and bishops to send to the clergy in their respective dioceses the Declaration for Liberty of Conscience, to be publicly read in all the churches of the kingdom, made it impossible for the Archbishop of Canterbury to abstain any longer from engaging in an open and declared opposition to the counsels under which the king was now unhappily acting.' *D'Oyly's Life of Sancroft*, p. 151.

141 Some writers have attempted to defend the clergy, on the ground that

These are things which it is good for us to ponder. These are lessons of inestimable value for those to whom it is given, not, indeed, to direct, but in some degree to modify, the march of public opinion. As to the people in general, it is impossible for them to exaggerate the obligations which they and all of us owe to the Revolution of 1688. But let them take heed that superstition does not mingle with their gratitude. Let them admire that majestic edifice of national liberty, which stands alone in Europe like a beacon in the midst of the waters; but let them not think that they owe anything to men who, in contributing to its erection, sought the gratification of their own selfishness, and the consolidation of that spiritual power which by it they fondly hoped to secure.

It is, indeed, difficult to conceive the full amount of the impetus given to English civilization by the expulsion of the House of Stuart. Among the most immediate results, may be mentioned the limits that were set to the royal prerogative;[142] the important steps that were taken towards religious toleration;[143] the remarkable and per-

they thought it illegal to publish a declaration of this kind. But such a defence is incompatible with their doctrine of passive obedience; and besides this, it was contradicted by precedents and decisions of their own. Jeremy Taylor, in his *Ductor Dubitantium*, their great work of authority, asserts that 'the unlawful proclamations and edicts of a true prince may be published by the clergy in their several charges.' *Heber's Life of Taylor*, p. cclxxxvi. Heber adds: 'I wish I had not found this in Taylor; and I thank Heaven that the principle was not adopted by the English clergy in 1687.' But why was it not adopted in 1687? Simply because in 1687 the king attacked the monopoly enjoyed by the clergy; and therefore the clergy forgot their principle, that they might smite their enemy. And what makes the motives of this change still more palpable is, that as late as 1681, the Archbishop of Canterbury caused the clergy to read a Declaration issued by Charles II.; and that in a revised copy of the Liturgy he had also added to the rubric to the same effect. See *Neal's Hist. of the Puritans*, vol. v. p. 56. Compare *Calamy's Own Life*, vol. i. pp. 199, 200; *Mackintosh's Revolution*, pp. 242, 243; *D'Oyly's Life of Sancroft*, p. 152; *King's Life of Locke*, vol. i. p. 259; *Life of James II.*, edit. Clarke, vol. ii. p. 156.

[142] They are summed up in a popular pamphlet ascribed to Lord Somers, and printed in *Somers Tracts*, vol. x. pp. 263, 264. The diminished respect felt for the crown after 1688 is judiciously noticed in *Mahon's Hist. of England*, vol. i. p. 9.

[143] The Toleration Act was passed in 1689. A copy of it is given by the historians of the dissenters, who call it their Magna Charta. See *Bogue and Bennett's History of the Dissenters*, vol. i. pp. 187-198. The historian of the Catholics equally allows that the reign of William III. is 'the era from which

manent improvement in the administration of justice;[144] the final abolition of a censorship over the press;[145] and, what has not excited sufficient attention, the rapid growth of those great monetary interests by which, as we shall hereafter see, the prejudices of the superstitious classes have in no small degree been counterbalanced.[146] These are the main characteristics of the reign of William III.; a reign often aspersed, and little understood,[147] but of which it may be truly said, that, taking its difficulties into

their enjoyment of religious toleration may be dated.' *Butler's Memoirs of the Catholics*, vol. iii. pp. 122, 139. This is said by Mr. Butler in regard, not to the Protestant dissenters, but to the Catholics; so that we have the admission of both parties as to the importance of this epoch. Even the shameful act forced upon William in 1700 was, as Mr. Hallam truly says, evaded in its worst provisions. *Const. Hist.* vol. ii. pp. 332, 333.

144 *Campbell's Chancellors*, vol. iv. pp. 102, 355, and his *Chief-Justices*, vol. ii. pp. 95, 116, 118, 136, 142, 143. See also *Barrington's Observations on the Statutes*, pp. 23, 102, 558; and even *Alison's Hist. of Europe*, vol. i. p. 236, vol. ix. p. 243; an unwary concession from such an enemy to popular liberty.

145 This was effected before the end of the seventeenth century. See *Campbell's Chancellors*, vol. iv. pp. 121, 122. Compare Lord Camden on Literary Property, in *Parl. Hist.* vol. xvii. p. 994; *Hunt's History of Newspapers*, vol. i. pp. 161, 162; *Somers Tracts*, vol. xiii. p. 555; and a more detailed account in *Macaulay's Hist. of England*, vol. iv. pp. 348 seq. 540 seq.; though Mr. Macaulay, in ascribing, p. 353, so much to the influence of Blount, has not, I think, sufficiently dwelt on the operation of larger and more general causes.

146 Mr. Cooke (*Hist. of Party*, vol. ii. pp. 5, 148) notices this remarkable rise of the monied classes early in the eighteenth century; but he merely observes, that the consequence was to strengthen the Whig party. Though this is undoubtedly true, the ultimate results, as I shall hereafter point out, were far more important than any political or even economical consequences. It was not till 1694 that the Bank of England was established; and this great institution at first met with the warmest opposition from the admirers of old times, who thought it must be useless because their ancestors did without it. See the curious details in *Sinclair's Hist. of the Revenue*, vol. iii. pp. 6-9; and on the connexion between it and the Whigs, see *Macaulay's Hist. of England*, vol. iv. p. 502. There is a short account of its origin and progress in *Smith's Wealth of Nations*, book ii. chap. ii. p. 130.

147 Frequently misunderstood, even by those who praise it. Thus, for instance, a living writer informs us that, 'great as have been the obligations which England owes, in many different views, to the Revolution, it is beyond all question the greatest, that it brought in a sovereign instructed in the art of overcoming the ignorant impatience of taxation which is the invariable characteristic of free communities; and thus gave it a government capable of turning to the best account the activity and energy of its inhabitants, at the same time that it had the means given it of maintaining their independence.' *Alison's Hist. of Europe*, vol. vii. p. 5. This, I should suppose, is the most eccentric eulogy ever passed on William III.

due consideration, it is the most successful and the most splendid recorded in the history of any country. But these topics rather belong to the subsequent volumes of this work; and at present we are only concerned in tracing the effects of the Revolution upon that ecclesiastical power by which it was immediately brought about.

Scarcely had the clergy succeeded in expelling James, when the greater number of them repented of their own act.[148] Indeed, even before he was driven from the country, several things had occurred to make them doubt the policy of the course they were pursuing. During the last few weeks that he was allowed to reign, he had shown symptoms of increasing respect for the English hierarchy. The archbishopric of York had so long been vacant, as to cause a belief that it was the intention of the crown either to appoint to it a Catholic, or else to seize its revenues.[149] But James, to the delight of the church, now filled up this important office by nominating Lamplugh, who was well known to be a stanch churchman and a zealous defender of episcopal privileges.[150] Just before this, the king also rescinded the order by which the Bishop of London had been suspended from the exercise of his functions.[151] To

[148] On their sudden repentance, and on the causes of it, see *Neal's Hist. of the Puritans*, vol. v. p. 71.

[149] *Mackintosh's Revolution of* 1688, pp. 81, 191. After the death of Archbishop Dolben, 'the see was kept vacant for more than two years.' and Cartwright hoped to obtain it. See *Cartwright's Diary*, by Hunter, 4to, 1843, p. 45. In the same way, we find from a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury (*Clarendon Corresp.* vol. i. p. 409) that in May 1686 uneasiness was felt because the Irish bishoprics were not filled up. Compare *Burnet*, vol. iii. p. 103. Carwithen (*Hist. of the Ch. of England*, vol. ii. p. 492) says, that James had intended to raise the Jesuit Petre to the archbishopric.

[150] Lamplugh was translated from the bishopric of Exeter to the archbishopric of York in November 1688 See the contemporary account in the *Ellis Correspondence*, vol. ii. p. 303, and *Ellis's Original Letters*, second series, vol. iv. p. 151. He was a most orthodox man; and not only hated the dissenters, but showed his zeal by persecuting them. *Wilson's Life of De Foe*, vol. i. pp. 94, 95. Compare an anecdote of him in *Baxter's Life of Himself*, folio, 1696, part iii. pp. 178, 179.

[151] In a letter, dated London, 29th September 1688 (*Ellis Correspondence*, vol. ii. p. 224, and *Ellis's Orig. Letters*, second series, vol. iv. p. 128), it is stated, that the Bishop of London's 'suspension is taken off.' See also *Somers Tracts*, vol. ix. p. 215. This is the more observable, because, according to Johnstone, there was an intention, in December 1687, of depriving him. *Mackintosh's Revolution*, pp. 211, 212.

the bishops in general he made great promises of future favour;[152] some of them, it was said, were to be called to his privy council; and, in the mean time, he cancelled that ecclesiastical commission which, by limiting their power, had excited their anger.[153] Besides this, there occurred some other circumstances which the clergy now had to consider. It was rumoured, and it was generally believed, that William was no great admirer of ecclesiastical establishments; and that, being a friend to toleration, he was more likely to diminish the power than increase the privileges of the English hierarchy.[154] It was also known that he favoured the Presbyterians, whom the church not unreasonably regarded as her bitterest enemies.[155] And when, in addition to all this, William, on mere grounds of expediency, actually abolished episcopacy in Scotland, it

[152] This disposition on the part of the king again to favour the bishops and the church became a matter of common remark in September 1688. See *Ellis Correspond.* vol. ii. pp. 201, 202, 209, 219, 224, 225, 226, 227; *Clarendon Correspond.* vol. ii. pp. 188, 192. Sir John Reresby, who was then in London, writes, in October 1688, that James 'begins again to court the Church of England.' *Reresby's Memoirs*, p. 357. Indeed, the difficulties of James were now becoming so great, that he had hardly any choice.

[153] *Ellis Correspond.* vol. ii. p. 211; *Life of James II.*, edit. Clarke, vol. ii. p. 189.

[154] In November 1687, it was said that he wished the dissenters to have 'entire liberty for the full exercise of their religion,' and to be freed 'from the severity of the penal laws.' *Somers Tracts*, vol. ix. p. 184. This is the earliest distinct notice I have seen of William's desire to deprive the church of the power of punishing nonconformists; but after he arrived in England his intentions became obvious. In January 1688-9 the friends of the church complained 'that the countenance he gave the dissenters gave too much cause of jealousy to the Church of England.' *Clarendon Correspond.* vol. ii. p. 238. Compare *Neal's Hist. of the Puritans*, vol. v. p. 81; *Bogue and Bennett's Hist. of the Dissenters*, vol. ii. p. 318; *Birch's Life of Tillotson*, pp. 156, 157; *Somers Tracts*, vol. x. p. 341, vol. xi. p. 108. Burnet, in his summary of the character of William, observes that, 'his indifference as to the forms of church-government, and his being zealous for toleration, together with his cold behaviour towards the clergy, gave them generally very ill impressions of him.' *Own Time*, vol. iv. p. 550. At p. 192 the bishop says, 'He took no notice of the clergy, and seemed to have little concern in the matters of the church or of religion.'

[155] Sir John Reresby, who was an attentive observer of what was going on, says, 'The prince, upon his arrival, seemed more inclined to the Presbyterians than to the members of the church; which startled the clergy.' *Reresby's Memoirs*, p. 375: see also pp. 399, 405: 'the church-people hated the Dutch, and had rather turn Papists than receive the Presbyterians among them.' Compare *Evelyn's Diary*, vol. iii. p. 281: 'the Presbyterians, our new governors.'

became evident that, by thus repudiating the doctrine of divine right, he had directed a great blow against those opinions on which, in England, ecclesiastical authority was based.[156]

While these things were agitating the public mind, the eyes of men were naturally turned upon the bishops, who, though they had lost much of their former power, were still respected by a large majority of the people as the guardians of the national religion. But at this critical moment they were so blinded, either by their ambition or by their prejudices, that they adopted a course which of all others was the most injurious to their reputation. They made a sudden attempt to reverse that political movement of which they were themselves the principal originators. Their conduct on this occasion amply confirms that account of their motives which I have already given. If, in aiding those preliminary measures by which the Revolution was effected, they had been moved by a desire of relieving the nation from despotism, they would have eagerly welcomed that great man at whose approach the despot took to flight. This is what the clergy would have done, if they had loved their country better than they loved their order. But they pursued a precisely opposite course; because they preferred the petty interests of their own class to the welfare of the great body of the people, and because they would rather that the country should be oppressed than that the church should be humbled. Nearly the whole of the bishops and clergy had, only a

[156] Burnet (*Own Time*, vol. iv. p. 50) says of the clergy in 1689: 'The king was suspected by them, by reason of the favour showed to dissenters; but chiefly for his abolishing episcopacy in Scotland, and his consenting to the setting up presbytery there.' On this great change, compare *Bogue and Bennett's History of Dissenters*, vol. ii. pp. 379-384; *Barry's Hist. of the Orkney Islands*, p. 257; *Neal's Hist. of the Puritans*, vol. v. pp. 85, 86: and on the indignation felt by the Anglican clergy at the abolition of episcopacy in Scotland, see a contemporary pamphlet in *Somers Tracts*, vol. ix. pp. 510, 516, where fears are expressed lest William should effect a similar measure in England. The writer very fairly observes, p. 522, 'For if we give up the *jus divinum* of episcopacy in Scotland, we must yield it also as to England. And then we are wholly precarious.' See also vol. x. pp. 341, 503; *Lathbury's Hist. of Convocation*, pp. 277, 278; and *Macpherson's Original Papers*, vol. i. p. 509.

few weeks before, braved the anger of their sovereign sooner than read in their churches an edict for religious toleration, and seven of the most influential of the episcopal order had, in the same cause, willingly submitted to the risk of a public trial before the ordinary tribunals of the land. This bold course they professed to have adopted, not because they disliked toleration, but because they hated tyranny. And yet when William arrived in England, and when James stole away from the kingdom like a thief in the night, this same ecclesiastical profession pressed forward to reject that great man, who, without striking a blow, had by his mere presence saved the country from the slavery with which it was threatened. We shall not easily find in modern history another instance of such gross inconsistency, or rather, let us say, of such selfish and reckless ambition. For this change of plan, far from being concealed, was so openly displayed, and the causes of it were so obvious, that the scandal was laid bare before the whole country. Within the space of a few weeks the apostasy was consummated. The first in the field was the Archbishop of Canterbury, who, anxious to retain his office, had promised to wait upon William. But when he saw the direction things were likely to take, he withdrew his promise, and would not recognize a prince who showed such indifference to the sacred order.[157] Indeed, so great was his anger, that he sharply rebuked his chaplain for presuming to pray for William and Mary, although they had been proclaimed with the full consent of the nation, and although the crown had been delivered to them by the solemn and deliberate act of a public convention of the estates of the realm.[158] While such was the conduct of the

[157] *Burnet's Own Time*, vol. iii. p. 840. Burnet, who had the best means of information, says, 'Though he had once agreed to it, yet would not come.' Lord Clarendon, in his *Diary*, 3d January 1688-9, writes, that the archbishop expressed to him on that day his determination neither to call on William nor even to send to him (*Clarendon Correspond.* vol. ii. p. 240); and this resolution appears to have been taken deliberately: 'he was careful not to do it, for the reasons he formerly gave me.'

[158] See the account given by his chaplain Wharton, in *D'Oyly's Life of Sancroft*, p. 259, where it is stated that the archbishop was very irate ('vehementer excandescens'), and told him, 'that he must thenceforward

primate of England, his brethren were not wanting to him in this great emergency of their common fate. The oath of allegiance was refused not only by the Archbishop of Canterbury, but also by the Bishop of Bath and Wells, by the Bishop of Chester, by the Bishop of Chichester, by the Bishop of Ely, by the Bishop of Gloucester, by the Bishop of Norwich, by the Bishop of Peterborough, and by the Bishop of Worcester.[159] As to the inferior clergy, our information is less precise; but it is said that about six hundred of them imitated their superiors in declining to recognize for their king him whom the country had elected.[160] The other members of this turbulent faction were unwilling, by so bold a measure, to incur that deprivation of their livings with which William would probably have visited them. They, therefore, preferred a safer and more inglorious opposition, by which they could embarrass the government without injuring themselves, and could gain the reputation of orthodoxy without incurring the pains of martyrdom.

The effect which all this produced on the temper of the nation, may be easily imagined. The question was now narrowed to an issue which every plain man could at once understand. On the one side, there was an overwhelming majority of the clergy.[161] On the other side, there was all the intellect of England, and all her dearest interests. The mere fact that such an opposition could exist without kindling a civil war, showed how the grow-

desist from offering prayers for the new king and queen, or else from performing the duties of his chapel.' See also *Birch's Life of Tillotson*, p. 144. Thus too the Bishop of Norwich declared 'that he would not pray for King William and Queen Mary.' *Clarendon Correspond.* vol. ii. p. 263. The same spirit was universal among the high-church clergy; and when public prayers were offered up for the king and queen, they were called by the nonjurors 'the immoral prayers,' and this became a technical and recognized expression. *Life of Ken, by a Layman*, vol. ii. pp. 648, 650.

159 *Lathbury's Hist. of the Nonjurors*, p. 45; *D'Oyly's Sancroft*, p. 260.

160 Nairne's Papers mention, in 1693, 'six hundred ministers who have not taken the oaths.' *Macpherson's Orig. Papers*, vol. i. p. 459.

161 The only friends William possessed among the clergy were the low-churchmen, as they were afterwards called; and it is supposed that they formed barely a tenth of the entire body in 1689: 'We should probably overrate their numerical strength, if we were to estimate them at a tenth part of the priesthood.' *Macaulay's Hist. of England*, vol. iii. p. 74.

ing intelligence of the people had weakened the authority of the ecclesiastical profession. Besides this, the opposition was not only futile, but it was also injurious to the class that made it.[162] For it was now seen that the clergy only cared for the people, as long as the people cared for them. The violence with which these angry men[163] set themselves against the interests of the nation, clearly proved the selfishness of that zeal against James, of which they had formerly made so great a merit. They continued to hope for his return, to intrigue for him, and in some instances to correspond with him; although they well knew that his presence would cause a civil war, and that he was so generally hated, that he dared not show his face in England unless protected by the troops of a foreign and hostile power.[164]

But this was not the whole of the damage which, in

[162] The earliest allusion I have seen to the injury the clergy were inflicting on the church, by their conduct after the arrival of William, is in *Evelyn's Diary*, vol. iii. p. 273,—a curious passage, gently hinting at the 'wonder of many,' at the behaviour of 'the Archbishop of Canterbury, and some of the rest.' With Evelyn, who loved the church, this was an unpleasant subject; but others were less scrupulous; and in parliament, in particular, men did not refrain from expressing what must have been the sentiments of every impartial observer. In the celebrated debate, in January 1688-9, when the throne was declared vacant, Pollexfen said: 'Some of the clergy are for one thing, some for another; I think they scarce know what they would have.' *Parl. Hist.* vol. v. p. 55. In February, Maynard, one of the most influential members, indignantly said: 'I think the clergy are out of their wits; and I believe, if the clergy should have their wills, few or none of us should be here again.' *Ibid.* vol. v. p. 129. The clergy were themselves bitterly sensible of the general hostility; and one of them writes, in 1694: 'The people of England, who were so excessively enamoured of us when the bishops were in the tower, that they hardly forbore to worship us, are now, I wish I could say but cool and very indifferent towards us.' *Somers Tracts*, vol. ix. p. 525. The growing indignation against the clergy, caused by their obvious desire to sacrifice the country to the interests of the church, is strikingly displayed in a letter from Sir Roland Gwyne, written in 1710, and printed in *Macpherson's Orig. Papers*, vol. ii. p. 207.

[163] They are so called by Burnet: 'these angry men, that had raised this flame in the church.' *Own Time*, vol. v. p. 17.

[164] Indeed, the high-church party, in their publications, distinctly intimated, that if James were not recalled, he should be reinstated by a foreign army. *Somers Tracts*, vol. x. pp. 377, 405, 457, 462. Compare *Mahon's Hist. of England*, vol. ii. p. 138. Burnet (*Own Time*, vol. iv. pp. 361, 362) says, they were 'confounded' when they heard of the peace of 1697; and Calamy (*Life of Himself*, vol. ii. p. 322) makes the same remark on the death of Louis XIV.: 'It very much puzzled the counsels of the Jacobites, and spoiled their projects.'

those anxious times, the church inflicted upon herself. When the bishops refused to take the oaths to the new government, measures were adopted to remove them from their sees; and William did not hesitate to eject by force of law the Archbishop of Canterbury and five of his brethren.[165] The prelates, smarting under the insult, were goaded into measures of unusual activity. They loudly proclaimed that the powers of the church, which had long been waning, were now extinct.[166] They denied the right of the legislature to pass a law against them. They denied the right of the sovereign to put that law into execution.[167] They not only continued to give themselves the title of bishops, but they made arrangements to perpetuate the schism which their own violence had created. The Archbishop of Canterbury, as he insisted upon being called, made a formal renunciation of his imaginary right into the hands of Lloyd,[168] who still supposed himself to be Bishop of Norwich, although William had recently expelled him from his see. The scheme of these turbulent priests was then communicated to James, who willingly supported their plan for establishing a permanent feud in the English church.[169] The result of this conspiracy between the rebellious prelates and the pretended king, was the appointment of a series of men who gave themselves

[165] *D'Oyly's Life of Sancroft*, p. 266; *Wordsworth's Eccl. Biog.* iv. p. 683.

[166] Sancroft, on his deathbed, in 1693, prayed for the 'poor suffering church, which, by this revolution, is almost destroyed.' *D'Oyly's Sancroft*, p. 311; and *Macpherson's Original Papers*, vol. i. p 280. See also *Remarks*, published in 1693 (*Somers Tracts*, vol. x. p. 504), where it is said, that William had, 'as far as possible he could, dissolved the true old Church of England;' and that, 'in a moment of time, her face was so altered, as scarce to be known again.'

[167] 'Ken, though deprived, never admitted in the secular power the right of deprivation; and it is well known that he studiously retained his title.' *Bowles's Life of Ken*, vol. ii. p. 225. Thus, too, Lloyd, so late as 1703, signs himself, 'Wm. Nor.' (*Life of Ken, by a Layman*, vol. ii. p. 720); though, having been legally deprived, he was no more bishop of Norwich than he was emperor of China. And Sancroft, in the last of his letters, published by D'Oyly (*Life*, p. 303), signs 'W. C.'

[168] The strange document, by which he appointed Dr. Lloyd his vicar-general, is printed in Latin, in *D'Oyly's Sancroft*, p. 295, and in English, in *Life of Ken, by a Layman*, vol. ii. p. 640.

[169] *Lathbury's Hist. of the Nonjurors*, p. 96; *Life of Ken, by a Layman*, vol. ii. pp. 641, 642.

out as forming the real episcopacy, and who received the homage of every one who preferred the claims of the church to the authority of the state.[170] This mock succession of imaginary bishops continued for more than a century;[171] and, by dividing the allegiance of churchmen, lessened the power of the church.[172] In several instances, the unseemly spectacle was exhibited, of two bishops for the same place; one nominated by the spiritual power, the other nominated by the temporal power. Those who considered the church as superior to the state, of course attached themselves to the spurious bishops; while the appointments of William were acknowledged by that ra-

[170] The struggle between James and William was essentially a struggle between ecclesiastical interests and secular interests; and this was seen as early as 1689, when, as we learn from Burnet, who was much more a politician than a priest, 'the church was as the word given out by the Jacobite party, under which they might more safely shelter themselves.' *Own Time*, vol. iv. p. 57. See also, on this identification of the Jacobites with the church, *Birch's Life of Tillotson*, p. 222; and the argument of Dodwell, pp. 246, 247, in 1691. Dodwell justly observed, that the successors of the deprived bishops were schismatical, in a spiritual point of view; and that, 'if they should pretend to lay authority as sufficient, they would overthrow the being of a church as a society.' The bishops appointed by William were evidently intruders, according to church principles; and as their intrusion could only be justified according to lay principles, it followed that the success of the intrusion was the triumph of lay principles over church ones. Hence it is, that the fundamental idea of the rebellion of 1688, is the elevation of the state above the church; just as the fundamental idea of the rebellion of 1642, is the elevation of the commons above the crown.

[171] According to Dr. D'Oyly (*Life of Sancroft*, p. 297), Dr. Gordon 'died in London, November 1779, and is supposed to have been the last nonjuring bishop.' In *Short's Hist. of the Church of England*, p. 583, Lond. 1847, it is also stated, that 'this schism continued till 1779.' But Mr. Hallam (*Const. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 404) has pointed out a passage, in the *State Trials*, which proves that another of the bishops, named Cartwright, was still living at Shrewsbury in 1793; and Mr. Lathbury (*Hist. of the Nonjurors*, Lond. 1845, p. 412) says, that he died in 1799.

[172] Calamy (*Own Life*, vol. i. pp. 328-330, vol. ii. pp. 338, 357, 358) gives an interesting account of these feuds within the church, consequent upon the revolution. Indeed, their bitterness was such, that it was necessary to coin names for the two parties; and, between 1700 and 1702, we, for the first time, hear the expressions, high-church and low-church. See *Burnet's Own Time*, vol. iv. p. 447, vol. v. p. 70. Compare *Wilson's Life of De Foe*, vol. ii. p. 26; *Parl. Hist.* vol. vi. pp. 162, 498. On the difference between them, as it was understood in the reign of Anne, see *Somers Tracts*, vol. xii. p. 532, and *Macpherson's Orig. Papers*, vol. ii. p. 166. On the dawning schism in the church, see the speech of Sir T. Littleton, in 1690, *Parl. Hist.* vol. v. p. 593. Hence many complained that they could not tell which was the real church. See curious evidence of this perplexity in *Somers Tracts*, vol. ix. pp. 477-481.

pidly increasing party, who preferred secular advantages to ecclesiastical theories.[173]

Such were some of the events which, at the end of the seventeenth century, widened the breach that had long existed between the interests of the nation and the interests of the clergy.[174] There was also another circumstance which considerably increased this alienation. Many of the English clergy, though they retained their affection for James, did not choose to brave the anger of the government, or risk the loss of their livings. To avoid this, and to reconcile their conscience with their interest, they availed themselves of a supposed distinction between a king by right and a king in possession.[175] The consequence was, that while with their lips they took an oath of allegiance to William, they in their hearts paid homage to James; and, while they prayed for one king in their churches, they were bound to pray for another in their closets.[176] By this wretched subterfuge, a large body of

[173] The alternative is fairly stated in a letter written in 1691 (*Life of Ken, by a Layman*, vol. ii. p. 599): 'If the deprived bishop be the only lawful bishop, then the people and clergy of his diocese are bound to own him, and no other; then all the bishops who own the authority of a new archbishop, and live in communion with him, are schismatics; and the clergy who live in communion with schismatical bishops are schismatics themselves; and the whole Church of England now established by law is schismatical.'

[174] Lord Mahon (*Hist. of England*, vol. ii. p. 245) notices, what he terms, the 'unnatural alienation between the church and state,' consequent upon the Revolution of 1688: and on the diminished power of the church caused by the same event, see *Phillimore's Mem. of Lyttleton*, vol. i. p. 352.

[175] The old absurdity of *de facto* and *de jure*; as if any man could retain a right to a throne which the people would not allow him to occupy!

[176] In 1715, Leslie, by far the ablest of them, thus states their position: 'You are now driven to this dilemma,—swear, or swear not: if you swear, you kill the soul; and if you swear not, you kill the body, in the loss of your bread.' *Somers Tracts*, vol. xiii. p. 686. The result of the dilemma was what might have been expected; and a high-church writer, in the reign of William III., boasts (*Somers Tracts*, vol. x. p. 344) that the oaths taken by the clergy were no protection to the government: 'not that the government receives any security from oaths.' Whiston, too, says in his *Memoirs*, p. 30: 'Yet do I too well remember that the far greatest part of those of the university and clergy that then took the oaths to the government, seemed to me to take them with a doubtful conscience, if not against its dictates.' This was in 1693; and, in 1710, we find: 'There are now circumstances to make us believe that the Jacobite clergy have the like instructions to take any oaths, to get possession of a pulpit for the service of the cause, to bellow out the hereditary right, the pretended title of the Pretender.' *Somers Tracts*,

the clergy were at once turned into concealed rebels; and we have it on the authority of a contemporary bishop, that the prevarication of which these men were notoriously guilty, was a still further aid to that scepticism, the progress of which he bitterly deplores.[177]

As the eighteenth century advanced, the great movement of liberation rapidly proceeded. One of the most important of the ecclesiastical resources had formerly been Convocation; in which the clergy, by meeting in a body, were able to discountenance in an imposing manner whatever might be hostile to the church; and had, moreover, an opportunity, which they sedulously employed, of devising schemes favourable to the spiritual authority.[178] But, in the progress of the age, this weapon also was taken from them. Within a very few years after the Revolution, Convocation fell into general contempt;[179] and, in 1717, this celebrated assembly was finally prorogued by an act of the crown, it being justly considered that the country

vol. xii. p. 641. A knowledge of this fact, or, at all events, a belief of it, was soon diffused; and, eight years later, the celebrated Lord Cowper, then lord chancellor, said, in the House of Lords, 'that his majesty had also the best part of the landed, and all the trading interest; *that as to the clergy, he would say nothing—but that it was notorious that the majority of the populace had been poisoned, and that the poison was not yet quite expelled.*' *Parl. Hist.* vol. vii. p. 541; also given, but not quite *verbatim*, in *Campbell's Chancellors*, vol. iv. p. 365.

[177] 'The prevarication of too many in so sacred a matter contributed not a little to fortify the growing atheism of the present age.' *Burnet's Own Time*, vol. iii. p 381. See also, to the same effect, vol. iv. pp. 176, 177; and a remarkable passage in *Somers Tracts*, vol. xii. p. 573. I need hardly add, that it was then usual to confuse scepticism with atheism; though the two things are not only different, but incompatible. In regard to the quibble respecting *de facto* and *de jure*, and the use made of it by the clergy, the reader should compare *Wilson's Mem. of De Foe*, vol. i. pp. 171, 172; *Somers Tracts*, vol. ix. p. 531; *Campbell's Chancellors*, vol. iv. p. 409; and a letter from the Rev. Francis Jessop, written in 1717, in *Nichols's Lit. Illustrations*, vol. iv. pp. 120-123.

[178] Among which must be particularly mentioned the practice of censuring all books that encouraged free inquiry. In this respect, the clergy were extremely mischievous. See *Lathbury's Hist. of Convocation*, pp. 124, 286, 338, 351; and *Wilson's Life of De Foe*, vol. ii. p. 170.

[179] In 1704, Burnet (*Own Time*, vol. v. p. 138) says of Convocation, 'but little opposition was made to them, as very little regard was had to them.' In 1700, there was a squabble between the upper and lower house of Convocation for Canterbury; which, no doubt, aided these feelings. See *Life of Archbishop Sharp*, edited by Newcome, vol. i. p. 348, where this wretched feud is related with great gravity.

had no further occasion for its services.[180] Since that period, this great council of the English church has never been allowed to meet for the purpose of deliberating on its own affairs, until a few years ago, when, by the connivance of a feeble government, it was permitted to reassemble. So marked, however, has been the change in the temper of the nation, that this once formidable body does not now retain even a semblance of its ancient influence; its resolutions are no longer feared, its discussions are no longer studied; and the business of the country continues to be conducted without regard to those interests, which, only a few generations ago, were considered by every statesman to be of supreme importance.[181]

Indeed, immediately after the Revolution, the tendency of things became too obvious to be mistaken, even by the most superficial observers. The ablest men in the country no longer flocked into the church, but preferred those secular professions in which ability was more likely to be rewarded.[182] At the same time, and as a natural

[180] Charles Butler (*Reminiscences*, vol. ii. p. 95) says, that the final prorogation was in 1720; but, according to all the other authorities I have met with, it was in 1717. See *Hallam's Const. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 395; *Lathbury's Hist. of Convocation*, p. 385; *Mahon's Hist. of England*, vol. i. p. 302; *Monk's Life of Bentley*, vol. ii. p. 350.

[181] A letter, written by the Rev. Thomas Clayton in 1727, is worth reading, as illustrating the feelings of the clergy on this subject. He asserts, that one of the causes of the obvious degeneracy of the age is, that, owing to Convocation not being allowed to meet, 'bold and impious books appear barefaced to the world without any public censure.' See this letter, in *Nichols's Illustrations of the Eighteenth Century*, vol. iv. pp. 414-416; and compare with it, *Letters between Warburton and Hurd*, pp. 310-312.

[182] On the decline of ability in ecclesiastical literature, see note 38 in this chapter. In 1685, a complaint was made that secular professions were becoming more sought after than ecclesiastical ones. See *England's Wants*, sec. lvi. in *Somers Tracts*, vol. ix. p. 231, where the writer mournfully states, that in his time 'physic and law, professions ever acknowledged in all nations to be inferior to divinity, are generally embraced by gentlemen, and sometimes by persons nobly descended, and *preferred much above the divine's profession*.' This preference was, of course, most displayed by young men of intellect; and a large amount of energy being thus drawn off from the church, gave rise to that decay of spirit and of general power which has been already noticed; and which is also indicated by Coleridge, in his remarks on the 'apologizing theology' which succeeded the Revolution. *Coleridge's Lit. Remains*, vol. iii. pp. 51, 52, 116, 117, 119. Compare *Stephen's Essays on Ecclesiast. Biog.* 2d edit. 1850, vol. ii. p. 66, on 'this depression of theology;' and *Hare's Mission of the Comforter*, 1850, p. 264, on the 'in-

part of the great movement, the clergy saw all the offices of power and emolument, which they had been used to hold, gradually falling out of their hands. Not only in the dark ages, but even so late as the fifteenth century, they were still strong enough to monopolize the most honourable and lucrative posts in the empire.[183] In the sixteenth century, the tide began to turn against them, and advanced with such steadiness, that, since the seventeenth century, there has been no instance of any ecclesiastic being made lord chancellor;[184] and, since the beginning of the eighteenth century, there has been no instance of one receiving any diplomatic appointment, or, indeed, holding any important office in the state.[185] Nor has this increasing ascendency of laymen been confined to the executive government. On the contrary, we find in both Houses of Parliament the same principle at work. In the early and barbarous periods of our history, one half of the House of Lords consisted of temporal peers; the other half

tellectually feebler age.' Evelyn, in 1691, laments the diminished energy then beginning to be observed among 'young preachers.' *Evelyn's Diary*, vol. iii. p. 309; and, for another notice, in 1696, of this 'dead and lifeless way of preaching,' see *Life of Cudworth*, p. 35, in vol. i. of *Cudworth's Intellect Syst.*

[183] Sharon Turner, describing the state of things in England in the fifteenth century, says, 'Clergymen were secretaries of government, the privy seals, cabinet counsellors, treasurers of the crown, ambassadors, commissioners to open parliament, and to Scotland; presidents of the king's council, supervisors of the royal works, chancellors, keepers of the records, the masters of the rolls, and even the physicians, both to the king and to the duke of Gloucester, during the reign of Henry VI. and afterwards.' *Turner's Hist. of England*, vol. vi. p. 132. On their enormous wealth, see *Eccleston's English Antiquities*, p. 146: 'In the early part of the fourteenth century, it is calculated that very nearly one-half of the soil of the kingdom was in the hands of the clergy.'

[184] In 1625, Williams bishop of Lincoln was dismissed from his office of lord-keeper; and Lord Campbell observes (*Lives of the Chancellors*, vol. ii. p. 492): 'This is the last time that an ecclesiastic has held the great seal of England; and, notwithstanding the admiration in some quarters of mediæval usages, I presume the experiment is not likely to be soon repeated.'

[185] Monk (*Life of Bentley*, vol. i. p. 222) says, that Dr. John Robinson, bishop of Bristol, was 'lord privy seal, and plenipotentiary at the treaty of Utrecht; and is the last ecclesiastic in England who has held any of the high offices of state.' A high-church writer, in 1712, complains of the efforts that were being made to 'thrust the churchmen out of their places of power in the government.' *Somers Tracts*, vol. xiii. p. 211.

of spiritual ones.[186] By the beginning of the eighteenth century, the spiritual peers, instead of forming one-half of the upper house, had dwindled away to one-eighth;[187] and, in the middle of the nineteenth century, they have still further shrunk to one-fourteenth:[188] thus supplying a striking numerical instance of that diminution of ecclesiastical power which is an essential requisite of modern civilization. Precisely in the same way, more than fifty years have elapsed since any clergyman has been able to take his seat as a representative of the people; the House of Commons having, in 1801, formally closed their doors against a profession which, in the olden time, would have been gladly admitted, even by the proudest and most exclusive assembly.[189] In the House of Lords, the bishops still retain their seats; but their precarious tenure is everywhere remarked, and the progress of public opinion is constantly pointing to a period, which cannot now be far distant, when the Peers will imitate the example set by the Commons, and will induce the legislature to relieve the upper house of its spiritual members; since they, by their habits, their tastes, and their traditions, are evidently unfitted for the profane exigencies of political life.[190]

[186] In and after the reign of Henry III. 'the number of archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, and ecclesiastical persons was for the most part equal to, and very often far exceeded, the number of the temporal lords and barons.' *Parry's Parliaments and Councils of England*, London, 1839, p. xvii. Of this Mr. Parry gives several instances; the most remarkable of which is, that 'in 49 Henry III., 120 prelates, and only 23 temporal lords, were summoned.' This, of course, was an extreme case.

[187] See an analysis of the House of Lords, in 1713, in *Mahon's Hist. of England*, vol. i. pp. 43-45; from which it appears that the total was 207, of whom 26 were spiritual. This includes the Catholics.

[188] By the returns in Dod for 1854, I find that the House of Lords contains 436 members, of whom 30 belong to the episcopal bench.

[189] For different accounts, and of course different views, of this final expulsion of the clergy from the House of Commons, see *Pellew's Life of Sidmouth*, vol. i. pp. 419, 420; *Stephens's Mem. of Tooke*, vol. ii. pp. 247-260; *Holland's Mem. of the Whig Party*, vol. i. pp. 178-180; *Campbell's Chancellors*, vol. vii. p. 148; *Twiss's Life of Eldon*, vol. i. p. 263; *Adolphus's Hist. of George III.*, vol. vii. p. 487.

[190] That the banishment of the clergy from the lower house was the natural prelude to the banishment of the bishops from the upper, was hinted at the time, and with regret, by a very keen observer. In the discussion 'on the Bill to prevent Persons in Holy Orders from sitting in the House of Commons,' Lord Thurlow 'mentioned the tenure of the bishops at this

While the fabric of superstition was thus tottering from internal decay, and while that ecclesiastical authority which had formerly played so great a part was gradually yielding to the advance of knowledge, there suddenly occurred an event which, though it might naturally have been expected, evidently took by surprise even those whom it most interested. I allude, of course, to that great religious revolution, which was a fitting supplement to the political revolution which preceded it. The dissenters, who were strengthened by the expulsion of James, had by no means forgotten those cruel punishments which the Church of England, in the days of her power, had constantly inflicted upon them; and they felt that the moment had now come when they could assume towards her a bolder front than that on which they had hitherto ventured.[191] Besides this, they had in the mean time received fresh causes of provocation. After the death of our great king William III., the throne was occupied by a foolish and ignorant woman, whose love for the clergy would, in a more superstitious age, have led to dangerous results.[192] Even as it was, a temporary reaction took

time, and said, if the bill went to disfranchise the lower orders of the clergy, it might go the length of *striking at the right of the reverend bench opposite to seats in that house*; though he knew it had been held that the reverend prelates sat, in the right of their baronies, as temporal peers.' *Parl. Hist.* vol. xxxv. p. 1542.

[191] It is impossible now to ascertain the full extent to which the Church of England, in the seventeenth century, persecuted the dissenters; but Jeremy White is said to have had a list of sixty thousand of these sufferers between 1660 and 1688, of whom no less than five thousand died in prison. *Bogue and Bennett's Hist. of the Dissenters*, vol. i. p. 108. On the cruel spirit which the clergy displayed in the reign of Charles II. compare *Harris's Lives of the Stuarts*, vol. v. p. 106; *Orme's Life of Owen*, p. 344; *Somers Tracts*, vol. xii. p. 534. Indeed, Harwood frankly said in the House of Commons, in 1672, 'Our aim is to bring all dissenting men into the Protestant church, and he that is not willing to come into the church should not have ease.' *Parl. Hist.* vol. iv. p. 530. On the zeal with which this principle was carried out, see an account, written in 1671, in *Somers Tracts*, vol. vii. pp. 586-615; and the statement of De Foe, in *Wilson's Life of De Foe*, vol. ii. pp. 443-444.

[192] Besides the correspondence which the Duchess of Marlborough preserved for the instruction of posterity, we have some materials for estimating the abilities of Anne in the letters published in *Dalrymple's Memoirs*. In one of them Anne writes, soon after the Declaration for Liberty of Conscience was issued, 'It is a melancholy prospect that all we of the Church of England have. All the sectaries may now do what they please. Every

place, and during her reign the church was treated with a deference which William had disdained to show.[193] The natural consequence immediately followed. New measures of persecution were devised, and fresh laws were passed against those Protestants who did not conform to the doctrines and discipline of the English church.[194] But after the death of Anne the dissenters quickly rallied; their hopes revived,[195] their numbers continued to increase, and in spite of the opposition of the clergy, the laws against them were repealed.[196] As by these means they were placed more on a level with their opponents, and as their temper was soured by the injuries they had recently received, it was clear that a great struggle between the two parties was inevitable.[197] For by this time the protracted

one has the free exercise of their religion, on purpose, no doubt, to ruin us, which I think to all impartial judges is very plain.' *Dalrymple's Memoirs*, appendix to book v. vol. ii. p. 173.

[193] See a notable passage in *Somers Tracts*, vol. xii. p. 558, which should be compared with *Wilson's Life of De Foe*, vol. iii. p. 372.

[194] *Bogue and Bennett's History of the Dissenters*, vol. i. pp. 228-230, 237, 260-277; and *Hallam's Const. Hist.* vol. ii. pp. 396, 397. Mr. Hallam says, 'It is impossible to doubt for an instant, that if the queen's life had preserved the Tory government for a few years, every vestige of the toleration would have been effaced.' It appears from the *Vernon Correspond.* vol. iii. p. 228, Lond. 1841, that soon after the accession of Anne, there was a proposal 'to debar dissenters of their votes in elections;' and we know from Burnet (*Own Time*, vol. v. pp. 108, 136, 137, 218) that the clergy would have been glad if Anne had displayed even more zeal against them than she really did.

[195] *Bogue and Bennett's Hist. of the Dissenters*, vol. iii. p. 118. In Ivimey's *History of the Baptists*, it is said that the death of Anne was an 'answer to the dissenters' prayers.' *Southey's Commonplace Book*, third series, p. 185; see also p. 147, on the joy of the dissenters at the death of this troublesome woman.

[196] Two of the worst of them, 'the act against occasional conformity, and that restraining education, were repealed in the session of 1719.' *Hallam's Const. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 398. The repeal of the act against occasional conformity was strenuously opposed by the archbishops of York and of Canterbury (*Bogue and Bennett's Hist. of the Dissenters*, vol. iii. p. 132); but their opposition was futile; and when the Bishop of London, in 1726, wished to strain the Act of Toleration, he was prevented by Yorke, the attorney-general. See the pithy reply of Yorke, in *Harris's Life of Hardwicke*, vol. i. pp. 193, 194.

[197] At the end of the seventeenth century, great attention was excited by the way in which the dissenters were beginning to organize themselves into societies and synods. See, in the *Vernon Correspond.* vol. ii. pp. 128-130, 133, 156, some curious evidence of this, in letters written by Vernon, who was then secretary of state; and on the apprehensions caused by the increase

tyranny of the English clergy had totally destroyed those feelings of respect which, even in the midst of hostility, often linger in the mind; and by the influence of which, if they had still existed, the contest might perhaps have been averted. But such motives of restraint were now despised; and the dissenters, exasperated by incessant persecution,[198] determined to avail themselves of the declining power of the church. They had resisted her when she was strong; it was hardly to be expected that they would spare her when she was feeble. Under two of the most remarkable men of the eighteenth century, Whitefield, the first of theological orators,[199] and Wesley, the first of theological statesmen,[200] there was organized a great system of religion, which bore the same relation to the Church of England that the Church of England bore to the Church of Rome. Thus, after an interval of two

of their schools, and by their systematic interference in elections, see *Life of Archbishop Sharp*, edited by Newcome, vol. i. pp. 125, 358. The church was eager to put down all dissenters' schools; and in 1705, the Archbishop of York told the House of Lords that he 'apprehended danger from the increase of dissenters, and particularly from the many academies set up by them.' *Parl. Hist.* vol. vi. pp. 492, 493. See also, on the increase of their schools, pp. 1351, 1352.

[198] In *Somers Tracts*, vol. xii. p. 684, it is stated, that in the reign of Charles II. 'this hard usage had begotten in the dissenters the utmost animosity against the persecuting churchmen.' Their increasing discontent, in the reign of Anne, was observed by Calamy. See *Calamy's Own Life*, vol. ii. pp. 244, 255, 274, 284, 285.

[199] If the power of moving the passions be the proper test by which to judge an orator, we may certainly pronounce Whitefield to be the greatest since the apostles. His first sermon was delivered in 1736 (*Nichols's Lit. Anec.* vol. ii. pp. 102, 122); his field-preaching began in 1739 (*Southey's Life of Wesley*, vol. i. pp. 196, 197); and the eighteen thousand sermons which he is said to have poured forth during his career of thirty-four years (*Southey's Wesley*, vol. ii. p. 531) produced the most astonishing effects on all classes, educated and uneducated. For evidence of the excitement caused by this marvellous man, and of the eagerness with which his discourses were read as well as heard, see *Nichols's Lit. Anec.* vol. ii. pp. 546, 547, and his *Illustrations*, vol. iv. pp. 302-304; *Mem. of Franklin, by Himself*, vol. i. pp. 161-167; *Doddridge's Correspond.* vol. iv. p. 55; *Stewart's Philos. of the Mind*, vol. iii. pp. 291, 292; *Lady Mary Montagu's Letters*, in her Works, 1803, vol. iv. p. 162; *Correspond. between Ladies Pomfret and Hartford*, 2nd edit. 1806, vol. i. pp. 138, 160-162; *Marchmont Papers*, vol. ii. p. 377.

[200] Of whom Mr. Macaulay has said (*Essays*, vol. i. p. 221, 3rd edit.), that his 'genius for government was not inferior to that of Richelieu;' and strongly as this is expressed, it will hardly appear an exaggeration to those who have compared the success of Wesley with his difficulties.

hundred years, a second spiritual Reformation was effected in our country. In the eighteenth century the Wesleyans were to the Bishops what, in the sixteenth century, the Reformers were to the Popes.[201] It is indeed true, that the dissenters from the Church of England, unlike the dissenters from the Church of Rome, soon lost that intellectual vigour for which at first they were remarkable. Since the death of their great leaders, they have not produced one man of original genius; and since the time of Adam Clarke, they have not had among them even a single scholar who has enjoyed an European reputation. This mental penury is perhaps owing, not to any circumstances peculiar to their sect, but merely to that general decline of the theological spirit, by which their adversaries have been weakened as well as themselves.[202] Be this as it may, it is at all events certain, that the injury they have inflicted on the English church is far greater than is generally supposed, and, I am inclined to think, is hardly inferior to that which in the sixteenth century Protestantism inflicted upon Popery. Setting aside the actual loss in the number of its members,[203] there can be no doubt

[201] It was in 1739 that Wesley first openly rebelled against the church, and refused to obey the Bishop of Bristol, who ordered him to quit his diocese. *Southey's Life of Wesley*, vol. i. pp. 226, 243. In the same year he began to preach in the fields. See the remarkable entry in his *Journals*, p. 78, 29th March, 1739.

[202] They frankly confess that 'indifference has been another enemy to the increase of the dissenting cause.' *Bogue and Bennett's Hist. of the Dissenters*, vol. iv. p. 320. In *Newman's Development of Christian Doctrine*, pp. 39-43, there are some remarks on the diminished energy of Wesleyanism, which Mr. Newman seems to ascribe to the fact that the Wesleyans have reached that point in which 'order takes the place of enthusiasm.' p. 43. This is probably true; but I still think that the larger cause has been the more active one.

[203] Walpole, in his sneering way, mentions the spread of Methodism in the middle of the eighteenth century (*Walpole's Letters*, vol. ii. pp. 266, 272); and Lord Carlisle, in 1775, told the House of Lords (*Parl. Hist.* vol. xviii. p. 634) 'that Methodism was daily gaining ground, particularly in the manufacturing towns;' while, to come down still later, it appears from a letter by the Duke of Wellington to Lord Eldon (*Twiss's Life of Eldon*, vol. ii. p. 35) that about 1808 it was making proselytes in the army.

These statements, though accurate, are somewhat vague; but we have other and more precise evidence respecting the rapid growth of religious dissent. According to a paper found in one of the chests of William III., and printed by Dalrymple (*Memoirs*, vol. ii. part. ii., appendix to chapter i. p. 40), the proportion in England of conformists to nonconformists was as

that the mere formation of a Protestant faction, unopposed by the government, was a dangerous precedent; and we know from contemporary history that it was so considered by those who were most interested in the result.[204] Besides this, the Wesleyans displayed an organization so superior to that of their predecessors the Puritans, that they soon became a centre round which the enemies of the church could conveniently rally. And, what is perhaps still more important, the order, regularity, and publicity, by which their proceedings have usually been marked, distinguished them from other sects; and by raising them as it were to the dignity of a rival establishment, have encouraged the diminution of that exclusive and superstitious respect which was once paid to the Anglican hierarchy.[205]

22⅘ to 1. Eighty-four years after the death of William, the dissenters, instead of comprising only a twenty-third, were estimated at 'a fourth part of the whole community.' Letter from Watson to the Duke of Rutland, written in 1786, in *Life of Watson, Bishop of Llandaff*, vol. i. p. 246. Since then, the movement has been uninterrupted; and the returns recently published by government disclose the startling fact, that on Sunday, 31st March 1851, the members of the Church of England who attended morning service only exceeded by one-half the Independents, Baptists, and Methodists who attended at their own places of worship. See the Census Table, in *Journal of Statist. Soc.* vol. xviii. p. 151. If this rate of decline continues, it will be impossible for the Church of England to survive another century the attacks of her enemies.

[204] The treatment which the Wesleyans received from the clergy, many of whom were magistrates, shows what would have taken place if such violence had not been discouraged by the government. See *Southey's Life of Wesley*, vol. i. pp. 395-406. Wesley has himself given many details, which Southey did not think proper to relate, of the calumnies and insults to which he and his followers were subjected by the clergy. See *Wesley's Journals*, pp. 114, 145, 178, 181, 198, 235, 256, 275, 375, 562, 619, 637, 646. Compare *Watson's Observations on Southey's Wesley*, pp. 173, 174; and for other evidence of the treatment of those who differed from the church, see *Correspondence and Diary of Doddridge*, vol. ii. p. 17, vol. iii. pp. 108, 131, 132, 144, 145, 156. Grosley, who visited England in 1765, says of Whitefield, 'The ministers of the established religion did their utmost to baffle the new preacher; they preached against him, representing him to the people as a fanatic, a visionary, &c. &c.; in fine, they opposed him with so much success, that they caused him to be pelted with stones in every place where he opened his mouth to the public.' *Grosley's Tour to London*, Lond. 1772, vol. i. p. 356.

[205] That Wesleyanism encouraged dissent by imparting to it an orderly character, which in some degree approximated to church-discipline, is judiciously observed in *Bogue and Bennett's History of the Dissenters*, vol. iii. pp. 165, 166. But these writers deal rather too harshly with Wesley; though

But these things, interesting as they are, only formed a single step of that vast process by which the ecclesiastical power was weakened, and our countrymen thus enabled to secure a religious liberty, imperfect indeed, but far superior to that possessed by any other people. Among the innumerable symptoms of this great movement, there were two of peculiar importance. These were, the separation of theology, first from morals, and then from politics. The separation from morals was effected late in the seventeenth century; the separation from politics before the middle of the eighteenth century. And it is a striking instance of the decline of the old ecclesiastical spirit, that both these great changes were begun by the clergy themselves. Cumberland, bishop of Peterborough, was the first who endeavoured to construct a system of morals without the aid of theology.[206] Warburton, bishop of Gloucester, was the first who laid down that the state must consider religion in reference, not to revelation, but

there is no doubt that he was a very ambitious man, and over-fond of power. At an early period of his career he began to aim at objects higher than those attempted by the Puritans, whose efforts, particularly in the sixteenth century, he looked at somewhat contemptuously. Thus, for instance, in 1747, only eight years after he had revolted against the church, he expresses in his Journal his wonder 'at the weakness of those holy confessors' (the Elizabethan Puritans), 'many of whom spent so much of their time and strength in disputing about surplice and hoods, or kneeling at the Lord's Supper!' *Journals*, p. 249, March 13th, 1747. Such warfare as this would have ill satisfied the soaring mind of Wesley; and from the spirit which pervades his voluminous Journals, as well as from the careful and far-seeing provisions which he made for managing his sect, it is evident that this great schismatic had larger views than any of his predecessors, and that he wished to organise a system capable of rivalling the established church.

[206] Mr. Hallam (*Lit. of Europe*, vol. iii. p. 390) says, that Cumberland 'seems to have been the first Christian writer who sought to establish systematically the principles of moral right independently of revelation.' See also, on this important change, *Whewell's Hist. of Moral Philosophy in England*, pp. 12, 54. The dangers always incurred by making theology the basis of morals are now pretty well understood; but by no writer have they been pointed out more clearly than by M. Charles Comte: see the able exposition in his *Traité de Législation*, vol. i. pp. 223-247. There is a short and unsatisfactory account of Cumberland's book in *Mackintosh's Ethical Philosophy*, pp. 134-137. He was a man of considerable learning, and is noticed by M. Quatremère as one of the earliest students of Coptic. *Quatremère sur la Langue et la Littérature de l'Egypte*, p. 89. He was made a bishop in 1691, having published the *De Legibus* in 1672. *Chalmers's Biog. Dict.* vol. xi. pp. 133, 135.

to expediency; and that it should favour any particular creed, not in proportion to its truth, but solely with a view to its general utility.[207] Nor were these mere barren principles, which subsequent inquirers were unable to apply. The opinions of Cumberland, pushed to their furthest extent by Hume,[208] were shortly afterwards applied to practical conduct by Paley,[209] and to speculative jurisprudence by Bentham and Mill;[210] while the opinions of Warburton, spreading with still greater rapidity, have influenced our legislative policy, and are now professed, not only by advanced thinkers, but even by those ordinary men, who, if

207 This was in his work entitled *The Alliance between Church and State*, which first appeared, according to Hurd (*Life of Warburton*, 1794, 4to, p. 13), in 1736, and, as may be supposed, caused great scandal. The history of its influence I shall trace on another occasion; in the mean time, the reader should compare, respecting its tendency, *Palmer on the Church*, vol. ii. pp. 313, 322, 323; *Parr's Works*, vol. i. pp. 657, 665, vol. vii. p. 128; *Whately's Dangers to Christian Faith*, p. 190; and *Nichols's Lit. Anec.* vol. iii. p. 18. In January 1739-40, Warburton writes to Stukeley (*Nichols's Illustrations*, vol. ii. p. 53): 'But you know how dangerous new roads in theology are, by the clamour of the bigots against me.' See also some letters which passed between him and the elder Pitt in 1762, on the subject of expediency, printed in *Chatham Correspond.* vol. ii. pp. 184 seq. Warburton writes, p. 190, 'My opinion is, and ever was, that the state has nothing at all to do with errors in religion, nor the least right so much as to attempt to repress them.' To make such a man a bishop was a great feat for the eighteenth century, and would have been an impossible one for the seventeenth.

208 The relation between Cumberland and Hume consists in the entirely secular plan according to which both investigated ethics; in other respects, there is great difference between their conclusions; but if the anti-theological method is admitted to be sound, it is certain that the treatment of the subject by Hume is more consequential from the premisses, than is that by his predecessor. It is this which makes Hume a continuator of Cumberland; though with the advantage, not only of coming half a century after him, but of possessing a more comprehensive mind. The ethical speculations of Hume are in the third book of his *Treatise of Human Nature* (*Hume's Philosophical Works*, Edin. 1826, vol. ii. pp. 219 seq.), and in his *Inquiry concerning the Principles of Morals*, ibid. vol. iv. pp. 237-365.

209 The moral system of Paley, being essentially utilitarian, completed the revolution in that field of inquiry; and as his work was drawn up with great ability, it exercised immense influence in an age already prepared for its reception. His *Moral and Political Philosophy* was published in 1785; in 1786 it became a standard book at Cambridge; and by 1805 it had 'passed through fifteen editions.' *Meadley's Memoirs of Paley*, pp. 127, 145. Compare *Whewell's Hist. of Moral Philosophy*, p. 176

210 That the writings of these two eminent men form part of the same scheme, is well known to those who have studied the history of the school to which they belong; and on the intellectual relation they bore to each other, I cannot do better than refer to a very striking letter by James Mill himself, in *Bentham's Works*, edit. Bowring, vol. x. pp. 481, 482.

they had lived fifty years earlier, would have shrunk from them with undissembled fear.[211]

Thus it was that, in England, theology was finally severed from the two great departments of ethics and of government. As, however, this important change was at first not of a practical, but solely of an intellectual character, its operation was, for many years, confined to a small class, and has not yet produced the whole of those results which we have every reason to anticipate. But there were other circumstances which tended in the same direction, and which, being known to all men of tolerable education, produced effects more immediate, though perhaps less permanent. To trace their details, and point out the connexion between them, will be the business of part of the future volumes of this work: at present, I can only glance at the leading features. Of these, the most prominent were: The great Arian controversy, which, rashly instigated by Whiston, Clarke, and Waterland, disseminated doubts among nearly all classes;[212] the Bangorian controversy, which, involving matters of ecclesiastical discipline hitherto untouched, led to discussions dangerous to the power of the church;[213] the great work of

[211] The repeal of the Test Act, the admission of Catholics into parliament, and the steadily increasing feeling in favour of the admission of the Jews, are the leading symptoms of this great movement. On the gradual diffusion among us of the doctrine of expediency, which, on all subjects not yet raised to sciences, ought to be the sole regulator of human actions, see a remarkable, but a mournful letter, written in 1812, in the *Life of Wilberforce*, vol. iv. p. 28. See also the speech of Lord Eldon in 1828, in *Twiss's Life of Eldon*, vol. ii. p. 203.

[212] From a curious passage in *Hutton's Life of Himself*, p. 27, we learn that, in 1739, the scepticism of the Anti-Trinitarians had penetrated among the tradesmen at Nottingham. Compare, respecting the spread of this heresy, *Nichols's Lit. Anec.* vol. viii. p. 375; *Priestley's Memoirs*, vol. i. pp. 25, 26, 53; *Doddridge's Correspond. and Diary*, vol. ii. p. 477 note; and on Peirce, who took an active part, and whom Whiston boasts of having corrupted, see *Whiston's Memoirs*, pp. 143, 144. Sharp, who was Archbishop of York when the controversy began, foresaw its dangerous consequences. *Life of Sharp*, edited by Newcome, vol. ii. pp. 7, 8, 135, 136. See further *Maclaine's note* in *Mosheim's Ecclesiast. Hist.* vol. ii. pp. 293, 294; *Lathbury's Hist. of Convocation*, pp. 338, 342, 351; and a note in *Butler's Reminisc.* vol. i pp. 206, 207.

[213] Mr. Butler (*Mem. of the Catholics*, vol. iii. pp. 182-184, 347-350) notices with evident pleasure the effect of this famous controversy in weakening the Anglican Church. Compare *Bogue and Bennett's Hist. of the Dissenters*, vol. iii.

Blackburne on the Confessional, which at one moment almost caused a schism in the Establishment itself;[214] the celebrated dispute respecting miracles between Middleton, Church, and Dodwell, continued, with still larger views, by Hume, Campbell, and Douglas;[215] the exposure of the gross absurdities of the Fathers, which, already begun by Daillé and Barbeyrac, was followed up by Cave, Middleton, and Jortin; the important and unrefuted statements of Gibbon, in his fifteenth and sixteenth chapters; the additional strength conferred on those chapters by the lame attacks of Davis, Chelsum, Whitaker, and Watson;[216]

pp. 135-141. Whiston (*Memoirs*, p. 244) says: 'And, indeed, this Bangorian controversy seemed for a great while to engross the attention of the public.' See more about it in *Lathbury's Hist. of Convocation*, pp. 372-383; *Nichols's Lit. Anec.* vol. i. p. 152, vol. ix. pp. 433, 434, 516; *Nichols's Illustrations*, vol. i. p. 840; *Bishop Newton's Life of Himself*, pp. 177, 178.

[214] *The Confessional*, a most able attack on the subscription of creeds and articles, was published in 1766; and, according to a contemporary observer, 'it excited a general spirit of inquiry.' *Cappe's Memoirs*, pp. 147, 148. The consequence was, that in 1772 a society was instituted by Blackburne and other clergy of the Church of England, with the avowed object of doing away with all subscriptions in religion. *Nichols's Lit. Anec.* vol. i. p. 570; *Illustrations*, vol. vi. p. 854. A petition against the Articles was at once drawn up, signed by 200 clergy (*Adolphus's George III.* vol. i. p. 506), and brought before the House of Commons. In the animated debate which followed, Sir William Meredith said that 'the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England were framed when the spirit of free inquiry, when liberal and enlarged notions, were yet in their infancy.' *Parl. Hist.* vol. xvii. p. 246. He added, p. 247: 'Several of the Articles are absolutely unintelligible, and, indeed, contradictory and absurd.' Lord George Germain said: 'In my apprehension, some of the Articles are incomprehensible, and some self-contradictory.' p. 265. Mr. Sawbridge declared that the Articles are 'strikingly absurd;' Mr. Salter that they are 'too absurd to be defended;' and Mr. Dunning that they are 'palpably ridiculous.' p. 294. For further information on this attempt at reform, see *Disney's Life of Jebb*, pp. 31-36; *Meadley's Mem. of Paley*, pp. 88-94; *Hodgson's Life of Porteus*, pp. 38-40; *Memoirs of Priestley*, vol. ii. p. 582; and a characteristic notice in *Palmer's Treatise on the Church*, vol. i. pp. 270, 271.

[215] Hume says, that on his return from Italy in 1749, he found 'all England in a ferment on account of Dr. Middleton's *Free Inquiry*.' *Hume's Life of Himself*, in his *Works*, vol. i. p. vii. See also, on the excitement caused by this masterly attack, *Nichols's Illustrations of the Eighteenth Century*, vol. ii. p. 176; which should be compared with *Doddridge's Correspond.* vol. iv. pp. 536, 537: and on the 'miraculous controversy' in general, see *Porteus's Life of Secker*, 1797, p. 38; *Phillimore's Mem. of Lyttleton*, vol. i. p. 161; *Nichols's Lit. Anec.* vol. ii. pp. 440, 527, vol. iii. pp. 535, 750, vol. v. pp. 417, 418, 600; *Hull's Letters*, 1778, vol. i. p. 109; *Warburton's Letters to Hurd*, pp. 49, 50.

[216] *Gibbon's Decline and Fall* has now been jealously scrutinized by two

while, not to mention inferior matters, the century was closed amid the confusion caused by that decisive controversy between Porson and Travis, respecting the text of the Heavenly Witnesses, which excited immense attention,[217] and was immediately accompanied by the discoveries of geologists, in which, not only was the fidelity of the Mosaic cosmogony impugned, but its accuracy was shown to be impossible.[218] These things, following each other in rapid and startling succession, perplexed the faith

generations of eager and unscrupulous opponents; and I am only expressing the general opinion of competent judges when I say, that by each successive scrutiny it has gained fresh reputation. Against his celebrated fifteenth and sixteenth chapters, all the devices of controversy have been exhausted; but the only result has been, that while the fame of the historian is untarnished, the attacks of his enemies are falling into complete oblivion. The work of Gibbon remains; but who is there who feels any interest in what was written against him?

217 On the effect produced by these matchless letters of Porson, see *Harford's Life of Bishop Burgess*, p. 374; and as to the previous agitation of the question in England, see *Calamy's Own Life*, vol. ii. pp. 442, 443; *Monk's Life of Bentley*, vol. ii. pp. 16-19, 146, 286-289; *Butler's Reminiscences*, vol. i. p. 211. Compare *Somers Tracts*, vol. xii. p. 137, vol. xiii. p. 458.

218 The sceptical character of geology was first clearly exhibited during the last thirty years of the eighteenth century. Previously, the geologists had for the most past allied themselves with the theologians; but the increasing boldness of public opinion now enabled them to institute independent investigations, without regard to doctrines hitherto received. In this point of view, much was effected by the researches of Hutton, whose work, says Sir Charles Lyell, contains the first attempt 'to explain the former changes of the earth's crust by reference exclusively to natural agents.' *Lyell's Principles of Geology*, p. 50. To establish this method was, of course, to dissolve the alliance with the theologians; but an earlier symptom of the change was seen in 1773, that is, fifteen years before Hutton wrote: see a letter in *Watson's Life of Himself*, vol. i. p. 402, where it is stated that the 'free-thinkers' attacked the 'Mosaic account of the world's age, especially since the publication of Mr. Brydone's *Travels through Sicily and Malta*.' According to Lowndes (*Bibliographer's Manual*, vol. i. p. 279), Brydone's book was published in 1773; and in 1784 Sir William Jones notices the tendency of these inquiries: see his *Discourse on the Gods of Greece, Italy, and India*, in which he observes (*Works*, vol. i. p. 233) with regret, that he lived in 'an age when some intelligent and virtuous persons are inclined to doubt the authenticity of the accounts delivered by Moses concerning the primitive world.' Since then, the progress of geology has been so rapid, that the historical value of the writings of Moses is abandoned by all enlightened men, even among the clergy themselves. I need only refer to what has been said by two of the most eminent of that profession, Dr. Arnold and Mr. Baden Powell. See the observations of Arnold in *Newman's Phases of Faith*, p. 111 (compare pp. 122, 123); and the still more decisive remarks in *Powell's Sermons on Christianity without Judaism*, 1856, pp. 38, 39. For other instances, see *Lyell's Second Visit to the United States*, 1849, vol. i. pp. 219, 220.

of men, disturbed their easy credulity, and produced effects on the public mind, which can only be estimated by those who have studied the history of that time in its original sources. Indeed, they cannot be understood, even in their general bearings, except by taking into consideration some other circumstances with which the great progress was intimately connected.

For, in the mean time, an immense change had begun, not only among speculative minds, but also among the people themselves. The increase of scepticism stimulated their curiosity; and the diffusion of education supplied the means of gratifying it. Hence, we find that one of the leading characteristics of the eighteenth century, and one which pre-eminently distinguished it from all that preceded, was a craving after knowledge on the part of those classes from whom knowledge had hitherto been shut out. It was in that great age, that there were first established schools for the lower orders on the only day they had time to attend them,[219] and newspapers on the only day they had time to read them.[220] It was then that there were first seen, in our country, circulating libraries;[221] and it was then, too, that the art of printing,

[219] It is usually supposed that Sunday-schools were begun by Raikes, in 1781; but, though he appears to have been the first to organize them on a suitable scale, there is no doubt that they were established by Lindsey, in or immediately after 1765. See *Cappe's Memoirs*, pp. 118, 122; *Harford's Life of Burgess*, p. 92; *Nichols's Lit. Anec.* vol. iii. pp. 430, 431, vol. ix. p. 540; *Chalmers's Biog. Dict.* vol. xxv. p. 485; *Journ. of Stat. Soc.* vol. x. p. 196, vol. xiii. p. 265; *Hodgson's Life of Porteus*, p. 92. It is said, in *Spencer's Social Statics*, p. 343, that the clergy of the Church of England were, as a body, opposed to the establishment of Sunday-schools. (Compare *Watson's Observations on Southey's Wesley*, p. 149.) At all events, they increased rapidly, and by the end of the century had become common. See *Nichols's Lit. Anec.* vol. v. pp. 678, 679; *Nichols's Illustrations*, vol. i. p. 460; *Life of Wilberforce*, vol. i. p. 180, vol. ii. p. 296; *Wesley's Journals*, pp. 806, 897.

[220] Mr. Hunt (*Hist. of Newspapers*, vol. i. p. 273) makes no mention of Sunday newspapers earlier than a notice by Crabbe in 1785; but, in 1799, Lord Belgrave said, in the House of Commons, that they first appeared 'about the year 1780.' *Parl. Hist.* vol. xxxiv. p. 1006. In 1799, Wilberforce tried to have a law enacted to suppress them. *Life of Wilberforce*, vol. ii. pp. 338, 424.

[221] When Franklin came to London, in 1725, there was not a single circulating library in the metropolis. See *Franklin's Life of Himself*, vol. i. p. 64; and, in 1697, 'the only library in London which approached the nature of a public library was that of Sion College, belonging to the London

instead of being almost confined to London, began to be generally practised in country-towns.[222] It was also in the eighteenth century, that the earliest systematic efforts were made to popularize the sciences, and facilitate the acquisition of their general principles, by writing treatises on them in an easy and untechnical style;[223] while, at the

clergy.' *Ellis's Letters of Literary Men*, p. 245. The exact date of the earliest circulating library I have not yet ascertained; but, according to Southey (*The Doctor*, edit. Warter, 1848, p. 271), the first set up in London was about the middle of the eighteenth century, by Samuel Fancourt. Hutton (*Life of Himself*, p. 279) says, 'I was the first who opened a circulating library in Birmingham, in 1751.' Other notices of them, during the latter half of the century, will be found in *Coleridge's Biographia Literaria*, vol. ii. p. 329, edit. 1847; *Leigh Hunt's Autobiography*, vol. i. p. 260; *Nichols's Lit. Anec.* vol. iii. pp. 648, 682; *Nichols's Illustrations*, vol. i. p. 424; *Whewell's Hist. of Moral Philosophy*, p. 190; *Sinclair's Correspond.* vol. i. p. 143. Indeed, they increased so rapidly, that some wise men proposed to tax them, 'by a licence, at the rate of 2*s*. 6*d*. per 100 volumes per annum.' *Sinclair's Hist. of the Revenue*, vol. iii. p. 268.

[222] In 1746, Gent, the well-known printer, wrote his own life. In this curious work, he states, that in 1714 there were 'few printers in England, except London, at that time; none then, I am sure, at Chester, Liverpool, Whitehaven, Preston, Manchester, Kendal, and Leeds, as for the most part now abound.' *Life of Thomas Gent*, pp. 20, 21. (Compare a list of country printing-houses, in 1724, in *Nichols's Lit. Anec.* vol. i. p. 289.) How this state of things was remedied, is a most important inquiry for the historian; but in this note I can only give a few illustrations of the condition of different districts. The first printing-office in Rochester was established by Fisher, who died in 1786 (*Nichols's Lit. Anec.* vol. iii. p. 675); the first in Whitby, was in 1770 (*Illustrations*, vol. iii. p. 787); and Richard Greene, who died in 1793, 'was the first who brought a printing-press to Lichfield' (*Ibid.* vol. vi. p. 320). In the reign of Anne, there was not a single bookseller in Birmingham (*Southey's Commonplace Book*, 1st series, 1849, p. 568); but, in 1749, we find a printer established there (*Hull's Letters*, Lond. 1778, vol. i. p. 92); and, in 1774, there was a printer even in Falkirk (*Parl Hist.* vol. xvii. p. 1099). In other parts the movement was slower; and we are told that, about 1780, 'there was scarcely a bookseller in Cornwall.' *Life of Samuel Drew, by his Son*, 1834, pp. 40, 41.

[223] Desaguliers and Hill were the two first writers who gave themselves up to popularizing physical truths. At the beginning of the reign of George I. Desaguliers was 'the first who read lectures in London on experimental philosophy.' *Southey's Commonplace Book*, 3d series, 1850, p. 77. See also *Penny Cyclopædia*, vol. viii. p. 430; and, on his elementary works, compare *Nichols's Lit. Anec.* vol. vi. p. 81. As to Hill, he is said to have set the example of publishing popular scientific works in numbers; a plan so well suited to that inquisitive age, that, if we believe Horace Walpole, he 'earned fifteen guineas a week.' *Letter to Henry Zouch*, January 3d, 1761, in *Walpole's Letters*, vol. iv. p. 117, edit. 1840.

In the latter half of the eighteenth century, the demand for books on the natural sciences rapidly increased (see, among many other instances which might be quoted, a note in *Pulteney's Hist. of Botany*, vol. ii. p. 180); an early in the reign of George III., Priestley began to write popularly

same time, the invention of Encyclopædias enabled their results to be brought together, and digested in a form more accessible than any hitherto employed.[224] Then, too, we first meet with literary periodical reviews; by means of which large bodies of practical men acquired information, scanty indeed, but every way superior to their former ignorance.[225] The formation of societies for purchasing books now became general;[226] and, before the close of the century, we hear of clubs instituted by reading men among the industrious classes.[227] In every department, the same eager curiosity was shown. In the middle of the eighteenth century, debating societies sprung up among tradesmen;[228] and this was followed by a still bolder innovation, for, in 1769, there was held the first public meeting ever

physical subjects. (*Memoirs of Priestley*, vol. i. pp. 288, 289.) Goldsmith did something in the same direction (*Prior's Life of Goldsmith*, vol. i. pp. 414, 469, vol. ii. p. 198); and Pennant, whose earliest work appeared in 1766, was 'the first who treated the natural history of Britain in a popular and interesting style.' *Swainson on the Study of Natural History*, p. 50. In the reign of George II., publishers began to encourage elementary works on chemistry. *Nichols's Lit. Anec.* vol. ix. p. 763.

[224] In 1704, 1708, and 1710, Harris published his *Dictionary of Arts and Sciences;* and from this, according to *Nichols's Lit. Anec.* vol. ix. pp. 770, 771, has 'originated all the other dictionaries and cyclopædias that have since appeared.' Compare vol. v. p. 659; and *Bogue and Bennett's Hist. of the Dissenters*, vol. iv. p. 500.

[225] Late in the seventeenth century, an attempt was first made in England to establish literary journals. *Hallam's Lit. of Europe*, vol. iii. p. 539; and *Dibdin's Bibliomania*, 1842, p. 16. But reviews, as we now understand the word, meaning a critical publication, were unknown before the accession of George II.; but, about the middle of his reign, they began to increase. Compare *Wright's England under the House of Hanover*, 1848, vol. i. p. 304, with *Nichols's Lit. Anec.* vol. iii. pp. 507, 508. At an earlier period, the functions of reviews were performed, as Monk says, by pamphlets. *Monk's Life of Bentley*, vol. i. p. 112.

[226] As we find from many casual notices of book-clubs and book-societies. See, for example *Doddridge's Correspond.* vol. ii. pp. 57, 119; *Jesse's Life of Selwyn*, vol. ii. p. 23; *Nichols's Illustrations of the Eighteenth Century*, vol. v. pp. 184, 824, 825; *Wakefield's Life of Himself*, vol. i. p. 528; *Memoirs of Sir J. E. Smith*, vol. i. p. 8; *Life of Roscoe, by his Son*, vol. i. p. 228 (though this last was perhaps a circulating library).

[227] 'Numerous associations or clubs, composed principally of reading men of the lower ranks.' *Life of Dr Currie, by his Son*, vol. i. p. 175.

[228] Of which the most remarkable was that called the Robin-Hood Society; respecting which the reader should compare *Campbell's Lives of the Chancellors*, vol. vi. p. 373; *Grosley's London*, vol. i. p. 150; *Parl. Hist.* vol. xvii. p. 301; *Southey's Commonplace Book*, 4th series, p. 339; *Forster's Life of Goldsmith*, vol. i. p. 310; *Prior's Life of Goldsmith*, vol. i. pp. 419, 420; *Prior's Life of Burke*, p. 75; *Nichols's Lit. Anec.* vol. iii. p. 154.

assembled in England, the first in which it was attempted to enlighten Englishmen respecting their political rights.[229] About the same time, the proceedings in our courts of law began to be studied by the people, and communicated to them through the medium of the daily press.[230] Shortly before this, political newspapers arose,[231] and a sharp struggle broke out between them and the two Houses of Parliament touching the right of publishing the debates; the end of which was, that both houses, though aided by the crown, were totally defeated; and, for the first time, the people were able to study the proceedings of the national legislature, and thus gain some acquaintance with

[229] 'From the summer of 1769 is to be dated the first establishment of public meetings in England.' *Albemarle's Mem. of Rockingham*, vol. ii. p. 93. 'Public meetings, ... through which the people might declare their newly-acquired consciousness of power, ... cannot be distinctly traced higher than the year 1769; but they were now (*i.e.* in 1770) of daily occurrence.' *Cooke's Hist. of Party*, vol. iii. p. 187. See also *Hallam's Const. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 420.

[230] The most interesting trials were first noticed in newspapers towards the end of the reign of George II. *Campbell's Chancellors*, vol. v. p. 52, vol. vi. p. 54.

[231] In 1696, the only newspapers were weekly; and the first daily paper appeared in the reign of Anne. Compare *Simmonds's Essay on Newspapers*, in *Journal of Statist. Society*, vol. iv. p. 113, with *Hunt's Hist. of Newspapers*, vol. i. pp. 167, 175, vol. ii. p. 90; and *Nichols's Lit. Anec.* vol. iv. p. 80. In 1710, they, instead of merely communicating news, as heretofore, began to take part in 'the discussion of political topics' (*Hallam's Const. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 443); and, as this change had been preceded a very few years by the introduction of cheap political pamphlets (see a curious passage in *Wilson's Life of De Foe*, vol. ii. p. 29), it became evident that a great movement was at hand in regard to the diffusion of such inquiries. Within twenty years after the death of Anne, the revolution was completed; and the press, for the first time in the history of the world, was made an exponent of public opinion. The earliest notice of this new power which I have met with, in parliament, is in a speech delivered by Danvers, in 1738; which is worth quoting, both because it marks an epoch, and because it is characteristic of that troublesome class to which the man belonged. 'But I believe,' says this distinguished legislator,—'but I believe the people of Great Britain are governed by a power that never was heard of, as a supreme authority, in any age or country before. This power, sir, does not consist in the absolute will of the prince, in the direction of parliament, in the strength of an army, in the influence of the clergy; neither, sir, is it a petticoat government: but, sir, it is the government of the press. The stuff which our weekly newspapers are filled with, is received with greater reverence than acts of parliament; and the sentiments of one of these scribblers have more weight with the multitude than the opinion of the best politician in the kingdom.' *Parl. Hist.* vol. x. p. 448.

the national affairs.[232] Scarcely was this triumph completed, when fresh stimulus was given by the promulgation of that great political doctrine of personal representation,[233] which must eventually carry all before it; and the germ of which may be traced late in the seventeenth century, when the true idea of personal independence began to take root and flourish.[234] Finally, it was reserved for the eighteenth century, to set the first example of calling on the people to adjudicate upon those solemn questions of religion in which hitherto they had never been consulted, although it is now universally admitted that to their growing intelligence these, and all other matters, must ultimately be referred.[235]

[232] This great contest was brought to a close in 1771 and 1772; when, as Lord Campbell says, 'the right of publishing parliamentary debates was substantially established.' *Campbell's Chancellors*, vol. v. p. 511, vol. vi. p. 90. For further information respecting this important victory, see *Cooke's Hist. of Party*, vol. iii. pp. 179-184; *Almon's Correspond. of Wilkes*, 1805, vol. v. p. 63; *Stephens's Mem. of Tooke*, vol. i. pp. 329-351; *Mahon's Hist. of England*, vol. v. p. 290; and, on its connexion with *Junius's Letters*, see *Forster's Life of Goldsmith*, vol. ii. pp. 183, 184.

George III., always consistent and always wrong, strenuously opposed this extension of the popular rights. In 1771, he wrote to Lord North: 'It is highly necessary that this strange and lawless method of publishing debates in the papers should be put a stop to. But is not the House of Lords the best court to bring such miscreants before; as it can fine, as well as imprison, and has broader shoulders to support the odium of so salutary a measure?' *App. to Mahon*, vol. v. p. xlviii.; and *note* in *Walpole's George III.* vol. iv. p. 280, where the words, 'in the papers,' are omitted; but I copy the letter, as printed by Lord Mahon. In other respects, both versions are the same; so that we now know the idea George III. had of what constituted a miscreant.

[233] Lord John Russell, in his work on the *History of the English Constitution*, says: 'Dr. Jebb, and after him Mr. Cartwright, broached the theory of personal representation;' but this appears to be a mistake, since the theory is said to have been first put forward by Cartwright, in 1776. Compare *Russell on the Constitution*, 1821, pp. 240, 241, with *Life and Corresp. of Cartwright*, 1826, vol. i. pp. 91, 92. A letter in the *Life of Dr. Currie*, vol. ii. pp. 307-314, shows the interest which even sober and practical men were beginning to feel in the doctrine before the end of the century.

[234] On this I have a philological remark of some interest,—namely, that there is reason to believe that 'the word "independence," in its modern acceptation,' does not occur in our language before the early part of the eighteenth century. See *Hare's Guesses at Truth*, 2d series, 1848, p. 262. A similar change, though at a later period, took place in France. See the observations on the word 'individualisme,' in *Tocqueville, Démocratie en Amérique*, vol. iv. p. 156; and in the later work, by the same author, *L'Ancien Régime*, Paris, 1856, pp. 148, 149.

[235] Archbishop Whately (*Dangers to Christian Faith*, pp. 76, 77) says: 'Neither the attacks on our religion, nor the evidences in its support, were,

In connexion with all this, there was a corresponding change in the very form and make of our literature. The harsh and pedantic method, which our great writers had long been accustomed to employ, was ill suited to an impetuous and inquisitive generation, thirsting after knowledge, and therefore intolerant of obscurities formerly unheeded. Hence it was that, early in the eighteenth century, the powerful, but cumbrous, language, and the long, involved sentences, so natural to our ancient authors, were, notwithstanding their beauty, suddenly discarded, and were succeeded by a lighter and simpler style, which, being more rapidly understood, was better suited to the exigencies of the age.[236]

to any great extent, brought forward in a popular form, till near the close of the last century. On both sides, the learned (or those who professed to be such) seem to have agreed in this,—that the mass of the people were to acquiesce in the decision of their superiors, and neither should, nor could, exercise their own minds on the question.' This is well put, and quite true; and should be compared with the complaint in *Wakefield's Life of Himself*, vol. ii. p. 21; *Nichols's Lit. Anec. of the Eighteenth Century*, vol. viii. p. 144; and *Hodgson's Life of Bishop Porteus*, pp. 73, 74, 122, 125, 126. See also a speech by Mansfield, in 1781 (*Parl. Hist.* vol. xxii. p. 265), when an attempt was made to put down the 'Theological Society.' The whole debate is worth reading; not on account of its merits, but because it supplies evidence of the prevailing spirit.

[236] Coleridge (*Lit. Remains*, vol. i. pp. 230 seq.) has made some interesting remarks on the vicissitudes of English style; and he justly observes, p. 238, that, 'after the Revolution, the spirit of the nation became much more commercial than it had been before; a learned body, or clerisy, as such, gradually disappeared; and literature in general began to be addressed to the common, miscellaneous public.' He goes on to lament this change; though, in that, I disagree with him. See also *The Friend*, vol. i. p. 19, where he contrasts the modern style with 'the stately march and difficult evolutions' of the great writers of the seventeenth century. Compare, on this alteration, the preface to Nader Shah, in *Works of Sir W. Jones*, vol. v. p. 544. See also, in *Harford's Life of Burgess*, pp. 40, 41, a curious letter from Monboddo, the last of our really great pedants, mourning over this characteristic of modern composition. He terms it contemptuously a 'short cut of a style;' and wishes to return to 'the true ancient taste,' with plenty of 'parentheses'!

The truth is, that this movement was merely part of that tendency to approximate the different classes of society which was first clearly seen in the eighteenth century, and which influenced not only the style of authors, but also their social habits. Hume observes that, in the 'last age,' learned men had separated themselves too much from the world; but that, in his time, they were becoming more 'conversible.' *Essay V.*, in *Hume's Philosophical Works*, vol. iv. pp. 539, 540. That 'philosophers' were growing men of the world, is also noticed in a curious passage in *Alciphron*, dial. i., in *Berkeley's Works*, vol. i. p. 312; and, respecting the general social

The extension of knowledge being thus accompanied by an increased simplicity in the manner of its communication, naturally gave rise to a greater independence in literary men, and a greater boldness in literary inquiries. As long as books, either from the difficulty of their style, or from the general incuriosity of the people, found but few readers, it was evident that authors must rely upon the patronage of public bodies, or of rich and titled individuals. And, as men are always inclined to flatter those upon whom they are dependent, it too often happened that even our greatest writers prostituted their abilities, by fawning upon the prejudices of their patrons. The consequence was, that literature, so far from disturbing ancient superstitions, and stirring-up the mind to new inquiries, frequently assumed a timid and subservient air, natural to its subordinate position. But now all this was changed. Those servile and shameful dedications;[237] that

amalgamation, see a letter to the Countess of Bute, in 1753, in *Works of Lady Mary Montagu*, edit. 1803, vol. iv. pp. 194, 195. As to the influence of Addison, who led the way in establishing the easy, and therefore democratic, style, and who, more than any single writer, made literature popular, compare *Aikin's Life of Addison*, vol. ii. p. 65, with *Turner's Hist. of England*, vol. ii. p. 7. Subsequently a reaction was attempted by Johnson, Gibbon, and Parr; but this, being contrary to the spirit of the age, was short-lived.

[237] And the servility was, for the most part, well paid; indeed, rewarded far more than it was worth. During the sixteenth, seventeenth, and early part of the eighteenth century, a sum of money was invariably presented to the author in return for his dedication. Of course, the grosser the flattery, the larger the sum. On the relation thus established between authors and men of rank, and on the eagerness with which even eminent writers looked to their patrons for gratuities, varying from 40*s.* to 100*l.*, see *Drake's Shakespeare and his Times*, 1817, 4to, vol. ii. p. 225; *Monk's Life of Bentley*, vol. i. pp. 194, 309; *Whiston's Memoirs*, p. 203; *Nichols's Illustrations*, vol. ii. p. 709; *Harris's Life of Hardwicke*, vol. iii. p. 35; *Bunbury's Life of Hanmer*, p. 81. Compare a note in *Burton's Diary*, vol. iii. p. 52; and as to the importance of fixing on a proper person to whom to dedicate, see *Ellis's Letters of Lit. Men*, pp. 231-234; and the matter-of-fact remark in *Bishop Newton's Life*, p. 14; also, *Hughes's Letters*, edit. 1773, vol. iii. p. xxxi. appendix.

About the middle of the eighteenth century was the turning-point of this deplorable condition; and Watson, for instance, in 1769, laid it down as a rule, 'never to dedicate to those from whom I expected favours.' *Watson's Life of Himself*, vol. i. p. 54. So, too, Warburton, in 1758, boasts that his dedication was not, as usual, 'occupied by trifles or falsehoods.' See his letter, in *Chatham Correspond.* vol. i. p. 315. Nearly at the same period, the same change was effected in France, where D'Alembert set the example of ridiculing the old custom. See *Brougham's Men of Letters*, vol. ii. pp. 439, 440; *Correspond. de Madame Dudeffand*, vol. ii. p. 148; and *Œuvres de Voltaire*, vol. xl. p. 41, vol. lxi. p. 285.

mean and crouching spirit; that incessant homage to mere rank and birth; that constant confusion between power and right; that ignorant admiration for every thing which is old, and that still more ignorant contempt for every thing which is new;—all these features became gradually fainter; and authors, relying upon the patronage of the people, began to advocate the claims of their new allies with a boldness upon which they could not have ventured in any previous age.[238]

From all these things there resulted consequences of vast importance. From this simplification, independence, and diffusion[239] of knowledge, it necessarily happened, that the issue of those great disputes to which I have alluded became, in the eighteenth century, more generally known than would have been possible in any preceding century. It was now known that theological and political questions were being constantly agitated, in which genius and learning were on one side, and orthodoxy and tradition on the other. It became known that the points which were mooted were not only as to the credibility of particular facts, but also as to the truth of general principles, with which the interests and happiness of Man were intimately concerned. Disputes which had hitherto been confined to a very small part of society began to spread far and

[238] When Le Blanc visited England, in the middle of the reign of George II., the custom of authors relying upon the patronage of individuals was beginning to die away, and the plan of publishing by subscription had become general. See the interesting details in *Le Blanc, Lettres d'un Français*, vol. i. pp. 305-308; and for the former state of things, see vol. ii. pp. 148-153. Burke, who came to London in 1750, observes, with surprise, that 'writers of the first talents are left to the capricious patronage of the public. Notwithstanding discouragement, literature is cultivated to a high degree.' *Prior's Life of Burke*, p. 21. This increasing independence also appears from the fact that, in 1762, we find the first instance of a popular writer attacking public men by name; authors having previously confined themselves 'to the initials only of the great men whom they assailed.' *Mahon's Hist. of England*, vol. v. p. 19. The feud between literature and rank may be further illustrated by an entry in Holcroft's Diary for 1798, *Mem. of Holcroft*, vol. iii. p. 28.

[239] In England, the marked increase in the number of books took place during the latter half of the eighteenth century, and particularly after 1756. See some valuable evidence in *Journal of the Statistical Society*, vol. iii. pp. 383, 384. To this I may add, that between 1753 and 1792, the circulation of newspapers was more than doubled. *Hunt's Hist. of Newspapers*, vol. i. p. 252.

wide, and suggest doubts that served as materials for national thought. The consequence was, that the spirit of inquiry became every year more active, and more general; the desire for reform constantly increased; and if affairs had been allowed to run on in their natural course, the eighteenth century could not have passed away without decisive and salutary changes both in the church and the state. But soon after the middle of this period, there unfortunately arose a series of political combinations which disturbed the march of events, and eventually produced a crisis so full of danger, that, among any other people, it would certainly have ended either in a loss of liberty or in a dissolution of government. This disastrous reaction, from the effects of which England has, perhaps, barely recovered, has never been studied with any thing like the care its importance demands; indeed, it is so little understood, that no historian has traced the opposition between it and that great intellectual movement of which I have just sketched an outline. On this account, as also with the view of giving more completeness to the present chapter, I intend to examine its most important epochs, and point out, so far as I am able, the way in which they are connected with each other. According to the scheme of this Introduction, such an inquiry must, of course, be very cursory, as its sole object is to lay a foundation for those general principles, without which history is a mere assemblage of empirical observations, unconnected, and therefore unimportant. It must likewise be remembered, that as the circumstances about to be considered were not social, but political, we are the more liable to err in our conclusions respecting them; and this partly because the materials for the history of a people are more extensive, more indirect, and therefore less liable to be garbled, than are those for the history of a government; and partly because the conduct of small bodies of men, such as ministers and kings, is always more capricious, that is to say, less regulated by known laws, than is the conduct of those large bodies collectively called society, or a nation.[240] With this

[240] The apparent caprice and irregularity in small numbers arise from the

precautionary remark, I will now endeavour to trace what, in a mere political point of view, is the reactionary and retrogressive period of English history.

It must be considered as a most fortunate circumstance, that after the death of Anne,[241] the throne should be occupied for nearly fifty years by two princes, aliens in manners and in country, of whom one spoke our language but indifferently, and the other knew it not at all.[242] The immediate predecessors of George III. were, indeed, of so sluggish a disposition, and were so profoundly ignorant of the people they undertook to govern,[243] that, notwithstanding their arbitrary temper, there was no danger of their organizing a party to extend the boundaries of the royal prerogative.[244] And as they were foreigners,

perturbations produced by the operation of minor and usually unknown laws. In large numbers, these perturbations have a tendency to balance each other; and this I take to be the sole foundation of the accuracy obtained by striking an average. If we could refer all phenomena to their laws, we should never use averages. Of course, the expression *capricious* is, strictly speaking, inaccurate, and is merely a measure of our ignorance.

241 The temporary political reaction under Anne is well related by Lord Cowper, in his *Hist. of Parties*, printed in appendix to *Campbell's Lives of the Chancellors*, vol. iv. pp. 411, 412. This able work of Lord Campbell's, though rather inaccurate for the earlier period, is particularly valuable for the history of the eighteenth century.

242 See *Reminiscences of the Courts of George I. and George II. by Horace Walpole*, pp. lv. xciv.; and *Mahon's Hist. of England*, vol. i. pp. 100, 235. The fault of George II. was in his bad pronunciation of English; but George I. was not even able to pronounce it badly, and could only converse with his minister, Sir Robert Walpole, in Latin. The French court saw this state of things with great pleasure; and in December 1714, Madame de Maintenon wrote to the Princess des Ursins (*Lettres inédites de Maintenon*, vol. iii. p. 157): 'On dit que le nouveau roi d'Angleterre se dégoûte de ses sujets, et que ses sujets sont dégoûtés de lui. Dieu veuille remettre le tout en meilleur ordre!' On the effect this produced on the language spoken at the English court, compare *Le Blanc, Lettres d'un François*, vol. i. p. 159.

243 In 1715, Leslie writes respecting George I., that he is 'a stranger to you, and altogether ignorant of your language, your laws, customs, and constitution.' *Somers Tracts*, vol. xiii. p. 703.

244 Great light has been thrown upon the character of George II. by the recent publication of *Lord Hervey's Memoirs*: a curious work, which fully confirms what we know from other sources respecting the king's ignorance of English politics. Indeed, that prince cared for nothing but soldiers and women; and his highest ambition was to combine the reputation of a great general with that of a successful libertine. Besides the testimony of Lord Hervey, it is certain, from other authorities, that George II. was despised as well as disliked, and was spoken of contemptuously by observers of his

they never had sufficient sympathy with the English church to induce them to aid the clergy in their natural desire to recover their former power.[245] Besides this, the fractious and disloyal conduct of many of the hierarchy must have tended to alienate the regard of the sovereign, as it had already cost them the affection of the people.[246]

These circumstances, though in themselves they may be considered trifling, were in reality of great importance, because they secured to the nation the progress of that spirit of inquiry, which, if there had been a coalition between the crown and the church, it would have been at-

character, and even by his own ministers. See the *Marchmont Papers*, vol. i. pp. 29, 181, 187.

In reference to the decline of the royal authority, it is important to observe, that since the accession of George I. none of our sovereigns have been allowed to be present at state deliberations. See *Bancroft's American Revolution*, vol. ii. p. 47, and *Campbell's Chancellors*, vol. iii. p. 191.

245 See the remarks said to be written by Bishop Atterbury, in *Somers Tracts*, vol. xiii. p. 534, contrasting the affection Anne felt for the church with the coldness of George I. The whole of the pamphlet (pp. 521-541) ought to be read. It affords a curious picture of a baffled churchman.

246 The ill-feeling which the Church of England generally bore against the government of the two first Georges was openly displayed, and was so pertinacious as to form a leading fact in the history of England. In 1722, Bishop Atterbury was arrested, because he was known to be engaged in a treasonable conspiracy with the Pretender. As soon as he was seized, the church offered up prayers for him. 'Under the pretence,' says Lord Mahon, —'under the pretence of his being afflicted with the gout, he was publicly prayed for in most of the churches of London and Westminster.' *Mahon's Hist. of England*, vol. ii. p. 38. See also *Parl. Hist.* vol. vii. p. 988, and vol. viii. p. 347.

At Oxford, where the clergy have long been in the ascendant, they made such efforts to instil their principles as to call down the indignation of the elder Pitt, who, in a speech in Parliament in 1754, denounced that university, which he said had for many years 'been raising a succession of treason —there never was such a seminary!' *Walpole's Mem. of George II.* vol. i. p. 413. Compare the *Bedford Correspondence*, vol. i. pp. 594, 595, with *Harris's Life of Hardwicke*, vol. ii. p. 383; and on the temper of the clergy generally after the death of Anne, *Parl. Hist.* vol. vii. pp. 541, 542; *Bowles's Life of Ken*, vol. ii. pp. 188, 189; *Monk's Life of Bentley*, vol. i. pp. 370, 426.

The immediate consequence of this was very remarkable. For the government and the dissenters, being both opposed by the church, naturally combined together: the dissenters using all their influence against the Pretender, and the government protecting them against ecclesiastical prosecutions. See evidence of this in *Doddridge's Correspond. and Diary*, vol. i. p. 30, vol. ii. p. 321, vol. iii. pp. 110, 125, vol. iv. pp. 428, 436, 437; *Hutton's Life of Himself*, pp. 159, 160; *Parl. Hist.* vol. xxviii. pp. 11, 393, vol. xxix. pp. 1431, 1463; *Memoirs of Priestley*, vol. ii. p. 506; *Life of Wakefield*, vol. i. p. 220.

tempted to stifle. Even as it was, some attempts were occasionally made; but they were comparatively speaking rare, and they lacked the vigour which they would have possessed, if there had been an intimate alliance between the temporal and spiritual authorities. Indeed, the state of affairs was so favourable, that the old Tory faction, pressed by the people and abandoned by the crown, was unable for more than forty years to take any share in the government.[247] At the same time, considerable progress, as we shall hereafter see, was made in legislation; and our statute-book, during that period, contains ample evidence of the decline of the powerful party by which England had once been entirely ruled.

But by the death of George II. the political aspect was suddenly changed, and the wishes of the sovereign became once more antagonistic to the interests of the people. What made this the more dangerous was, that, to a superficial observer, the accession of George III. was one of the most fortunate events that could have occurred. The new king was born in England, spoke English as his mother tongue,[248] and was said to look upon Hanover as a foreign country, whose interests were to be considered of subordinate importance.[249] At the same time, the last hopes of the House of Stuart were now destroyed;[250] the

[247] 'The year 1762 forms an era in the history of the two factions, since it witnessed the destruction of that monopoly of honours and emoluments which the Whigs had held for forty-five years.' *Cooke's Hist. of Party*, vol. ii. p. 406. Compare *Albemarle's Memoirs of Rockingham*, vol. ii. p. 92. Lord Bolingbroke clearly foresaw what would happen in consequence of the accession of George I. Immediately after the death of Anne, he wrote to the Bishop of Rochester: 'But the grief of my soul is this, I see plainly that the Tory party is gone.' *Macpherson's Original Papers*, vol. ii. p. 651.

[248] Grosley, who visited England only five years after the accession of George III., mentions the great effect produced upon the English when they heard the king pronounce their language without 'a foreign accent.' *Grosley's Tour to London*, vol. ii. p. 106. It is well known that the king, in his first speech, boasted of being a Briton; but what is, perhaps, less generally known is, that the honour was on the side of the country: 'What a lustre,' said the House of Lords in their address to him,—'what a lustre does it cast upon the name of Briton, when you, sir, are pleased to esteem it amongst your glories!' *Parl. Hist.* vol. xv. p. 986.

[249] *Parl. Hist.* vol. xxix. p. 955; *Walpole's Mem. of George III.* vol. i. pp. 4, 110.

[250] The accession of George III. is generally fixed on as the period when

Pretender himself was languishing in Italy, where he shortly after died; and his son, a slave to vices which seemed hereditary in that family, was consuming his life in an unpitied and ignominious obscurity.[251]

And yet these circumstances, which appeared so favourable, did of necessity involve the most disastrous consequences. The fear of a disputed succession being removed, the sovereign was emboldened to a course on which he otherwise would not have ventured.[252] All those monstrous doctrines respecting the rights of kings, which the Revolution was supposed to have destroyed, were suddenly revived.[253] The clergy, abandoning the now hopeless cause of the Pretender, displayed the same zeal for the House of Hanover which they had formerly displayed for the House of Stuart. The pulpits resounded with praises of the new king, of his domestic virtues, of his piety, but above all of his dutiful attachment to the Eng-

English Jacobinism became extinct. See *Butler's Reminiscences,* vol. ii. p. 92. At the first court held by the new king, it was observed, says Horace Walpole, that 'the Earl of Litchfield, Sir Walter Bagot, and the principal Jacobites, went to court.' *Walpole's Mem. of George III.* vol. i. p. 14. Only three years earlier, the Jacobites had been active; and in 1757, Rigby writes to the Duke of Bedford: 'Fox's election at Windsor is very doubtful. There is a Jacobite subscription of 5000*l.* raised against him, with Sir James Dashwood's name at the head of it.' *Bedford Correspond.* vol. ii. p. 261.

[251] Charles Stuart was so stupidly ignorant, that at the age of twenty-five he could hardly write, and was altogether unable to spell. *Mahon's Hist. of England,* vol. iii. pp. 165, 166, and appendix, p. ix. After the death of his father, in 1766, this abject creature, who called himself king of England, went to Rome, and took to drinking. *Ibid.* vol. iii. pp. 351-353. In 1779, Swinburne saw him at Florence, where he used to appear every night at the opera, perfectly drunk. *Swinburne's Courts of Europe,* vol. i. pp. 253-255; and in 1787, only the year before he died, he continued the same degrading practice. See a letter from Sir J. E. Smith, written from Naples in March 1787, in *Smith's Correspond.* vol. i. p. 208. Another letter, written as early as 1761 (*Grenville Papers,* vol. i. p. 366), describes 'the young Pretender always drunk.'

[252] On the connexion between the decline of the Stuart interest and the increased power of the crown under George III., compare *Thoughts on the Present Discontents,* in *Burke's Works,* vol. i. pp. 127, 128, with *Watson's Life of Himself,* vol. i. p. 136; and for an intimation that this result was expected, see *Grosley's London,* vol. ii. p. 252.

[253] *Campbell's Chancellors,* vol. v. p. 245: 'The divine indefeasible right of kings became the favourite theme—in total forgetfulness of its incompatibility with the parliamentary title of the reigning monarch.' Horace Walpole (*Mem. of George III.* vol. i. p. 16) says, that in 1760 'prerogative became a fashionable word.'

lish church. The result was, the establishment of an alliance between the two parties more intimate than any that had been seen in England since the time of Charles I.[254] Under their auspices, the old Tory faction rapidly rallied, and were soon able to dispossess their rivals of the management of the government. This reactionary movement was greatly aided by the personal character of George III.; for he, being despotic as well as superstitious, was equally anxious to extend the prerogative, and strengthen the church. Every liberal sentiment, everything approaching to reform, nay, even the mere mention of inquiry, was an abomination in the eyes of that narrow and ignorant prince. Without knowledge, without taste, without even a glimpse of one of the sciences, or a feeling for one of the fine arts, education had done nothing to enlarge a mind which nature had more than usually contracted.[255] Totally ignorant of the history and resources of foreign countries, and barely knowing their geographical position, his information was scarcely more extensive respecting the people over whom he was called to rule. In that immense mass of evidence now extant, and which consists of every description of private correspondence, records of private conversation and of public acts, there is not to be found the slightest proof that he knew any one of those numerous things which the governor of a country ought to know; or, indeed, that he was acquainted with a single duty of his position, except that mere mechanical routine of

[254] The respect George III. always displayed for church-ceremonies formed of itself a marked contrast with the indifference of his immediate predecessors; and the change was gratefully noticed. Compare *Mahon's Hist. of England*, vol. v. pp. 54, 55, with the extract from Archbishop Secker, in *Bancroft's American Revolution*, vol. i. p. 440. For other evidence of the admiration both parties felt and openly expressed for each other, see an address from the bishop and clergy of St. Asaph (*Parr's Works*, vol. vii. p. 352), and a letter from the king to Pitt (*Russell's Memorials of Fox*, vol. iii. p. 251), which should be compared with *Priestley's Memoirs*, vol. i. pp. 137, 138.

[255] The education of George III. had been shamefully neglected; and when he arrived at manhood, he never attempted to repair its deficiencies, but remained during his long life in a state of pitiable ignorance. Compare *Brougham's Statesmen*, vol. i. pp. 13-15; *Walpole's Mem. of George III.* vol. i. p. 55; *Mahon's Hist. of England*, vol. iv. pp. 54, 207.

ordinary business, which might have been effected by the lowest clerk in the meanest office in his kingdom.

The course of proceeding which such a king as this was likely to follow could be easily foreseen. He gathered round his throne that great party, who, clinging to the traditions of the past, have always made it their boast to check the progress of their age. During the sixty years of his reign, he, with the sole exception of Pitt, never willingly admitted to his councils a single man of great ability;[256] not one whose name is associated with any measure of value either in domestic or in foreign policy. Even Pitt only maintained his position in the state by forgetting the lessons of his illustrious father, and abandoning those liberal principles in which he had been educated, and with which he entered public life. Because George III. hated the idea of reform, Pitt not only relinquished what he had before declared to be absolutely necessary,[257] but did not hesitate to persecute to the death the party with whom he had once associated in order to obtain it.[258] Because George III. looked upon slavery as one of those good

[256] See some good remarks by Lord John Russell in his Introduction to the *Bedford Correspondence*, vol. iii. p. lxii.

[257] In a motion for reform in Parliament in 1782, he declared that it was 'essentially necessary.' See his speech, in *Parl. Hist.* vol. xxii. p. 1418. In 1784 he mentioned 'the necessity of a parliamentary reform.' vol. xxiv. p. 349; see also pp. 998, 999. Compare *Disney's Life of Jebb*, p. 209. Nor is it true, as some have said, that he afterwards abandoned the cause of reform because the times were unfavourable to it. On the contrary, he, in a speech delivered in 1800, said (*Parl. Hist.* vol. xxxv. p. 47): 'Upon this subject, sir, I think it right to state the inmost thoughts of my mind; I think it right to declare my most decided opinion, that, *even if the times were proper for experiments, any, even the slightest, change in such a constitution must be considered as an evil.*' It is remarkable that, even as early as 1783, Paley appears to have suspected the sincerity of Pitt's professions in favour of reform. See *Meadley's Memoirs of Paley*, p. 121.

[258] In 1794 Grey taunted him with this in the House of Commons: 'William Pitt, the reformer of that day, was William Pitt, the prosecutor, ay and persecutor too, of reformers now.' *Parl. Hist.* vol. xxxi. p. 532; compare vol. xxxiii. p. 659. So too Lord Campbell (*Chief-Justices*, vol. ii. p. 544): 'He afterwards tried to hang a few of his brother reformers who continued steady in the cause.' See further, on this damning fact in the career of Pitt, *Campbell's Chancellors*, vol. vii. p. 105; *Brougham's Statesmen*, vol. ii. p. 21; *Belsham's History*, vol. ix. pp. 79, 242; *Life of Cartwright*, vol. i. p. 198; and even a letter from the mild and benevolent Roscoe, in *Life of Roscoe, by his Son*, vol. i. p. 113.

old customs which the wisdom of his ancestors had consecrated, Pitt did not dare to use his power for procuring its abolition, but left to his successors the glory of destroying that infamous trade, on the preservation of which his royal master had set his heart.[259] Because George III. detested the French, of whom he knew as much as he knew of the inhabitants of Kamtchatka or of Tibet, Pitt, contrary to his own judgment, engaged in a war with France by which England was seriously imperilled, and the English people burdened with a debt that their remotest posterity will be unable to pay.[260] But, notwithstanding all this, when Pitt, only a few years before his death, showed a determination to concede to the Irish some small share of their undoubted rights, the king dismissed him from office; and the king's friends, as they were called,[261] expressed their indignation at the presumption of a minister who could oppose the

[259] Such was the king's zeal in favour of the slave-trade, that in 1770 'he issued an instruction under his own hand commanding the governor (of Virginia), upon pain of the highest displeasure, to assent to no law by which the importation of slaves should be in any respect prohibited or obstructed.' *Bancroft's American Revolution*, vol. iii. p. 456: so that, as Mr. Bancroft indignantly observes, p. 469, while the courts of law had decided 'that as soon as any slave set his foot on English groun[illegible]omes free, the king of England stood in the path of humanity, an[illegible]imself the pillar of the colonial slave-trade.' The shuffling condu[illegible] Pitt in this matter makes it hard for any honest man to forgive him. Compare *Brougham's Statesmen*, vol ii. pp. 14, 103-105; *Russell's Mem. of Fox*, vol. iii. pp. 131, 278, 279; *Belsham's Hist. of Great Britain*, vol. x. pp 34, 35; *Life of Wakefield*, vol. i. p. 197; *Porter's Progress of the Nation*, vol. iii. p. 426; *Holland's Mem. of the Whig Party*, vol. ii. p. 157; and the striking remarks of Francis, in *Parl. Hist.* vol. xxxii. p. 949.

[260] That Pitt wished to remain at peace, and was hurried into the war with France by the influence of the court, is admitted by the best-informed writers, men in other respects of different opinions. See, for instance, *Brougham's Statesmen*, vol. ii. p. 9; *Rogers's Introduction to Burke's Works*, p. lxxxiv.; *Nicholls's Recollections*, vol. ii. pp. 155, 200.

[261] The mere existence of such a party, with such a name, shows how, in a political point of view, England was receding during this period from the maxims established at the Revolution. Respecting this active faction, compare the indignant remarks of Burke (*Works*, vol. i. p. 133) with *Albemarle's Rockingham*, vol. i. pp. 5, 307; *Buckingham's Mem. of George III.* vol. i. p. 284, vol. ii. p. 151; *Russell's Mem. of Fox*, vol. i. pp. 61, 120, vol. ii. pp. 50, 77; *Bedford Correspond.* vol. iii. p. xlv.; *Parr's Works*, vol. viii. p. 513; *Butler's Reminiscences*, vol. i. p. 74; *Burke's Correspond.* vol. i. p. 352; *Walpole's George III.* vol. iv. p. 315; *The Grenville Papers*, vol. ii. pp. 33, 34, vol. iii. p. 57, vol. iv. p. 79, 152, 219, 303; *Parl. Hist.* vol. xvi. pp. 841, 973, vol. xviii. pp. 1005, 1246, vol. xix. pp. 435, 856, vol. xxii. pp. 650, 1173.

wishes of so benign and gracious a master.[262] And when, unhappily for his own fame, this great man determined to return to power, he could only recover office by conceding that very point for which he had relinquished it: thus setting the mischievous example of the minister of a free country sacrificing his own judgment to the personal prejudices of the reigning sovereign.

As it was hardly possible to find other ministers, who to equal abilities would add equal subservience, it is not surprising that the highest offices were constantly filled by men of notorious incapacity.[263] Indeed, the king seemed to have an instinctive antipathy to every thing great and noble. During the reign of George II., the elder Pitt had won for himself a reputation which covered the world, and had carried to an unprecedented height the glories of the English name.[264] He, however, as the avowed friend of popular rights, strenuously opposed the despotic principles of the court; and for this reason he was hated by George III. with a hatred that seemed barely compatible with a sane mind.[265] Fox was one of the great-

[262] See an extra[illegible] passage in *Pellew's Life of Sidmouth*, vol. i. p. 334.

[263] This decline i[illegible]lities of official men was noticed by Burke, in 1770, as a necessary co[illegible]nce of the new system. Compare *Thoughts on the Present Discontents* (*Burke's Works*, vol. i. p. 149) with his striking summary (*Parl. Hist.* vol. xvi. p. 879) of the degeneracy during the first nine years of George III. 'Thus situated, the question at last was not, who could do the public business best, but who would undertake to do it at all. Men of talents and integrity would not accept of employments where they were neither allowed to exercise their judgment nor display the rectitude of their hearts.' In 1780, when the evil had become still more obvious, the same great observer denounced it in his celebrated address to his Bristol constituents. 'At present,' he says, 'it is the plan of the court to make its servants insignificant.' *Burke's Works*, vol. i. p. 257. See further *Parr's Works*, vol. iii. pp. 256, 260, 261.

[264] The military success of his administration is related in very strong language, but not unfairly, in *Mahon's Hist. of England*, vol. iv. pp. 108, 185, 186, and see the admirable summary in *Brougham's Statesmen*, vol. i. pp. 33, 34: and for evidence of the fear with which he inspired the enemies of England, compare *Mahon*, vol. v. p. 165 note; *Bedford Correspond.* vol. iii. pp. 87, 246, 247; *Walpole's Letters to Mann*, vol. i. p. 304, edit. 1843; *Walpole's Mem. of George III.* vol. ii. p. 232; and the reluctant admission in *Georgel, Mémoires*, vol. i. pp. 79, 80.

[265] Lord Brougham (*Sketches of Statesmen*, vol. i. pp. 22, 33) has published striking evidence of what he calls 'the truly savage feelings' with which George III. regarded Lord Chatham (compare *Russell's Mem. of Fox*,

est statesmen of the eighteenth century, and was better acquainted than any other with the character and resources of those foreign nations with which our own interests were intimately connected.[266] To this rare and important knowledge he added a sweetness and an amenity of temper which extorted the praises even of his political opponents.[267] But he, too, was the steady supporter of civil and religious liberty; and he, too, was so detested by George III., that the king, with his own hand, struck his name out of the list of privy councillors,[268] and declared that he would rather abdicate the throne than admit him to a share in the government.[269]

While this unfavourable change was taking place in the sovereign and ministers of the country, a change equally unfavourable was being effected in the second branch of the imperial legislature. Until the reign of George III., the House of Lords was decidedly superior to the House of Commons in the liberality and general

vol. i. p. 129). Indeed, the sentiments of the king were even displayed in the arrangements at the funeral of the great minister. *Note in Adolphus's Hist. of George III.* vol. ii. p. 568; and for other evidence of ill-will, see two notes from the king to Lord North, in *Mahon's Hist. of England*, vol. vi. appendix, pp. lii. liv.; *The Grenville Papers*, vol. ii. p. 386; *Bancroft's American Revolution*, vol. i. p. 438.

[266] Lord Brougham (*Sketches of Statesmen*, vol. i. p. 219) says: 'It may be questioned if any politician, in any age, ever knew so thoroughly the various interests and the exact position of all the countries with which his own had dealings to conduct or relations to maintain.' See also *Parr's Works*, vol. iv. pp. 14, 15; *Russell's Mem. of Fox*, vol. i. pp. 320, 321, vol. ii. pp. 91, 243; *Bisset's Life of Burke*, vol. i. p. 338.

[267] Burke, even after the French revolution, said, that Fox 'was of the most artless, candid, open, and benevolent disposition, disinterested in the extreme; of a temper mild and placable even to a fault, without one drop of gall in his whole constitution.' Speech on the Army Estimates in 1790, in *Parl. Hist.* vol. xxviii. p. 356. For further evidence, compare *Alison's Hist. of Europe*, vol. vii. p. 171; *Holland's Mem. of the Whig Party*, vol. i. pp. 3, 273; *Trotter's Mem. of Fox*, pp. xi. xii., 24, 178, 415.

[268] *Adolphus's Hist. of George III.* vol. vi. p. 692. A singular circumstance connected with this wanton outrage is related in the *Mem. of Holcroft*, vol. iii. p. 60.

[269] Compare *Adolphus's Hist. of George III.* vol. iv. pp. 107, 108, with *Russell's Mem. of Fox*, vol. i. pp. 191, 287, 288, vol. ii. p. 44. Dutens, who had much intercourse with English politicians, heard of the threat of abdication in 1784. *Dutens' Mémoires*, vol. iii. p. 104. Lord Holland says, that during the fatal illness of Fox, 'the king had watched the progress of Mr. Fox's disorder. He could hardly suppress his indecent exultation at his death.' *Holland's Mem. of the Whig Party*, vol. ii. p. 49.

accomplishments of its members. It is true, that in both houses there prevailed a spirit which must be called narrow and superstitious, if tried by the larger standard of the present age. But among the peers such feelings were tempered by an education that raised them far above those country gentlemen and ignorant fox-hunting squires of whom the lower house was then chiefly composed. From this superiority in their knowledge, there naturally followed a larger and more liberal turn of thought than was possessed by those who were called the representatives of the people. The result was, that the old Tory spirit, becoming gradually weaker in the upper house, took refuge in the lower; where, for about sixty years after the Revolution, the high-church party and the friends of the Stuarts formed a dangerous faction.[270] Thus, for instance, the two men who rendered the most eminent services to the Hanoverian dynasty, and therefore to the liberties of England, were undoubtedly Somers and Walpole. Both of them were remarkable for their principles of toleration, and both of them owed their safety to the interference of the House of Lords. Somers, early in the eighteenth century, was protected by the peers from the scandalous prosecution instituted against him by the other house of parliament.[271] Forty years after this, the Commons, who wished to hunt Walpole to the death, carried up a bill encouraging witnesses to appear against him by remitting to them the penalties to which they might be liable.[272] This barbarous measure had been passed through the lower

[270] In 1725, the Duke of Wharton, in a letter to the Pretender, after mentioning some proceedings in the Commons, adds, 'In the House of Lords our number is so small, that any behaviour there will be immaterial.' *Mahon's Hist. of England*, vol. ii. appendix, p. xxiii. See also, respecting the greater strength of the Tories in the House of Commons, *Somers Tracts*, vol. xi. p. 242, vol. xiii. pp. 524, 531; *Campbell's Chancellors*, vol. iv. p. 158; *Campbell's Chief-Justices*, vol. ii. p. 156.

[271] Compare *Vernon Correspond.* vol. iii. p. 149, with *Burnet's Own Time*, vol. iv. p. 504. Burnet says, 'All the Jacobites joined to support the pretensions of the Commons.' The Commons complained that the Lords had shown 'such an indulgence to the person accused as is not to be paralleled in any parliamentary proceedings.' *Parl. Hist.* vol. v. p. 1294. See also their angry remonstrance, pp. 1314, 1315.

[272] *Mahon's Hist. of England*, vol. iii. p. 122.

house without the least difficulty; but in the Lords it was rejected by a preponderance of nearly two to one.[273] In the same way the Schism Act, by which the friends of the church subjected the dissenters to a cruel persecution,[274] was hurried through the Commons by a large and eager majority.[275] In the Lords, however, the votes were nearly balanced; and although the bill was passed, amendments were added by which the violence of its provisions was in some degree softened.[276]

This superiority of the upper house over the lower was, on the whole, steadily maintained during the reign of George II.;[277] the ministers not being anxious to strengthen the high-church party in the Lords, and the king himself so rarely suggesting fresh creations as to cause a belief that he particularly disliked increasing their numbers.[278]

It was reserved for George III., by an unsparing use of his prerogative, entirely to change the character of the upper house, and thus lay the foundation for that disrepute into which since then the peers have been constantly falling. The creations he made were numerous beyond all precedent; their object evidently being to neutralize the liberal spirit hitherto prevailing, and thus turn the House of Lords into an engine for resisting the popular wishes,

273 'Content, 47; non-content, 92.' *Parl. Hist.* vol. xii. p. 711. Mr. Phillimore (*Mem. of Lyttleton*, vol. i. p. 213) ascribes this to the exertions of Lord Hardwicke; but the state of parties in the upper house is sufficient explanation; and even in 1735 it was said that 'the Lords were betwixt the devil and the deep sea,' the devil being Walpole. *Marchmont Papers*, vol. ii. p. 59. Compare *Bishop Newton's Life of Himself*, p. 60.

274 See an account of some of its provisions in *Mahon's Hist. of England*, vol. i. pp. 80, 81. The object of the bill is frankly stated in *Parl. Hist.* vol. vi. p. 1349, where we are informed that, 'as the farther discouragement and even ruin of the dissenters was thought necessary for accomplishing this scheme, it was begun with the famous Schism Bill.'

275 By 237 to 126. *Parl. Hist.* vol. vi. p. 1351.

276 *Mahon's Hist. of England*, vol. i. p. 83; *Bunbury's Correspond. of Hanmer*, p. 48. The bill was carried in the Lords by 77 against 72.

277 'If we scrutinize the votes of the peers from the period of the revolution to the death of George II., we shall find a very great majority of the old English nobility to have been the advocates of Whig principles.' *Cooke's Hist. of Party*, vol. iii. p. 363.

278 Compare *Harris's Life of Hardwicke*, vol. iii. p. 519, with the conversation between Sir Robert Walpole and Lord Hervey, in *Hervey's Mem. of George II.* vol. ii. p. 251, edit. 1848.

and stopping the progress of reform.[279] How completely this plan succeeded, is well known to the readers of our history; indeed, it was sure to be successful, considering the character of the men who were promoted. They consisted almost entirely of two classes: of country gentlemen, remarkable for nothing but their wealth, and the number of votes their wealth enabled them to control;[280] and of mere lawyers, who had risen to judicial appointments partly from their professional learning, but chiefly from the zeal with which they repressed the popular liberties, and favoured the royal prerogative.[281]

That this is no exaggerated description, may be ascertained by any one who will consult the lists of the new peers made by George III. Here and there we find an eminent man, whose public services were so notorious that it was impossible to avoid rewarding them; but, putting aside those who were in a manner forced upon the sovereign, it would be idle to deny that the remainder, and of course the overwhelming majority, were marked by a narrowness and illiberality of sentiment, which, more than any thing else, brought the whole order into contempt.[282] No

[279] *Cooke's Hist. of Party*, vol. iii. pp. 363, 364, 365, 463; *Parl. Hist.* vol. xviii. p. 1418, vol. xxiv. p. 493, vol. xxvii. p. 1069, vol. xxix. pp. 1334, 1494, vol. xxxiii. pp. 90, 602, 1315.

[280] This was too notorious to be denied; and in the House of Commons, in 1800, Nicholls taunted the government with 'holding out a peerage, or elevation to a higher rank in the peerage, to every man who could procure a nomination to a certain number of seats in parliament.' *Parl. Hist.* vol. xxxv. p. 762. So too Sheridan, in 1792, said (vol. xxix. p. 1333), 'In this country peerages had been bartered for election interest.'

[281] On this great influx of lawyers into the House of Lords, most of whom zealously advocated arbitrary principles, see *Belsham's Hist. of Great Britain*, vol. vii. pp. 266, 267; *Adolphus's Hist. of George III.* vol. iii. p. 363; *Parl. Hist.* vol. xxxv. p. 1523.

[282] It was foretold at the time, that the effect of the numerous creations made during Pitt's power would be to lower the House of Lords. Compare *Butler's Reminiscences*, vol. i. p. 76, with Erskine's speech in *Parl. Hist.* vol. xxix. p. 1330; and see Sheridan's speech, vol. xxxiii. p. 1197. But their language, indignant as it is, was restrained by a desire of not wholly breaking with the court. Other men, who were more independent in their position, and cared nothing for the chance of future office, expressed themselves in terms such as had never before been heard within the walls of Parliament. Rolle, for instance, declared that 'there had been persons created peers during the present minister's power, who were not fit to be his grooms.' *Parl. Hist.* vol. xxvii. p. 1198. Out of doors, the feeling of contempt was equally strong; see *Life of Cartwright*, vol. i. p. 278; and see the

great thinkers; no great writers; no great orators; no great statesmen; none of the true nobility of the land,—were to be found among these spurious nobles created by George III. Nor were the material interests of the country better represented in this strange composition. Among the most important men in England, those engaged in banking and commerce held a high place: since the end of the seventeenth century their influence had rapidly increased; while their intelligence, their clear, methodical habits, and their general knowledge of affairs, made them every way superior to those classes from whom the upper house was now recruited. But in the reign of George III. claims of this sort were little heeded; and we are assured by Burke, whose authority on such a subject no one will dispute, that there never had been a time in which so few persons connected with commerce were raised to the peerage.[283]

It would be endless to collect all the symptoms which mark the political degeneracy of England during this period; a degeneracy the more striking, because it was opposed to the spirit of the time, and because it took place in spite of a great progress, both social and intellectual. How that progress eventually stopped the political reaction, and even forced it to retrace its own steps, will appear in another part of this work; but there is one circumstance which I cannot refrain from noticing at some length, since it affords a most interesting illustration of the tendency of public affairs, while at the same time it exhibits the character of one of the greatest men, and, Bacon alone excepted, the greatest thinker, who has ever devoted himself to the practice of English politics.

remark even of the courtly Sir W. Jones on the increasing disregard for learning shown by 'the nobles of our days.' *Preface to Persian Grammar*, in *Jones's Works*, vol. ii. p. 125.

[283] In his *Thoughts on French Affairs*, written in 1791, he says, 'At no period in the history of England have so few peers been taken out of trade, or from families newly created by commerce.' *Burke's Works*, vol. i. p. 566. Indeed, according to Sir Nathaniel Wraxall (*Posthumous Memoirs*, vol. i. pp. 66, 67, Lond. 1836), the only instance when George III. broke this rule was when Smith the banker was made Lord Carrington. Wraxall is an indifferent authority, and there may be other cases; but they were certainly very few, and I cannot call any to mind.

The slightest sketch of the reign of George III. would indeed be miserably imperfect if it were to omit the name of Edmund Burke. The studies of this extraordinary man not only covered the whole field of political inquiry,[284] but extended to an immense variety of subjects, which, though apparently unconnected with politics, do in reality bear upon them as important adjuncts; since, to a philosophic mind, every branch of knowledge lights up even those that seem most remote from it. The eulogy passed upon him by one who was no mean judge of men,[285] might be justified, and more than justified, by passages from his works, as well as by the opinions of the most eminent of his contemporaries.[286] Thus it is, that while his insight into the philosophy of jurisprudence has gained the applause of lawyers,[287] his acquaintance with the whole range and theory of the fine arts has won the admiration of artists;[288] a striking combination of two pursuits, often,

[284] Nicholls, who knew him, says, 'The political knowledge of Mr. Burke might be considered almost as an encyclopædia; every man who approached him received instruction from his stores.' *Nicholls's Recollections*, vol. i. p. 20.

[285] 'The excursions of his genius are immense. His imperial fancy has laid all nature under tribute, and has collected riches from every scene of the creation, and every walk of art.' *Works of Robert Hall*, London, 1846, p. 196. So, too, Wilberforce says of him, 'He had come late into Parliament, and had had time to lay in vast stores of knowledge. The field from which he drew his illustrations was magnificent. Like the fabled object of the fairy's favours, whenever he opened his mouth pearls and diamonds dropped from him.' *Life of Wilberforce*, vol. i. p. 159.

[286] Lord Thurlow is said to have declared, what I suppose is now the general opinion of competent judges, that the fame of Burke would survive that of Pitt and Fox. *Butler's Reminiscences*, vol. i. p. 169. But the noblest eulogy on Burke was pronounced by a man far greater than Thurlow. In 1790, Fox stated in the House of Commons, 'that if he were to put all the political information which he had learnt from books, all which he had gained from science, and all which any knowledge of the world and its affairs had taught him, into one scale, and the improvement which he had derived from his right hon. friend's instruction and conversation were placed in the other, he should be at a loss to decide to which to give the preference' *Parl. Hist.* vol. xxviii. p. 363.

[287] Lord Campbell (*Lives of the Chief-Justices*, vol. ii. p. 443) says, 'Burke, a philosophic statesman, deeply imbued with the scientific principles of jurisprudence.' See also, on his knowledge of law, *Butler's Reminiscences*, vol. i. p. 131; and *Bisset's Life of Burke*, vol. i. p. 230.

[288] Barry, in his celebrated Letter to the Dilettanti Society, regrets that Burke should have been diverted from the study of the fine arts into the

though erroneously, held to be incompatible with each other. At the same time, and notwithstanding the occupations of political life, we know on good authority, that he had paid great attention to the history and filiation of languages;[289] a vast subject, which within the last thirty years has become an important resource for the study of the human mind, but the very idea of which had, in its large sense, only begun to dawn upon a few solitary thinkers. And, what is even more remarkable, when Adam Smith came to London full of those discoveries which have immortalized his name, he found to his amazement that Burke had anticipated conclusions the maturing of which cost Smith himself many years of anxious and unremitting labour.[290]

To these great inquiries, which touch the basis of social philosophy, Burke added a considerable acequaintance with physical science, and even with the practice and routine of mechanical trades. All this was so digested and worked into his mind, that it was ready on every occasion; not, like the knowledge of ordinary politicians, broken and wasted in fragments, but blended into a complete whole, fused by a genius that gave life even to the dullest pursuits. This, indeed, was the characteristic of Burke, that in his hands nothing was barren. Such

pursuit of politics, because he had one of those 'minds of an admirable expansion and catholicity, so as to embrace the whole concerns of art, ancient as well as modern, domestic as well as foreign.' *Barry's Works*, vol. ii. p. 538, 4to, 1809. In the *Annual Register* for 1798, p. 329, 2d edit., it is stated, that Sir Joshua Reynolds 'deemed Burke the best judge of pictures that he ever knew.' See further *Works of Sir J. Reynolds*, Lond. 1846, vol. i. p. 185; and *Bisset's Life of Burke*, vol. ii. p. 257. A somewhat curious conversation between Burke and Reynolds, on a point of art, is preserved in *Holcroft's Memoirs*, vol. ii. pp. 276, 277.

[289] See a letter from Winstanley, the Camden Professor of Ancient History, in *Bisset's Life of Burke*, vol. ii. pp. 390, 391, and in *Prior's Life of Burke*, p. 427. Winstanley writes, 'It would have been exceedingly difficult to have met with a person who knew more of the philosophy, the history, and filiation of languages, or of the principles of etymological deduction, than Mr. Burke.'

[290] Adam Smith told Burke, 'after they had conversed on subjects of political economy, that he was the only man who, without communication, thought on these topics exactly as he did.' *Bisset's Life of Burke*, vol. ii. p. 429; and see *Prior's Life of Burke*, p. 58: and on his knowledge of political economy, *Brougham's Sketches of Statesmen*, vol. i. p. 205.

was the strength and exuberance of his intellect, that it bore fruit in all directions, and could confer dignity upon the meanest subjects, by showing their connexion with general principles and the part they have to play in the great scheme of human affairs.

But what has always appeared to me still more remarkable in the character of Burke, is the singular sobriety with which he employed his extraordinary acquirements. During the best part of his life, his political principles, so far from being speculative, were altogether practical. This is particularly striking, because he had every temptation to adopt an opposite course. He possessed materials for generalization far more ample than any politician of his time, and he had a mind eminently prone to take large views. On many occasions, and indeed whenever an opportunity occurred, he showed his capacity as an original and speculative thinker. But the moment he set foot on political ground, he changed his method. In questions connected with the accumulation and distribution of wealth he saw that it was possible, by proceeding from a few simple principles, to construct a deductive science available for the commercial and financial interests of the country. Further than this he refused to advance, because he knew that, with this single exception, every department of politics was purely empirical, and was likely long to remain so. Hence it was, that he recognized in all its bearings that great doctrine, which even in our own days is too often forgotten, that the aim of the legislator should be, not truth, but expediency. Looking at the actual state of knowledge, he was forced to admit, that all political principles have been raised by hasty induction from limited facts; and that, therefore, it is the part of a wise man, when he adds to the facts, to revise the induction, and, instead of sacrificing practice to principles, modify the principles that he may change the practice. Or, to put this in another way, he lays it down that political principles are at the best but the product of human reason; while political practice has to do with human nature and human passions, of which reason

forms but a part;[291] and that, on this account, the proper business of a statesman is, to contrive the means by which certain ends may be effected, leaving it to the general voice of the country to determine what those ends shall be, and shaping his own conduct, not according to his own principles, but according to the wishes of the people for whom he legislates, and whom he is bound to obey.[292]

It is these views, and the extraordinary ability with

[291] 'Politics ought to be adjusted, not to human reasonings, but to human nature; of which the reason is but a part, and by no means the greatest part.' *Observations on a late State of the Nation*, in *Burke's Works*, vol. i. p. 113. Hence the distinction he had constantly in view between the generalizations of philosophy, which ought to be impregnable, and those of politics, which must be fluctuating; and hence in his noble work, *Thoughts on the Cause of the present Discontents*, he says (vol. i. p. 136), 'No lines can be laid down for civil or political wisdom. They are a matter incapable of exact definition.' See also p. 151, on which he grounds his defence of the spirit of party; it being evident, that if truth were the prime object of the political art, the idea of party, as such, would be indefensible. Compare with this the difference between 'la vérité en soi' and 'la vérité sociale,' as expounded by M. Rey in his *Science Sociale*, vol. ii. p. 322, Paris, 1842.

[292] In 1780 he plainly told the House of Commons that 'the people are the masters. They have only to express their wants at large and in gross. We are the expert artists; we are the skilful workmen, to shape their desires into perfect form, and to fit the utensil to the use. They are the sufferers, they tell the symptoms of the complaint; but we know the exact seat of the disease, and how to apply the remedy according to the rules of art. How shocking would it be to see us pervert our skill into a sinister and servile dexterity, for the purpose of evading our duty, and *defrauding our employers, who are our natural lords*, of the object of their just expectations!' *Burke's Works*, vol. i. p. 254. In 1777, in his *Letter to the Sheriffs of Bristol* (*Works*, vol. i. p. 216), 'In effect, to follow, not to force, the public inclination; to give a direction, a form, a technical dress, and a specific sanction, to the general sense of the community,—is the true end of legislature.' In his *Letter on the Duration of Parliament* (vol. ii. p. 430), 'It would be dreadful, indeed, if there was any power in the nation capable of resisting its unanimous desire, or even the desire of any very great and decided majority of the people. The people may be deceived in their choice of an object. *But I can scarcely conceive any choice they can make to be so very mischievous, as the existence of any human force capable of resisting it.*' So, too, he says (vol. i. pp. 125, 214), that when government and the people differ, government is generally in the wrong: compare pp. 217, 218, 276, vol. ii. p. 440. And to give only one more instance, but a very decisive one, he, in 1772, when speaking on a Bill respecting the Importation and Exportation of Còrn, said, 'On this occasion I give way to the present Bill, not because I approve of the measure in itself, but because I think it prudent to yield to the spirit of the times. *The people will have it so; and it is not for their representatives to say nay.* I cannot, however, help entering my protest against the general principles of policy on which it is supported, because I think them extremely dangerous.' *Parl. Hist.* vol. xvii. p. 480.

which they were advocated, which make the appearance of Burke a memorable epoch in our political history.[293] We had, no doubt, other statesmen before him, who denied the validity of general principles in politics; but their denial was only the happy guess of ignorance, and they rejected theories which they had never taken the pains to study. Burke rejected them because he knew them. It was his rare merit that, notwithstanding every inducement to rely upon his own generalizations, he resisted the temptation; that, though rich in all the varieties of political knowledge, he made his opinions subservient to the march of events; that he recognized as the object of government, not the preservation of particular institutions, nor the propagation of particular tenets, but the happiness of the people at large; and, above all, that he insisted upon an obedience to the popular wishes, which no statesman before him had paid, and which too many statesmen since him have forgotten. Our country, indeed, is still full of those vulgar politicians, against whom Burke raised his voice; feeble and shallow men, who, having spent their little force in resisting the progress of reform, find themselves at length compelled to yield; and then, so soon as they have exhausted the artifices of their petty schemes, and, by their tardy and ungraceful concessions, have sown the seed of future disaffection, they turn upon the age by which they have been baffled; they mourn over the degeneracy of mankind; they lament the decay of public spirit; and they weep for the fate of a people, who have been so regardless of the wisdom of their ancestors, as to tamper with a constitution already hoary with the prescription of centuries.

Those who have studied the reign of George III. will easily understand the immense advantage of having a man

[293] The effect which Burke's profound views produced in the House of Commons, where, however, few men were able to understand them in their full extent, is described by Dr. Hay, who was present at one of his great speeches; which, he says, 'seemed a kind of new political philosophy.' *Burke's Correspond.* vol. i. p. 103. Compare a letter from Lee, written in the same year, 1766, in *Forster's Life of Goldsmith*, vol. ii. pp. 38, 39; and in *Bunbury's Correspond. of Hanmer*, p. 458.

like Burke to oppose these miserable delusions; delusions which have been fatal to many countries, and have more than once almost ruined our own.[294] They will also understand that, in the opinion of the king, this great statesman was, at best, but an eloquent declaimer, to be classed in the same category with Fox and Chatham; all three ingenious men, but unsafe, unsteady, quite unfit for weighty concerns, and by no means calculated for so exalted an honour as admission into the royal councils. In point of fact, during the thirty years Burke was engaged in public life, he never once held an office in the cabinet;[295] and the only occasions on which he occupied even a subordinate post, were in those very short intervals when the fluctuations of politics compelled the appointment of a liberal ministry.

Indeed, the part taken by Burke in public affairs must have been very galling to a king who thought every thing good that was old, and every thing right that was established.[296] For, so far was this remarkable man in advance of his contemporaries, that there are few of the great measures of the present generation which he did not anticipate

[294] Burke was never weary of attacking the common argument, that, because a country has long flourished under some particular custom, therefore the custom must be good. See an admirable instance of this in his speech, on the power of the attorney-general to file informations *ex officio*; where he likens such reasoners to the father of Scriblerus, who 'venerated the rust and canker which exalted a brazen pot-lid into the shield of a hero.' He adds: 'But, sir, we are told, that the time during which this power existed, is the time during which monarchy most flourished: and what, then, can no two things subsist together but as cause and effect? May not a man have enjoyed better health during the time that he walked with an oaken stick, than afterwards, when he changed it for a cane, without supposing, like the Druids, that there are occult virtues in oak, and that the stick and the health were cause and effect?' *Parl. Hist.* vol. xvi. pp. 1190, 1191.

[295] This, as Mr. Cooke truly says, is an instance of aristocratic prejudice; but it is certain that a hint from George III. would have remedied the shameful neglect. *Cooke's Hist. of Party*, vol. iii. pp. 277, 278.

[296] It is easy to imagine how George III. must have been offended by such sentiments as these: 'I am not of the opinion of those gentlemen who are against disturbing the public repose; I like a clamour whenever there is an abuse. The fire-bell at midnight disturbs your sleep, but it keeps you from being burnt in your bed. The hue and cry alarms the county, but preserves all the property of the province.' Burke's speech on Prosecutions for Libels, in 1771, in *Parl. Hist.* vol. xvii. p. 54.

and zealously defend. Not only did he attack the absurd laws against forestalling and regrating,[297] but, by advocating the freedom of trade, he struck at the root of all similar prohibitions.[298] He supported those just claims of the Catholics,[299] which, during his lifetime, were obstinately refused; but which were conceded, many years after his death, as the only means of preserving the integrity of the empire. He supported the petition of the Dissenters, that they might be relieved from the restrictions to which, for the benefit of the Church of England, they were subjected.[300] Into other departments of politics he carried the same spirit. He opposed the cruel laws against insolvents,[301] by which, in the time of George III., our statute-book was still defaced; and he vainly attempted to soften the penal code,[302] the increasing severity of which was one of the worst features of that bad reign.[303] He wished to abolish the old plan of enlisting soldiers for

[297] He moved their repeal. *Parl. Hist.* vol. xxvi. p. 1160. Even Lord Chatham issued, in 1766, a proclamation against forestallers and regraters, very much to the admiration of Lord Mahon, who says, 'Lord Chatham acted with characteristic energy.' *Mahon's Hist. of England*, vol. v. p. 166. More than thirty years later, and after Burke's death, Lord Kenyon, then chief-justice, eulogized these preposterous laws. *Holland's Mem. of the Whig Party*, vol. i. p. 167. Compare *Adolphus's Hist. of George III.* vol. vii. p. 406; and *Cockburn's Memorials of his Time*, Edinb. 1856, p. 73.

[298] 'That liberality in the commercial system, which, I trust, will one day be adopted.' *Burke's Works*, vol. i. p. 223. And, in his letter to Burgh (*Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 409), 'But that to which I attached myself the most particularly, was to fix the principle of a free trade in all the ports of these islands, as founded in justice, and beneficial to the whole; but principally to this, the seat of the supreme power.'

[299] *Prior's Life of Burke*, p. 467; *Burke's Works*, vol. i. pp. 263-271, 537-561, vol. ii. pp. 431-447. He refutes (vol. i. p. 548) the notion that the coronation-oath was intended to bind the crown in its legislative capacity. Compare *Mem. of Mackintosh*, vol. i. pp. 170, 171, with *Butler's Reminiscences*, vol. i. p. 134.

[300] *Parl. Hist.* vol. xvii. pp. 435, 436, vol. xx. p. 306. See also *Burke's Correspondence*, vol. ii. pp. 17, 18; and *Prior's Life of Burke*, p. 143.

[301] *Burke's Works*, vol. i. pp. 261, 262, part of his speech at Bristol.

[302] *Prior's Life of Burke*, p. 317. See also his admirable remarks, in *Works*, vol. ii. p. 417; and his speech, in *Parl. Hist.* vol. xxviii. p. 146.

[303] On this increasing cruelty of the English laws, compare *Parr's Works*, vol. iv. pp. 150, 259, with *Parl. Hist.* vol. xxii. p. 271, vol. xxiv. p. 1222, vol. xxvi. p. 1057, vol. xxviii. p. 143; and, in regard to the execution of them, see *Life of Romilly, by Himself*, vol. i. p. 65; and *Alison's Hist. of Europe*, ol. ix. p. 620.

life;[304] a barbarous and impolitic practice, as the English legislature began to perceive several years later.[305] He attacked the slave-trade;[306] which, being an ancient usage, the king wished to preserve, as part of the British constitution.[307] He refuted,[308] but, owing to the prejudices of the age, was unable to subvert, the dangerous power exercised by the judges, who, in criminal prosecutions for libel, confined the jury to the mere question of publication; thus taking the real issue into their own hands, and making themselves the arbiters of the fate of those who were so unfortunate as to be placed at their bar.[309] And, what many will think not the least of his merits, he was the first in that long line of financial reformers, to whom we are deeply indebted.[310] Notwithstanding the difficulties thrown in his way, he carried through Parliament a series of bills, by which several useless places were entirely

[304] In one short speech (*Parl. Hist.* vol. xx. pp. 150, 151), he has almost exhausted the arguments against enlistment for life.

[305] In 1806, that is nine years after the death of Burke, parliament first authorized enlistment for a term of years. See an account of the debates in *Alison's Hist. of Europe*, vol. vii. pp. 380-391. Compare *Nichols's Illustrations of the Eighteenth Century*, vol. v. p. 475; and *Holland's Mem. of the Whig Party*, vol. ii. p. 116.

[306] *Prior's Life of Burke*, p. 316; *Parl. Hist.* vol. xxvii. p. 502, vol. xxviii. pp. 69, 96; and *Life of Wilberforce*, vol. i. pp. 152, 171, contain evidence of his animosity against the slave-trade, and a more than sufficient answer to the ill-natured, and, what is worse, the ignorant, remark about Burke, in the *Duke of Buckingham's Mem. of George III.* vol. i. p. 350.

[307] On the respect which George III. felt for the slave-trade, see note 259 to this chapter. I might also have quoted the testimony of Lord Brougham: 'The court was decidedly against abolition. George III. always regarded the question with abhorrence, as savouring of innovation.' *Brougham's Statesmen*, vol. ii. p. 104. Compare *Combe's North America*, vol. i. p. 332.

[308] *Burke's Works*, vol. ii. pp. 490-496; *Parl. Hist.* vol. xvii. pp. 44-55, a very able speech, delivered in 1771. Compare a letter to Dowdeswell, in *Burke's Correspond.* vol. i. pp. 251, 252.

[309] The arguments of Burke anticipated, by more than twenty years, Fox's celebrated Libel Bill, which was not passed till 1792; although, in 1752, juries had begun, in spite of the judges, to return general verdicts on the merits. See *Campbell's Chancellors*, vol. v. pp. 238, 243, 341-345, vol. vi. p. 210; and *Meyer, Institutions Judiciaires*, vol. ii. pp. 204, 205, Paris, 1823.

[310] Mr. Farr, in his valuable essay on the statistics of the civil service (in *Journal of Statist. Soc.* vol. xii. pp. 103-125), calls Burke 'one of the first and ablest financial reformers in parliament.' p. 104. The truth, however, is, that he was not only one of the first, but the first. He was the first man who laid before parliament a general and systematic scheme for diminishing the expenses of government; and his preliminary speech on that occasion is one of the finest of all his compositions.

abolished, and, in the single office of paymaster-general, a saving effected to the country of 25,000*l.* a year.[311]

These things alone are sufficient to explain the animosity of a prince, whose boast it was, that he would bequeath the government to his successor in the same state as that in which he had received it. There was, however, another circumstance by which the royal feelings were still further wounded. The determination of the king to oppress the Americans was so notorious, that, when the war actually broke out, it was called the 'king's war;' and those who opposed it were regarded as the personal enemies of their sovereign.[312] In this, however, as in all other questions, the conduct of Burke was governed, not by traditions and principles, such as George III. cherished, but by large views of general expediency. Burke, in forming his opinions respecting this disgraceful contest, refused to be guided by arguments respecting the right of either party.[313] He would not enter into any discussion, as to whether a mother-country has the right to tax her colonies, or whether the colonies have a right to tax them-

[311] *Prior's Life of Burke*, pp. 206, 234. See also, on the retrenchments he effected, *Sinclair's Hist. of the Revenue*, vol. ii. pp. 84, 85; *Burke's Correspond.* vol. iii. p. 14; and *Bisset's Life of Burke*, vol. ii. pp. 57-60.

[312] In 1778, Lord Rockingham said, in the House of Lords, 'Instead of calling the war, the war of parliament, or of the people, it was called the king's war, his majesty's favourite war.' *Parl. Hist.* vol. xix. p. 857. Compare *Cooke's Hist. of Party*, vol. iii. p. 235, with the pungent remarks in *Walpole's George III.* vol. iv. p. 114. Nicholls (*Recollections*, vol. i. p. 35) says: 'The war was considered as the war of the king personally. Those who supported it were called the king's friends; while those who wished the country to pause, and reconsider the propriety of persevering in the contest, were branded as disloyal.'

[313] 'I am not here going into the distinction of rights, nor attempting to mark their boundaries. I do not enter into these metaphysical distinctions; I hate the very sound of them.' Speech on American taxation in 1774, in *Burke's Works*, vol. i. p. 173. In 1775 (vol. i. p. 192): 'But my consideration is narrow, confined, and wholly limited to the policy of the question.' At p. 183: we should act in regard to America, not 'according to abstract ideas of right, by no means according to mere general theories of government; the resort to which appears to me, in our present situation, no better than arrant trifling.' In one of his earliest political pamphlets, written in 1769, he says, that the arguments of the opponents of America 'are conclusive; conclusive as to right; but the very reverse as to policy and practice,' vol. i. p. 112. Compare a letter, written in 1775, in *Burke's Correspond.* vol. ii. p. 12.

selves. Such points he left to be mooted by those politicians who, pretending to be guided by principles, are, in reality, subjugated by prejudice.[314] For his own part, he was content to compare the cost with the gain. It was enough for Burke, that, considering the power of our American colonies, considering their distance from us, and considering the probability of their being aided by France, it was not advisable to exercise the power; and it was, therefore, idle to talk of the right. Hence he opposed the taxation of America, not because it was unprecedented, but because it was inexpedient. As a natural consequence, he likewise opposed the Boston-Port Bill, and that shameful bill, to forbid all intercourse with America, which was not inaptly called the starvation plan; violent measures, by which the king hoped to curb the colonies, and break the spirit of those noble men, whom he hated even more than he feared.[315]

It is certainly no faint characteristic of those times, that a man like Burke, who dedicated to politics abilities equal to far nobler things, should, during thirty years, have received from his prince neither favour nor reward. But George III. was a king whose delight it was to raise the humble and exalt the meek. His reign, indeed, was the golden age of successful mediocrity; an age in which little men were favoured, and great men depressed; when Addington was cherished as a statesman, and Beattie

[314] In 1766, George III. writes to Lord Rockingham (*Albemarle's Rockingham*, vol. i. pp. 271, 272): 'Talbot is as right as I can desire, in the stamp act; strong for our declaring our right, but willing to repeal!' In other words, willing to offend the Americans, by a speculative assertion of an abstract right, but careful to forego the advantage which that right might produce.

[315] The intense hatred with which George III. regarded the Americans, was so natural to such a mind as his, that one can hardly blame his constant exhibition of it during the time that the struggle was actually impending. But what is truly disgraceful is, that, after the war was over, he displayed this rancour on an occasion when, of all others, he was bound to suppress it. In 1786, Jefferson and Adams were in England officially, and, as a matter of courtesy to the king, made their appearance at court. So regardless, however, was George III. of the common decencies of his station, that he treated these eminent men with marked incivility, although they were then paying their respects to him in his own palace. See *Tucker's Life of Jefferson*, vol. i. p. 220; and *Mem. and Corresp. of Jefferson*, vol. i. p. 54.

pensioned as a philosopher; and when, in all the walks of public life, the first conditions of promotion were, to fawn upon ancient prejudices, and support established abuses.

This neglect of the most eminent of English politicians is highly instructive; but the circumstances which followed, though extremely painful, have a still deeper interest, and are well worth the attention of those whose habits of mind lead them to study the intellectual peculiarities of great men.

For, at this distance of time, when his nearest relations are no more, it would be affectation to deny that Burke, during the last few years of his life, fell into a state of complete hallucination. When the French Revolution broke out, his mind, already fainting under the weight of incessant labour, could not support the contemplation of an event so unprecedented, so appalling, and threatening results of such frightful magnitude. And, when the crimes of that great revolution, instead of diminishing, continued to increase, then it was that the feelings of Burke finally mastered his reason; the balance tottered; the proportions of that gigantic intellect were disturbed. From this moment, his sympathy with present suffering was so intense, that he lost all memory of the tyranny by which the sufferings were provoked. His mind, once so steady, so little swayed by prejudice and passion, reeled under the pressure of events which turned the brains of thousands.[316] And whoever will compare the spirit of his latest works with the dates of their publication, will see how this melancholy change was aggravated by that bitter bereavement, from which he never rallied, and which alone

[316] All great revolutions have a direct tendency to increase insanity, as long as they last, and probably for some time afterwards; but in this, as in other respects, the French revolution stands alone in the number of its victims. On the horrible, but curious subject of madness, caused by the excitement of the events which occurred in France late in the eighteenth century, compare *Prichard on Insanity in relation to Jurisprudence*, 1842, p. 90; his *Treatise on Insanity*, 1835, pp. 161, 183, 230, 339: *Esquirol, Maladies Mentales*, vol. i. pp. 43, 53, 54, 66, 211, 447, vol. ii. pp. 193, 726; *Feuchtersleben's Medical Psychology*, p. 254; *Georget, de la Folie*, p. 156; *Pinel, Traité sur l'Aliénation Mentale*, pp. 30, 108, 109, 177, 178, 185, 207, 215, 257, 349, 392, 457, 481; *Alison's Hist. of Europe*, vol. iii. p. 112.

was sufficient to prostrate the understanding of one in whom the severity of the reason was so tempered, so nicely poised, by the warmth of the affections. Never, indeed, can there be forgotten those touching, those exquisite allusions to the death of that only son, who was the joy of his soul, and the pride of his heart, and to whom he fondly hoped to bequeath the inheritance of his imperishable name. Never can we forget that image of desolation, under which the noble old man figured his immeasurable grief. 'I live in an inverted order. They who ought to have succeeded me, have gone before me, They who should have been to me as posterity, are in the place of ancestors. . . . The storm has gone over me, and I lie like one of those old oaks which the late hurricane has scattered about me. I am stripped of all my honours; I am torn up by the roots, and lie prostrate on the earth.'[317]

It would, perhaps, be displaying a morbid curiosity, to attempt to raise the veil, and trace the decay of so mighty a mind.[318] Indeed, in all such cases, most of the evidence perishes; for those who have the best opportunities of witnessing the infirmities of a great man, are not those who most love to relate them. But it is certain, that the change was first clearly seen immediately after the breaking-out of the French Revolution; that it was aggravated by the death of his son; and that it became progressively worse till death closed the scene.[319] In his *Reflections on*

317 *Burke's Works*, vol. ii. p. 268.

318 The earliest unmistakable instances of those violent outbreaks which showed the presence of disease, were in the debates on the regency bill, in February 1789, when Sir Richard Hill, with brutal candour, hinted at Burke's madness, even in his presence. *Parl. Hist.* vol. xxvii. p. 1249. Compare a letter from Sir William Young, in *Buckingham's Mem. of George III.* 1853, vol. ii. p. 73; 'Burke finished his wild speech in a manner next to madness.' This was in December 1788; and, from that time until his death, it became every year more evident that his intellect was disordered. See a melancholy description of him in a letter, written by Dr. Currie in 1792 (*Life of Currie*, vol. ii. p. 150); and, above all, see his own incoherent letter, in 1796, in his *Correspond. with Laurence*, p. 67.

319 His son died in August 1794 (*Burke's Correspond.* vol. iv. p. 224); and his most violent works were written between that period and his own death, in July 1797.

the French Revolution; in his *Remarks on the Policy of the Allies*; in his *Letter to Elliot*; in his *Letter to a Noble Lord*; and in his *Letters on a Regicide Peace*, we may note the consecutive steps of an increasing, and at length an uncontrollable, violence. To the single principle of hatred of the French Revolution, he sacrificed his oldest associations and his dearest friends. Fox, as is well known, always looked up to Burke as to a master, from whose lips he had gathered the lessons of political wisdom.[320] Burke, on his side, fully recognized the vast abilities of his friend, and loved him for that affectionate disposition, and for those winning manners, which, it has often been said, none who saw them could ever resist. But now, without the slightest pretence of a personal quarrel, this long intimacy[321] was rudely severed. Because Fox would not abandon that love of popular liberty which they had long cherished in common, Burke, publicly, and in his place in parliament, declared that their friendship was at an end; for that he would never more hold communion with a man who lent his support to the French people.[322] At the same time, and indeed the very evening on which this occurred, Burke, who had hitherto been remarkable for the courtesy of his manners,[323] deliberately insulted another of his friends, who was taking him home in his carriage; and, in a state of frantic excitement, insisted on being immediately set down, in the middle of the night,

[320] 'This disciple, as he was proud to acknowledge himself.' *Brougham's Statesmen*, vol. i. p. 218. In 1791, Fox said, that Burke 'had taught him everything he knew in politics.' *Parl. Hist.* vol. xxix. p. 379. See also *Adolphus's Hist of George III.* vol. iv. pp. 472, 610; and a letter from Fox to Parr, in *Parr's Works*, vol. vii. p. 287.

[321] It had begun in 1766, when Fox was only seventeen. *Russell's Mem. of Fox*, vol. i. p. 26.

[322] On this painful rupture, compare with the *Parliamentary History*, *Holland's Mem. of the Whig Party*, vol. i. pp. 10, 11; *Prior's Life of Burke*, pp. 375-379; *Tomline's Life of Pitt*, vol. ii. pp. 385-395. The complete change in Burke's feelings towards his old friend also appears in a very intemperate letter, written to Dr. Laurence in 1797. *Burke's Correspond. with Laurence*, p. 152. Compare *Parr's Works*, vol. iv. pp. 67-80, 84-90, 109.

[323] Which used to be contrasted with the bluntness of Johnson; these eminent men being the two best talkers of their time. See *Bisset's Life of Burke*, vol. i. p. 127.

in a pouring rain, because he could not, he said, remain seated by a 'friend to the revolutionary doctrines of the French.'[324]

Nor is it true, as some have supposed, that this mania of hostility was solely directed against the criminal part of the French people. It would be difficult, in that or in any other age, to find two men of more active, or indeed enthusiastic benevolence, than Condorcet and La Fayette. Besides this, Condorcet was one of the most profound thinkers of his time, and will be remembered as long as genius is honoured among us.[325] La Fayette was no doubt inferior to Condorcet in point of ability; but he was the intimate friend of Washington, on whose conduct he modelled his own,[326] and by whose side he had fought for the liberties of America: his integrity was, and still is, unsullied; and his character had a chivalrous and noble turn, which Burke, in his better days, would have been the first to admire.[327] Both, however, were natives of that hated country whose liberties they vainly attempted to achieve.

[324] *Rogers's Introduction to Burke's Works*, p. xliv.; *Prior's Life of Burke*, p. 384.

[325] There is an interesting account of the melancholy death of this remarkable man, in *Lamartine, Hist. des Girondins*, vol. viii. pp. 76-80; and a contemporary relation in *Musset-Pathay, Vie de Rousseau*, vol. ii. pp. 42-47.

[326] This is the honourable testimony of a political opponent; who says, that after the dissolution of the Assembly 'La Fayette se conforma à la conduite de Washington, qu'il avait pris pour modèle.' *Cassagnac, Révolution Française*, vol. iii. pp. 370, 371. Compare the grudging admission of his enemy Bouillé, *Mem. de Bouillé*, vol. i. p. 125; and for proofs of the affectionate intimacy between Washington and La Fayette, see *Mém. de Lafayette*, vol. i. pp. 16, 21, 29, 44, 55, 83, 92, 111, 165, 197, 204, 395, vol. ii. p. 123.

[327] The Duke of Bedford, no bad judge of character, said in 1794, that La Fayette's 'whole life was an illustration of truth, disinterestedness, and honour.' *Parl. Hist.* vol. xxxi. p. 664. So, too, the continuator of Sismondi (*Hist. des Français*, vol. xxx. p. 355), 'La Fayette, le chevalier de la liberté d'Amérique;' and Lamartine (*Hist. des Girondins*, vol. iii. p. 200), 'Martyr de la liberté après en avoir été le héros.' Ségur, who was intimately acquainted with him, gives some account of his noble character, as it appeared when he was a boy of nineteen. *Mém. de Ségur*, vol. i. pp. 106, 107. Forty years later, Lady Morgan met him in France; and what she relates shows how little he had changed, and how simple his tastes and the habits of his mind still were. *Morgan's France*, vol. ii. pp. 285-312. Other notices, from personal knowledge, will be found in *Life of Roscoe*, vol. ii. p. 178; and in *Trotter's Mem. of Fox*, pp. 319 seq.

On this account, Burke declared Condorcet to be guilty of 'impious sophistry;'[328] to be a 'fanatic atheist, and furious democratic republican;'[329] and to be capable of 'the lowest, as well as the highest and most determined villainies.'[330] As to La Fayette, when an attempt was made to mitigate the cruel treatment he was receiving from the Prussian government, Burke not only opposed the motion made for that purpose in the House of Commons, but took the opportunity of grossly insulting the unfortunate captive, who was then languishing in a dungeon.[331] So dead had he become on this subject, even to the common instincts of our nature, that, in his place in parliament, he could find no better way of speaking of this injured and high-souled man, than by calling him a ruffian: 'I would not,' says Burke,—'I would not debase my humanity by supporting an application in behalf of such a horrid ruffian.'[332]

As to France itself, it is 'Cannibal Castle;'[333] it is 'the republic of assassins;'[334] it is 'a hell;'[335] its government is composed of 'the dirtiest, lowest, most fraudulent, most knavish, of chicaners;'[336] its National As-

[328] 'The impious sophistry of Condorcet.' *Letter to a Noble Lord,* in *Burke's Works,* vol. ii. p. 273.

[329] *Thoughts on French Affairs,* in *Burke's Works.* vol. i. p. 574.

[330] 'Condorcet (though no marquis, as he styled himself before the Revolution) is a man of another sort of birth, fashion, and occupation from Brissot; but in every principle and every disposition, to the lowest as well as the highest and most determined villainies, fully his equal.' *Thoughts on French Affairs,* in *Burke's Works,* vol. i. p. 579.

[331] 'Groaning under the most oppressive cruelty in the dungeons of Magdeburg.' *Belsham's Hist. of Great Brit.* vol. ix. p. 151. See the afflicting details of his sufferings, in *Mém. de Lafayette,* vol. i. p. 479, vol. ii. pp. 75, 77, 78, 80, 91, 92; and on the noble equanimity with which he bore them, see *De Staël, Rév. Françoise,* Paris, 1820, vol. ii. p. 103.

[332] It is hardly credible that such language should have been applied to a man like La Fayette; but I have copied it from the *Parliamentary History,* vol. xxxi. p. 51, and from *Adolphus,* vol. v. p. 593. The only difference is, that in Adolphus the expression is 'I would not debase my humanity;' but in the *Parl. Hist.,* 'I would not debauch my humanity.' But both authorities are agreed as to the term 'horrid ruffian' being used by Burke. Compare *Burke's Correspondence with Laurence,* pp. 91, 99.

[333] *Burke's Works,* vol. ii. p. 319. In every instance I quote the precise words employed by Burke.

[334] *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 279.

[335] Burke's speech, in *Parl. Hist.* vol. xxxi. p. 379.

[336] *Burke's Works,* vol. ii. p. 335.

sembly are 'miscreants;'[337] its people are 'an allied army of Amazonian and male cannibal Parisians;'[338] they are 'a nation of murderers;'[339] they are 'the basest of mankind;'[340] they are 'murderous atheists;'[341] they are 'a gang of robbers;'[342] they are 'the prostitute outcasts of mankind;'[343] they are 'a desperate gang of plunderers, murderers, tyrants, and atheists.'[344] To make the slightest concessions to such a country in order to preserve peace, is offering victims 'on the altars of blasphemed regicide;'[345] even to enter into negotiations is 'exposing our lazar sores at the door of every proud servitor of the French republic, where the court-dogs will not deign to lick them.'[346] When our ambassador was actually in Paris, he 'had the honour of passing his mornings in respectful attendance at the office of a regicide pettifogger;'[347] and we were taunted with having sent a 'peer of the realm to the scum of the earth.'[348] France has no longer a place in Europe; it is expunged from the map; its very name should be forgotten.[349] Why, then, need men travel in it? Why need our children learn its language? and why are we to endanger the morals of our ambassadors? who can hardly fail to return from such a land with their principles corrupted, and with a wish to conspire against their own country.[350]

337 *Burke's Corresp.* vol. iii. p. 140. 338 *Burke's Works,* vol. ii. p. 322.

339 *Parl. Hist.* vol. xxx. p. 115. 340 *Ibid.* p. 112.

341 *Ibid.* p. 188. 342 *Ibid.* p. 435.

343 *Ibid.* p. 646; the concluding sentence of one of Burke's speeches in 1793.

344 *Ibid.* vol. xxxi. p. 426. 345 *Burke's Works,* vol. ii. p. 320.

346 *Ibid.* p. 286. 347 *Ibid.* p. 322. 348 *Ibid.* p. 318.

349 *Parl. Hist.* vol. xxviii. p. 353, vol. xxx. p. 390; *Adolphus,* vol. iv. p. 467.

350 In the *Letters on a Regicide Peace,* published the year before he died, he says, 'These ambassadors may easily return as good courtiers as they went: but can they ever return from that degrading residence loyal and faithful subjects; or with any true affection to their master, or true attachment to the constitution, religion, or laws of their country? There is great danger that they who enter smiling into this Tryphonian cave, will come out of it sad and serious conspirators; and such will continue as long as they live.' *Burke's Works,* vol. ii. p. 282. He adds in the same work, p. 381, 'Is it for this benefit we open "the usual relations of peace and amity?"

This is sad, indeed, from such a man as Burke once was; but what remains, shows still more clearly how the associations and composition of his mind had been altered. He who, with humanity not less than with wisdom, had strenuously laboured to prevent the American war, devoted the last few years of his life to kindle a new war, compared to which that with America was a light and trivial episode. In his calmer moments, no one would have more willingly recognized that the opinions prevalent in any country are the inevitable results of the circumstances in which that country had been placed. But now he sought to alter those opinions by force. From the beginning of the French Revolution, he insisted upon the right, and indeed upon the necessity, of compelling France to change her principles;[351] and, at a later period, he blamed the allied sovereigns for not dictating to a great people the government they ought to adopt.[352] Such was the havoc circumstances had made in his well-ordered intellect, that to this one principle he sacrificed every consideration of justice, of mercy, and of expediency. As if war, even in its mildest form, were not sufficiently hateful, he

Is it for this our youth of both sexes are to form themselves by travel? Is it for this that with expense and pains we form their lisping infant accents to the language of France? . . . . . Let it be remembered, that no young man can go to any part of Europe without taking this place of pestilential contagion in his way; and, whilst the less active part of the community will be debauched by this travel, whilst children are poisoned at these schools, our trade will put the finishing hand to our ruin. No factory will be settled in France, that will not become a club of complete French Jacobins. The minds of young men of that description will receive a taint in their religion, their morals, and their politics, which they will in a short time communicate to the whole kingdom.'

351 In *Observations on the Conduct of the Minority*, 1793, he says, that during four years he had wished for 'a general war against jacobins and jacobinism.' *Burke's Works*, vol. i. p. 611.

352 'For, in the first place, the united sovereigns very much injured their cause by admitting that they had nothing to do with the interior arrangements of France.' *Heads for Consideration on the Present State of Affairs*, written in November 1792, in *Burke's Works*, vol. i. p. 583. And that he knew that this was not merely a question of destroying a faction, appears from the observable circumstance, that even in January 1791 he wrote to Trevor respecting war, 'France is weak indeed, divided and deranged; but God knows, when the things came to be tried, whether the invaders would not find that their enterprise *was not to support a party, but to conquer a kingdom.*' *Burke's Correspond.* vol. iii. p. 184.

sought to give to it that character of a crusade[353] which increasing knowledge had long since banished; and loudly proclaiming that the contest was religious rather than temporal, he revived old prejudices in order to cause fresh crimes.[354] He also declared that the war should be carried on for revenge as well as for defence, and that we must never lay down our arms until we had utterly destroyed the men by whom the Revolution was brought about.[355] And, as if these things were not enough, he insisted that this, the most awful of all wars, being begun, was not to be hurried over; although it was to be carried on for revenge as well as for religion, and the resources of civilized men were to be quickened by the ferocious passions of crusaders, still it was not to be soon ended; it was to be durable; it must have permanence; it must, says Burke, in the spirit of a burning hatred, be protracted in a long war: 'I speak it emphatically, and with a desire that it should be marked, in a *long* war.'[356]

It was to be a war to force a great people to change their government. It was to be a war carried on for the purpose of punishment. It was also to be a religious war. Finally, it was to be a long war. Was there ever any other man who wished to afflict the human race with such extensive, searching, and protracted calamities? Such cruel, such reckless, and yet such deliberate opinions, if they issued from a sane mind, would immortalize even

[353] As Lord J. Russell truly calls it, *Mem. of Fox*, vol. iii. p. 34. See also *Schlosser's Eighteenth Century*, vol. ii. p. 93, vol. v. p. 109, vol. vi. p. 291; *Nicholls's Recollections*, vol. i. p. 300; *Parr's Works*, vol. iii. p. 242.

[354] 'We cannot, if we would, delude ourselves about the true state of this dreadful contest. *It is a religious war.*' *Remarks on the Policy of the Allies*, in *Burke's Works*, vol. i. p. 600.

[355] See the long list of proscriptions in *Burke's Works*, vol. i. p. 604. And the principle of revenge is again advocated in a letter written in 1793, in *Burke's Correspond.* vol. iv. p. 183. And in 1794, he told the House of Commons that 'the war must no longer be confined to the vain attempt of raising a barrier to the lawless and savage power of France; but must be directed to the only rational end it can pursue; namely, the entire destruction of the desperate horde which gave it birth.' *Parl. Hist.* vol. xxxi. p. 427.

[356] *Letters on a Regicide Peace*, in *Burke's Works*, vol. ii. p. 291. In this horrible sentence, perhaps the most horrible ever penned by an English politician, the italics are not my own; they are in the text.

the most obscure statesman, because they would load his name with imperishable infamy. For where can we find, even among the most ignorant or most sanguinary politicians, sentiments like these? Yet they proceed from one who, a very few years before, was the most eminent political philosopher England has ever possessed. To us it is only given to mourn over so noble a wreck. More than this no one should do. We may contemplate with reverence the mighty ruin; but the mysteries of its decay let no man presume to invade, unless, to use the language of the greatest of our masters, he can tell how to minister to a diseased mind, pluck the sorrows which are rooted in the memory, and raze out the troubles that are written in the brain.

It is a relief to turn from so painful a subject, even though we descend to the petty, huckstering politics of the English court. And truly, the history of the treatment experienced by the most illustrious of our politicians, is highly characteristic of the prince under whom he lived. While Burke was consuming his life in great public services, labouring to reform our finances, improve our laws, and enlighten our commercial policy,—while he was occupied with these things, the king regarded him with coldness and aversion.[357] But when the great statesman degenerated into an angry brawler; when, irritated by disease, he made it the sole aim of his declining years to kindle a deadly war between the two first countries of Europe, and declared that to this barbarous object he would sacrifice all other questions of policy, however important they might be;[358]—then it was that a perception of his vast abilities began to dawn upon the mind of the

[357] 'I know,' said Burke, in one of those magnificent speeches which mark the zenith of his intellect,—'I know the map of England as well as the noble lord, or as any other person; and I know that the way I take is not the road to preferment.' *Parl. Hist.* vol. xvii. p. 1269.

[358] See, among many other instances, an extraordinary passage on 'Jacobinism,' in his *Works*, vol. ii. p. 449, which should be compared with a letter he wrote in 1792, respecting a proposed coalition ministry, *Correspond.* vol. iii. pp. 519, 520: 'But my advice was, that as a foundation of the whole, the political principle must be settled as the preliminary, namely, "a total hostility to the French system, at home and abroad."'

king. Before this, no one had been bold enough to circulate in the palace even a whisper of his merits. Now, however, in the successive, and eventually the rapid decline of his powers, he had fallen almost to the level of the royal intellect; and now he was first warmed by the beams of the royal favour. Now he was a man after the king's own heart.[359] Less than two years before his death, there was settled upon him, at the express desire of George III., two considerable pensions;[360] and the king even wished to raise him to the peerage, in order that the House of Lords might benefit by the services of so great a counsellor.[361]

This digression respecting the character of Burke has been longer than I had anticipated; but it will not, I hope, be considered unimportant; for, in addition to the intrinsic interest of the subject, it illustrates the feelings of George III. towards great men, and it shows what the opinions were which in his reign it was thought necessary to hold. In the sequel of this work, I shall trace the effect of such opinions upon the interests of the country, considered as a whole; but for the object of the present Introduction, it will be sufficient to point out the connexion in one or two more of those prominent instances, the character of which is too notorious to admit of discussion.

Of these leading and conspicuous events, the American war was the earliest, and for several years it almost

[359] The earliest evidence I have met with of the heart of George III. beginning to open towards Burke, is in August 1791; see, in *Burke's Correspondence*, vol. iii. p. 278, an exquisitely absurd account of his reception at the levee. Burke must have been fallen, indeed, before he could write such a letter.

[360] 'Said to have originated in the express wish of the king.' *Prior's Life of Burke*, p. 489. Mr. Prior estimates these pensions at 3,700*l.* a-year; but if we may rely on Mr. Nicholls, the sum was even greater: 'Mr. Burke was rewarded with two pensions, estimated to be worth 40,000*l.*' *Nicholls's Recollections*, vol. i. p. 136. Burke was sixty-five; and a pension of 3,700*l.* a-year would not be worth 40,000*l.*, as the tables were then calculated. The statement of Mr. Prior is, however, confirmed by Wansey, in 1794. See *Nichols's Lit. Anec. of the Eighteenth Century*, vol. iii. p. 81.

[361] *Prior's Life of Burke*, p. 460; *Nichols's Lit. Anec.* vol. iii. p. 81; *Bisset's Life of Burke*, vol. ii. p. 414.

entirely absorbed the attention of English politicians. In the reign of George II. a proposal had been made to increase the revenue by taxing the colonies; which, as the Americans were totally unrepresented in parliament, was simply a proposition to tax an entire people without even the form of asking their consent. This scheme of public robbery was rejected by that able and moderate man who was then at the head of affairs; and the suggestion, being generally deemed impracticable, fell to the ground, and seems, indeed, hardly to have excited attention.[362] But what was deemed by the government of George II. to be a dangerous stretch of arbitrary power, was eagerly welcomed by the government of George III. For the new king, having the most exalted notion of his own authority, and being, from his miserable education, entirely ignorant of public affairs, thought that to tax the Americans for the benefit of the English, would be a masterpiece of policy. When, therefore, the old idea was revived, it met with his cordial acquiescence; and when the Americans showed their intention of resisting this monstrous injustice, he was only the more confirmed in his opinion that it was necessary to curb their unruly will. Nor need we be surprised at the rapidity with which such angry feelings broke out. Indeed, looking, on the one hand, at the despotic principles which, for the first time since the Revolution, were now revived at the English court; and looking, on the other hand, at the independent spirit of the colonists,—it was impossible to avoid a struggle between the two parties; and the only questions were, as to what form the contest would take, and towards which side victory was most likely to incline.[363]

On the part of the English government, no time was

[362] 'It had been proposed to Sir Robert Walpole to raise the revenue by imposing taxes on America; but that minister, who could foresee beyond the benefit of the actual moment, declared it must be a bolder man than himself who should venture on such an expedient.' *Walpole's George III.* vol. ii. p. 70. Compare *Phillimore's Mem. of Lyttleton*, vol. ii. p. 662; *Bancroft's American Revolution*, vol. i. p. 96; *Belsham's Hist. of Great Britain*, vol. v. p. 102.

[363] That some sort of rupture was unavoidable, must, I think, be admitted; but we are not bound to believe the assertion of Horace Walpole,

lost. Five years after the accession of George III., a bill was brought into parliament to tax the Americans;[364] and so complete had been the change in political affairs, that not the least difficulty was found in passing a measure which, in the reign of George II., no minister had dared to propose. Formerly, such a proposal, if made, would certainly have been rejected; now the most powerful parties in the state were united in its favour. The king, on every occasion, paid a court to the clergy, to which, since the death of Anne, they had been unaccustomed; he was, therefore, sure of their support, and they zealously aided him in every attempt to oppress the colonies.[365] The aristocracy, a few leading Whigs alone excepted, were on the same side, and looked to the taxation of America as a means of lessening their own contributions.[366] As to George III., his feelings on the subject were notorious;[367]

who says (*Mem. of George II.* vol. i. p. 397) that in 1754 he predicted the American rebellion. Walpole, though a keen observer of the surface of society, was not the man to take a view of this kind; unless, as is hardly probable, he heard an opinion to that effect expressed by his father. Sir Robert Walpole may have said something respecting the increasing love of liberty in the colonies; but it was impossible for him to foresee how that love would be fostered by the arbitrary proceedings of the government of George III.

364 The general proposition was introduced in 1764; the bill itself early in 1765. See *Mahon's Hist. of England*, vol. v. pp. 82, 85; and *Grenville Papers*, vol. ii. pp. 373, 374. On the complete change of policy which this indicated, see *Brougham's Polit. Philos.* part iii. p. 328.

365 The correspondence of that time contains ample proof of the bitterness of the clergy against the Americans. Even in 1777, Burke wrote to Fox: 'The Tories do universally think their power and consequence involved in the success of this American business. The clergy are astonishingly warm in it; and what the Tories are when embodied and united with their natural head, the crown, and animated by their clergy, no man knows better than yourself.' *Burke's Works*, vol. ii. p. 390. Compare *Bishop Newton's Life of Himself*, pp. 134, 157.

366 'The overbearing aristocracy desired some reduction of the land-tax, at the expense of America.' *Bancroft's Hist. of the American Revolution*, vol. ii. p. 414. The merchants, on the other hand, were opposed to these violent proceedings. See, on this contrast between the landed and commercial interests, a letter from Lord Shelburne, in 1774, and another from Lord Camden, in 1775, in *Chatham Correspond.* vol. iv. pp. 341, 401. See also the speeches of Trecothick and Vyner, in *Parl. Hist.* vol. xvi. p. 507, vol. xviii. p. 1361.

367 It was believed at the time, and it is not improbable, that the king himself suggested the taxation of America, to which Grenville at first objected. Compare *Wraxall's Mem. of his own Time*, vol. ii. pp. 111, 112, with

and the more liberal party not having yet recovered from the loss of power consequent on the death of George II., there was little fear of difficulties from the cabinet; it being well known that the throne was occupied by a prince whose first object was to keep ministers in strict dependence on himself, and who, whenever it was practicable, called into office such weak and flexible men as would yield unhesitating submission to his wishes.[368]

Everything being thus prepared, there followed those events which were to be expected from such a combination. Without stopping to relate details which are known to every reader, it may be briefly mentioned that, in this new state of things, the wise and forbearing policy of the preceding reign was set at naught, and the national councils guided by rash and ignorant men, who soon brought the greatest disasters upon the country, and within a few years actually dismembered the empire. In order to enforce the monstrous claim of taxing a whole people without their consent, there was waged against America a

Nicholls's Recollections, vol. i. pp. 205, 386. This may have been merely a rumour; but it is quite consistent with everything we know of the character of George III., and there can, at all events, be no doubt as to his feelings respecting the general question. It is certain that he over-persuaded Lord North to engage in the contest with America, and induced that minister to go to war, and to continue it even after success had become hopeless. See *Bancroft's American Revolution*, vol. iii. pp. 307, 308; *Russell's Mem. of Fox*, vol. i. pp. 247, 254; and the *Bedford Correspond.* vol. iii. p. li. See also, in regard to the repeal of the Stamp Act, the *Grenville Papers*, vol. iii. p. 373; a curious passage, with which Lord Mahon, the last edition of whose history was published in the same year (1853), appears to have been unacquainted. *Mahon's Hist. of England*, vol. v. p. 139. In America, the sentiments of the king were well known. In 1775, Jefferson writes from Philadelphia: 'We are told, and everything proves it true, that he is the bitterest enemy we have.' *Jefferson's Correspond.* vol. i. p. 153. And in 1782 Franklin writes to Livingston, 'The king hates us most cordially.' *Life of Franklin*, vol. ii. p. 126.

[368] 'A court,' as Lord Albemarle observes,—'a court that required ministers to be, not the public servants of the state, but the private domestics of the sovereign.' *Albemarle's Mem. of Rockingham*, vol. i. p. 248. Compare *Bancroft's American Revolution*, vol. ii. p. 109. In the same way, Burke, in 1767, writes: 'His majesty never was in better spirits. He has got a ministry weak and dependent; and, what is better, willing to continue so.' *Burke's Correspond.* vol. i. p. 133. Ten years later, Lord Chatham openly taunted the king with this disgraceful peculiarity: 'Thus to pliable men, not capable men, was the government of this once glorious empire intrusted.' *Chatham's Speech in* 1777, in *Adolphus*, vol. ii. pp. 499, 500.

war ill-conducted, unsuccessful, and, what is far worse, accompanied by cruelties disgraceful to a civilized nation.[369] To this may be added, that an immense trade was nearly annihilated; every branch of commerce was thrown into confusion;[370] we were disgraced in the eyes of Europe;[371] we incurred an expense of 140,000,000*l.*;[372] and we lost by far the most valuable colonies any nation has ever possessed.

Such were the first fruits of the policy of George III. But the mischief did not stop there. The opinions which it was necessary to advocate in order to justify this barbarous war, recoiled upon ourselves. In order to defend the attempt to destroy the liberties of America, principles were laid down which, if carried into effect, would have subverted the liberties of England. Not only in the court, but in both houses of parliament, from the episcopal bench,

[369] For some evidence of the ferocity with which this war was conducted by the English, see *Tucker's Life of Jefferson*, vol. i. pp. 138, 139, 160; *Jefferson's Mem. and Correspond.* vol. i. pp. 352, 429, vol. ii. pp. 336, 337; *Almon's Correspond. of Wilkes*, vol. v. pp 229-232, edit. 1805; *Adolphus's Hist. of George III.* vol. ii. pp. 362, 391. These horrible cruelties were frequently mentioned in parliament, but without producing the least effect on the king or his ministers. See *Parl. Hist.* vol. xix. pp. 371, 403, 423, 424, 432, 438, 440, 477, 487, 488, 489, 567, 578, 579, 695, 972, 1393, 1394, vol. xx. p. 43. Among the expenses of the war which government laid before parliament, one of the items was for 'five gross of scalping knives.' *Parl. Hist.* vol. xix. pp. 971, 972. See further *Mém. de Lafayette*, vol i. pp. 23, 25, 99.

[370] In Manchester, 'in consequence of the American troubles, nine in ten of the artisans in that town had been discharged from employment.' This was stated in 1766, by no less an authority than Conway. *Mahon's Hist. of England*, vol. v. p. 135. As the struggle became more obstinate the evil was more marked, and ample evidence of the enormous injury inflicted on England will be found by comparing *Franklin's Correspondence*, vol. i. p. 352; *Adolphus's Hist. of George III.* vol. ii. p. 261; *Burke's Works*, vol. i. p. 111; *Parl. Hist.* vol. xviii. pp. 734, 951, 963, 964, vol. xix. pp. 259, 341, 710, 711, 1072; *Walpole's Mem. of George III.* vol. ii. p. 218.

[371] Even Mr. Adolphus, in his Tory history, says, that in 1782 'the cause of Great Britain seemed degraded to the lowest state; ill success and the prevalent opinion of mismanagement rendered the espousal of it among the selfish powers of the continent almost disreputable.' *Hist. of George III.* vol. iii. pp. 391, 392. For proof of the opinions held in foreign countries respecting this, I cannot do better than refer to *Mém. de Ségur*, vol. iii. pp. 184, 185; *Œuvres de Turgot*, vol. ix. p. 377; *Soulavie, Mém. de Louis XVI.* vol. iv. pp. 363, 364; *Koch, Tableau des Révolutions*, vol. ii. pp. 190-194; *Mem. of Mallet du Pan*, vol. i. p. 37.

[372] Sir John Sinclair, in his *Hist. of the Revenue*, vol. ii. p. 114, says 139,171,876*l.*

and from the pulpits of the church-party, there were promulgated doctrines of the most dangerous kind—doctrines unsuited to a limited monarchy, and, indeed, incompatible with it. The extent to which this reaction proceeded is known to very few readers, because the evidence of it is chiefly to be found in the parliamentary debates, and in the theological literature, particularly the sermons, of that time, none of which are now much studied. But, not to anticipate matters belonging to another part of this work, it is enough to say, that the danger was so imminent as to make the ablest defenders of popular liberty believe that everything was at stake; and that if the Americans were vanquished, the next step would be to attack the liberties of England, and endeavour to extend to the mother-country the same arbitrary government which by that time would have been established in the colonies.[373]

Whether or not these fears were exaggerated, is a question of considerable difficulty; but after a careful study of that time, and a study too from sources not much used by historians, I feel satisfied that they who are best acquainted with the period will be the most willing to admit that, though the danger may have been overrated, it was far more serious than men are now inclined to believe. At all events, it is certain that the general aspect of political affairs was calculated to excite great alarm. It is certain, that during many years, the authority of the crown continued to increase, until it reached a height of which no example had been seen in England for several generations. It is certain that the Church of Eng-

[373] Dr. Jebb, an able observer, thought that the American war 'must be decisive of the liberties of both countries.' *Disney's Life of Jebb*, p. 92. So, too, Lord Chatham wrote in 1777, 'poor England will have fallen upon her own sword.' *The Grenville Papers*, vol. iv. p. 573. In the same year, Burke said of the attempt made to rule the colonies by military force, 'that the establishment of such a power in America will utterly ruin our finances (though its certain effect), is the smallest part of our concern. It will become an apt, powerful, and certain engine for the destruction of our freedom here.' *Burke's Works*, vol. ii. p. 399. Compare vol. i. pp. 189, 210; *Parl. Hist.* vol. xvi. pp. 104, 107, 651, 652, vol. xix. pp. 11, 1056, vol. xx. p. 119, vol. xxi. p. 907. Hence it was that Fox wished the Americans to be victorious (*Russell's Mem. of Fox*, vol. i. p. 143); for which some writers have actually accused him of want of patriotism!

land exerted all her influence in favour of those despotic principles which the king wished to enforce. It is also certain that, by the constant creation of new peers, all holding the same views, the character of the House of Lords was undergoing a slow but decisive change; and that, whenever a favourable opportunity arose, high judicial appointments and high ecclesiastical appointments were conferred upon men notorious for their leaning towards the royal prerogative. These are facts which cannot be denied; and, putting them together, there remains, I think, no doubt, that the American war was a great crisis in the history of England, and that if the colonists had been defeated, our liberties would have been for a time in considerable jeopardy. From that risk we were saved by the Americans, who with heroic spirit resisted the royal armies, defeated them at every point, and at length, separating themselves from the mother-country, began that wonderful career, which, in less than eighty years, has raised them to an unexampled prosperity, and which to us ought to be deeply interesting, as showing what may be effected by the unaided resources of a free people.

Seven years after this great contest had been brought to a successful close, and the Americans, happily for the interests of mankind, had finally secured their independence, another nation rose up and turned against it rulers. The history of the causes of the French Revolution will be found in another part of this volume; at present we have only to glance at the effects it produced upon the policy of the English government. In France, as is well known, the movement was extremely rapid; the old institutions, which were so corrupted as to be utterly unfit for use, were quickly destroyed; and the people, frenzied by centuries of oppression, practised the most revolting cruelties, saddening the hour of their triumph by crimes that disgraced the noble cause for which they struggled.

All this, frightful as it was, did nevertheless form a part of the natural course of affairs; it was the old story of tyranny exciting revenge, and revenge blinding men to every consequence except the pleasure of glutting their

own passions. If, under these circumstances, France had been left to herself, the Revolution, like all other revolutions, would soon have subsided, and a form of government have arisen suited to the actual condition of things. What the form would have been, it is impossible now to say; that, however, was a question with which no foreign country had the slightest concern. Whether it should be an oligarchy, or a despotic monarchy, or a republic, it was for France to decide; but it was evidently not the business of any other nation to decide for her. Still less was it likely that, on so delicate a point, France would submit to dictation from a country which had always been her rival, and which not unfrequently had been her bitter and successful enemy.

But these considerations, obvious as they are, were lost upon George III., and upon those classes which were then in the ascendant. The fact that a great people had risen against their oppressors, disquieted the consciences of men in high places. The same evil passions, and indeed the same evil language, which a few years before were directed against the Americans, were now turned against the French; and it was but too clear that the same results would follow.[374] In defiance of every maxim of sound policy, the English ambassador was recalled from France simply because that country chose to do away with the monarchy, and substitute a republic in its place. This was the first decisive step towards an open rupture, and it was taken, not because France had injured England, but because France had changed her government.[375] A few months later, the French, copying the example of the

[374] In 1792, and therefore before the war broke out, Lord Lansdowne, one of the extremely few peers who escaped from the prevailing corruption, said, 'The present instance recalled to his memory the proceedings of this country previous to the American war. The same abusive and degrading terms were applied to the Americans that were now used to the National Convention,—*the same consequences might follow.*' *Parl. Hist.* vol. xxx. p. 155.

[375] Compare *Belsham's Hist. of Great Britain*, vol. viii. p. 490, with *Tomline's Life of Pitt*, vol. ii. p. 548. The letter to Lord Gower, the English minister in Paris, is printed in *Parl. Hist.* vol. xxx. pp. 143, 144. Its date is 17th August, 1792.

English in the preceding century,[376] brought their king to a public trial, sentenced him to die, and struck off his head in the midst of his own capital. It must be allowed that this act was needless, that it was cruel, and that it was grossly impolitic. But it is palpably evident that they who consented to the execution were responsible only to God and their country; and that any notice of it from abroad, which bore the appearance of a threat, would rouse the spirit of France, would unite all parties into one, and would induce the nation to adopt as its own a crime of which it might otherwise have repented, but which it could not now abjure without incurring the shame of having yielded to the dictation of a foreign power.

In England, however, as soon as the fate of the king was known, the government, without waiting for explanation, and without asking for any guarantee as to the future, treated the death of Louis as an offence against itself, and imperiously ordered the French resident to quit the country:[377] thus wantonly originating a war which lasted twenty years, cost the lives of millions, plunged all Europe into confusion, and, more than any other circumstance, stopped the march of civilization, by postponing for a whole generation those reforms, which, late in the eighteenth century, the progress of affairs rendered indispensable.

The European results of this, the most hateful, the most unjust, and the most atrocious war, England has ever waged against any country, will be hereafter con-

[376] Just before the Revolution, Robert de Saint-Vincent pertinently remarked, by way of caution, that the English 'have dethroned seven of their kings, and beheaded the eighth.' *Mem. of Mallet du Pan*, vol. i. p. 146; and we are told in *Alison's Europe* (vol. ii. pp 199, 296, 315), that in 1792 Louis 'anticipated the fate of Charles I.' Compare *Williams's Letters from France*, 2nd edit. 1796, vol. iv. p. 2.

[377] Belsham (*Hist. of Great Britain*, vol. viii. p. 525) supposes, and probably with reason, that the English government was bent upon war even before the death of Louis; but it appears (*Tomline's Pitt*, vol. ii. p. 599) that it was not until the 24th of January 1793 that Chauvelin was actually ordered to leave England, and that this was in consequence of 'the British ministers having received information of the execution of the king of France.' Compare *Belsham*, vol. viii. p. 530. The common opinion, therefore, seems correct, that the proximate cause of hostilities was the execution of Louis. See *Alison's Hist.* vol. ii. p. 522, vol. v. p. 249, vol. vi. p. 656; and *Newmarch*, in *Journal of Statistical Society*, vol. xviii. p. 108.

sidered;[378] at present I confine myself to a short summary of its leading effects on English society.

What distinguishes this sanguinary contest from all preceding ones, and what gives to it its worst feature, is, that it was eminently a war of opinions,—a war which we carried on, not with a view to territorial acquisitions, but with the object of repressing that desire for reforms of every kind, which had now become the marked characteristic of the leading countries of Europe.[379] As soon, therefore, as hostilities began the English government had a twofold duty to perform: it had to destroy a republic abroad, and it had to prevent improvement at home. The first of these duties it fulfilled by squandering the blood and the treasure of England, till it had thrown nearly every family into mourning, and reduced the country to the verge of national bankruptcy. The other duty it attempted to execute by enacting a series of laws intended to put an end to the free discussion of political questions, and stifle that spirit of inquiry which was every year becoming more active. These laws were so comprehensive, and so well calculated to effect their purpose, that if the energy of the nation had not prevented their being properly enforced, they would either have destroyed every vestige of popular liberty, or else have provoked a general rebellion. Indeed, during several years the danger was so imminent, that, in the opinion of some high authorities, nothing could have averted it, but the bold spirit with which our English juries, by their hostile verdicts, resisted the proceedings of

[378] Lord Brougham (*Sketches of Statesmen*, vol. i. p. 79) rightly says of this war, that 'the youngest man living will not survive the fatal effects of this flagrant political crime.' So eager, however, was George III. in its favour, that when Wilberforce separated himself from Pitt on account of the war, and moved an amendment on the subject in the House of Commons, the king showed his spite by refusing to take any notice of Wilberforce the next time he appeared at court. *Life of Wilberforce*, vol. ii. pp. 10, 72.

[379] In 1793 and subsequently, it was stated both by the opposition, and also by the supporters of government, that the war with France was directed against doctrines and opinions, and that one of its main objects was to discourage the progress of democratic institutions. See, among many other instances, *Parl. Hist.* vol. xxx. pp. 413, 417, 1077, 1199, 1200, 1283, vol. xxxi. pp. 466, 592, 649, 680, 1036, 1047, vol. xxxiii. pp. 603, 604; *Nicholls's Recollections*, vol. ii. pp. 156, 157.

government, and refused to sanction laws which the crown had proposed, and to which a timid and servile legislature had willingly consented.[380]

We may form some idea of the magnitude of the crisis by considering the steps which were actually taken against the two most important of all our institutions, namely, the freedom of the public press, and the right of assembling in meetings for the purpose of public discussion. These are, in a political point of view, the two most striking peculiarities which distinguish us from every other European people. As long as they are preserved intact, and as long as they are fearlessly and frequently employed, there will always be ample protection against those encroachments on the part of government which cannot be too jealously watched, and to which even the freest country is liable. To this may be added, that these institutions possess other advantages of the highest order. By encouraging political discussion, they increase the amount of intellect brought to bear upon the political business of the country. They also increase the total strength of the nation, by causing large classes of men to exercise faculties which would otherwise lie dormant, but which by these means are quickened into activity, and become available for other purposes of social interest.

But in the period we are now considering, it was deemed advisable that the influence of the people should be lessened; it was, therefore, thought improper that they should strengthen their abilities by exercising them. To

[380] Lord Campbell (*Lives of the Chancellors*, vol. vi. p. 449) says, that if the laws passed in 1794 had been enforced, 'the only chance of escaping servitude would have been civil war.' Compare *Brougham's Statesmen*, vol. i. p. 237, vol. ii. pp. 63, 64, on our 'escape from proscription and from arbitrary power . . . during the almost hopeless struggle from 1793 to 1801.' Both these writers pay great and deserved honour to the successful efforts of Erskine with juries. Indeed the spirit of our jurors was so determined, that in 1794, at Tooke's trial, they only consulted eight minutes before bringing in a verdict of acquittal. *Stephen's Mem. of Horne Tooke*, vol. ii. p. 147; see also, on this crisis *Life of Cartwright*, vol. i. p. 210. The people sympathised throughout with the victims; and while the trial of Hardy was pending, the attorney-general, Scott, was always mobbed when he left the court, and on one occasion his life was in danger. *Twiss's Life of Eldon*, vol. i. pp. 185, 186. Compare *Holcroft's Memoirs*, vol. ii. pp. 180, 181.

relate the details of that bitter war, which, late in the eighteenth century, the English government carried on against every kind of free discussion, would lead me far beyond the limits of this Introduction; and I can only hastily refer to the vindictive prosecutions, and, whenever a verdict was obtained, the vindictive punishments, of men like Adams, Bonney, Crossfield, Frost, Gerald, Hardy, Holt, Hodson, Holcroft, Joyce, Kidd, Lambert, Margarot, Martin, Muir, Palmer, Perry, Skirving, Stannard, Thelwall, Tooke, Wakefield, Wardle, Winterbotham: all of whom were indicted, and many of whom were fined, imprisoned, or transported, because they expressed their sentiments with freedom, and because they used language such as in our time is employed with perfect impunity, by speakers at public meetings, and by writers in the public press.

As, however, juries in several cases refused to convict men who were prosecuted for these offences, it was determined to recur to measures still more decisive. In 1795, a law was passed, by which it was manifestly intended to put an end for ever to all popular discussions either on political or religious matters. For by it every public meeting was forbidden, unless notice of it were inserted in a newspaper five days beforehand;[381] such notice to contain a statement of the objects of the meeting, and of the time and place where it was to assemble. And, to bring the whole arrangement completely under the supervision of government, it was ordered, that not only should the notice, thus published, be signed by householders, but that the original manuscript should be preserved, for the information of the justices of the peace, who might require a copy of it: a significant threat, which, in those days, was easily

[381] 'Five days at least.' *Stat.* 36 *George III.* c. 8, § 1. This applied to meetings 'holden for the purpose or on the pretext of considering of or preparing any petition, complaint, remonstrance, or declaration, or other address to the king, or to both houses, or either house, of parliament, for alteration of matters established in church or state, or for the purpose or on the pretext of deliberating upon any grievance in church or state.' The only exceptions allowed were in the case of meetings called by magistrates, officials, and the majority of the grand jury.

understood.[382] It was also enacted that, even after these precautions had been taken, any single justice might compel the meeting to disperse, if, in his opinion, the language held by the speakers was calculated to bring the sovereign or the government into contempt; while, at the same time, he was authorized to arrest those whom he considered to be the offenders.[383] The power of dissolving a public meeting, and of seizing its leaders, was thus conferred upon a common magistrate, and conferred too without the slightest provision against its abuse. In other words, the right of putting an end to all public discussions on the most important subjects, was lodged in the hands of a man appointed by the crown, and removable by the crown at its own pleasure. To this it was added, that if the meeting should consist of twelve, or upwards of twelve persons, and should remain together for one hour after being ordered to separate,—in such case, the penalty of death was to be inflicted, even if only twelve disobeyed this the arbitrary command of a single and irresponsible magistrate.[384]

In 1799, another law was passed, forbidding any open field, or place of any kind, to be used for lecturing, or for debating, unless a specific license for such place had been obtained from the magistrates. It was likewise enacted, that all circulating-libraries, and all reading-rooms, should be subject to the same provision; no person, without leave from the constituted authorities, being permitted to lend on hire in his own house, newspapers, pamphlets, or even books of any kind.[385] Before shops of this sort could be opened, a license must first be obtained from two justices of the peace; which, however, was to be renewed at least

[382] The insertor of the notice in the newspaper 'shall cause such notice and authority to be carefully preserved, ... and cause a true copy thereof (if required) to be delivered to any justice of the peace for the county, city, town, or place where such person shall reside, or where such newspaper shall be printed, and who shall require the same.' 36 *George III.* c. 8, § 1.

[383] C. 8, § § 6 and 7, referring to 'meetings on notice;' and to persons holding language which shall even 'tend to incite.' These two sections are very remarkable.

[384] 'It shall be adjudged,' says the Act, 'felony without benefit of clergy; and the offenders therein shall be adjudged felons, and shall suffer death as in case of felony without benefit of clergy.' 36 *George III.* c. 8, § 6.

[385] *Stat.* 39 *George III.* c. 79, § 15.

once a year, and might be revoked at any intermediate period.[386] If a man lent books without the permission of the magistrates, or if he allowed lectures or debates, 'on any subject whatever,' to be held under his roof, then, for such grievous crime, he was to be fined 100*l.* a-day; and every person who aided him, either by presiding over the discussion, or by supplying a book, was for each offence to be fined 20*l.* The proprietor of so pernicious an establishment was not only to suffer from these ruinous fines, but was declared liable to still further punishment as the keeper of a disorderly house.[387]

To modern ears it sounds somewhat strange, that the owner of a public reading-room should not only incur extravagant fines, but should also be punished as the keeper of a disorderly house; and that all this should happen to him, simply because he opened his shop without asking permission from the local magistrates. Strange, however, as this appears, it was, at all events, consistent, since it formed part of a regular plan for bringing, not only the actions of men, but even their opinions, under the direct control of the executive government. Thus it was that the laws, now for the first time passed, against newspapers, were so stringent, and the prosecution of authors so unrelenting, that there was an evident intention to ruin every public writer who expressed independent sentiments.[388]

[386] The license 'shall be in force for the space of one year and no longer, or for any less space of time therein to be specified; and which license it shall be lawful for the justices of the peace' &c. 'to revoke and declare void, and no longer in force, by any order of such justices; . . . . . and thereupon such license shall cease and determine, and be thenceforth utterly void and of no effect.'. 39 *George III.* c. 79, § 18.

[387] Such things are so incredible, that I must again quote the words of the Act: 'Every house, room, or place, which shall be opened or used as a place of meeting for the purpose of reading books, pamphlets, newspapers, or other publications, and to which any person shall be admitted by payment of money' (if not regularly licensed by the authorities), ... 'shall be deemed a disorderly house;' and the person opening it shall 'be otherwise punished as the law directs in case of disorderly houses.' 39 *George III.* c. 79, § 15. The germ of this law may be found in 36 *George III.* c. 8, § § 12, 13, 14, 15, 16. No where are the weakest parts of the human mind more clearly seen than in the history of legislation.

[388] See the particulars in *Hunt's Hist. of Newspapers*, vol. i. pp. 281-4. Mr. Hunt says, p. 284: 'In addition to all these laws, directed solely towards the press, other statutes were made to bear upon it, for the purpose of re-

These measures, and others of a similar character, which will hereafter be noticed, excited such alarm, that, in the opinion of some of the ablest observers, the state of public affairs was becoming desperate, perhaps irretrievable. The extreme despondency with which, late in the eighteenth century, the best friends of liberty looked to the future, is very observable, and forms a striking feature in their private correspondence.[389] And although comparatively few men venture to express such sentiments in public, Fox, whose fearless temper made him heedless of risk, openly stated what would have checked the government, if any thing could have done so. For this eminent statesman, who had been minister more than once, and was afterwards

pressing the free expression of popular opinion.' In 1793, Dr. Currie writes: 'The prosecutions that are commenced by government all over England against printers, publishers, &c. would astonish you; and most of these are for offences committed many months ago. The printer of the *Manchester Herald* has had seven different indictments preferred against him for paragraphs in his paper; and six *different* indictments for selling or disposing of six different copies of Paine,—all previous to the *trial* of Paine. The man was opulent, supposed worth 20,000*l.*; but these different actions will ruin him, as they were intended to do.' *Currie's Life*, vol. i. pp. 185, 186. See also a letter from Roscoe to Lord Lansdowne, in *Life of Roscoe*, vol. i. p. 124; and *Mem. of Holcroft*, vol. ii. pp. 151, 152: 'Printers and booksellers all over the kingdom were hunted out for prosecution.' See further, *Life of Cartwright*, vol. i. pp. 199, 200; *Adolphus's Hist. of George III.* vol. v. pp. 525, 526; *Mem. of Wakefield*, vol. ii. p. 69.

389 In 1793, Dr. Currie, after mentioning the attempts made by government to destroy the liberty of the press, adds: 'For my part, I foresee troubles, and conceive the nation was never in such a dangerous crisis.' *Currie's Mem.* vol. i. p. 186. In 1795, Fox writes (*Russell's Mem. of Fox*, vol. iii. pp. 124, 125): 'There appears to me to be no choice at present, but between an absolute surrender of the liberties of the people and a vigorous exertion, attended, I admit, with considerable hazard, at a time like the present. My view of things is, I own, very gloomy; and I am convinced that, in a very few years, this government will become completely absolute, or that confusion will arise of a nature almost as much to be deprecated as despotism itself.' In the same year, Dr. Raine writes (*Parr's Works*, vol. vii. p. 533): 'The mischievous conduct of men in power has long made this country an uneasy dwelling for the moderate and peaceful man; their present proceedings render our situation alarming, and our prospects dreadful.' See also p. 530. In 1796, the Bishop of Llandaff writes (*Life of Watson*, vol. ii. pp. 36, 37): 'The malady which attacks the constitution (influence of the crown) is without remedy; violent applications might be used; their success would be doubtful, and I, for one, never wish to see them tried.' Compare vol. i. p. 222. And, in 1799, Priestley dreaded a revolution; but, at the same time, thought there was 'no longer any hope of a peaceable and gradual reform.' *Mem. of Priestley*, vol. i. pp. 198, 199.

minister again, did not hesitate to say, from his place in parliament, in 1795, that if these, and other shameful laws which were proposed, should be actually passed, forcible resistance to the government would be merely a question of prudence; and that the people, if they felt themselves equal to the conflict, would be justified in withstanding the arbitrary measures by which their rulers sought to extinguish their liberties.[390]

Nothing, however, could stop the government in its headlong career. The ministers, secure of a majority in both houses of parliament, were able to carry their measures in defiance of the people, who opposed them by every mode short of actual violence.[391] And as the object of these new laws was, to check the spirit of inquiry, and prevent reforms, which the progress of society rendered indispensable, there were also brought into play other means subservient to the same end. It is no exaggeration to say, that for some years England was ruled by a system of absolute terror.[392] The ministers of the day, turn-

[390] In this memorable declaration, Fox said, that 'he had a right to hope and expect that these bills, which positively repealed the Bill of Rights, and cut up the whole of the constitution by the roots, by changing our limited monarchy into an absolute despotism, would not be enacted by parliament against the declared sense of a great majority of the people. If, however, ministers were determined, by means of the corrupt influence they possessed in the two houses of parliament, to pass the bills in direct opposition to the declared sense of a great majority of the nation, and they should be put in force with all their rigorous provisions, if his opinion were asked by the people as to their obedience, he should tell them, that it was no longer a question of moral obligation and duty, but of prudence. It would, indeed, be a case of extremity alone which could justify resistance; and the only question would be, whether that resistance was prudent.' *Parl. Hist.* vol. xxxii. p. 383. On this, Windham remarked, and Fox did not deny, that 'the meaning obviously was, that the right hon. gentleman would advise the people, whenever they were strong enough, to resist the execution of the law;' and to this both Sheridan and Grey immediately assented. p. 385-387.

[391] 'Never had there appeared, in the memory of the oldest man, so firm and decided a plurality of adversaries to the ministerial measures, as on this occasion (*i. e.* in 1795): the interest of the public seemed so deeply at stake, that individuals, not only of the decent, but of the most vulgar professions, gave up a considerable portion of their time and occupations in attending the numerous meetings that were called in every part of the kingdom, to the professed intent of counteracting this attempt of the ministry.' *Note in Parl. History*, vol. xxxii. p. 381. It was at this period that Fox made the declaration which I have quoted in the previous note.

[392] It was called at the time the 'Reign of Terror;' and so indeed it

ing a struggle of party into a war of proscription, filled the prisons with their political opponents, and allowed them, when in confinement, to be treated with shameful severity.[393] If a man was known to be a reformer, he was constantly in danger of being arrested; and if he escaped that, he was watched at every turn, and his private letters were opened as they passed through the post-office.[394] In such cases, no scruples were allowed. Even the confidence of domestic life was violated. No opponent of government was safe under his own roof, against the tales of eavesdroppers and the gossip of servants. Discord was introduced into the bosom of families, and schisms caused between parents and their children.[395] Not only were the most strenuous attempts made to silence the press, but the booksellers were so constantly prosecuted, that they did not dare to publish a work if its author were obnoxious to the court.[396] Indeed, whoever opposed the

was for every opponent of government. See *Campbell's Chancellors*, vol. vi. p. 441; *Mem. of Wakefield*, vol. ii. p. 67; and *Trotter's Mem. of Fox*, p. 10.

[393] 'The iniquitous system of secret imprisonment, under which Pitt and Dundas had now filled all the gaols with parliamentary reformers; men who were cast into dungeons without any public accusation, and from whom the habeas-corpus suspension act had taken every hope of redress.' *Cooke's Hist. of Party*, vol. iii. p. 447. On the cruelty with which these political opponents of government were treated when in prison, see *Stephens's Mem. of Tooke*, vol. ii. pp. 121, 125, 423; *Parl. Hist.* vol. xxxiv. pp. 112, 113, 126, 129, 170, 515, vol. xxxv. pp. 742, 743; *Cloncurry's Recollections*, pp. 46, 86, 87, 140, 225.

[394] *Life of Currie*, vol. ii. p. 160; *Stephens's Mem. of Tooke*, vol. ii. pp. 118, 119.

[395] In 1793, Roscoe writes: 'Every man is called on to be a spy upon his brother.' *Life of Roscoe*, vol. i. p. 127. Compare Fox's statement (*Parl. Hist.* vol. xxx. p. 21), that what government had done was, 'to erect every man, not merely into an inquisitor, but into a judge, a spy, an informer,—to set father against father, brother against brother; and in this way you expect to maintain the tranquillity of the country.' See also vol. xxx. p. 1529; and a remarkable passage, in *Coleridge's Biog. Lit.* (vol. i. p. 192), on the extent of 'secret defamation,' in and after 1793. For further evidence of this horrible state of society, see *Mem. of Holcroft*, vol. ii. pp. 150, 151; *Stephens's Mem. of Horne Tooke*, vol. ii. pp. 115, 116.

[396] There was even considerable difficulty in finding a printer for Tooke's great philological work, *The Diversions of Purley*. See *Stephens's Mem. of Tooke*, vol. ii. pp. 345-348. In 1798, Fox wrote to Cartwright (*Life of Cartwright*, vol. i. p. 248): 'The decision against Wakefield's publisher appears to me decisive against the liberty of the press; and, indeed, after it, one can hardly conceive how any prudent tradesman can venture to publish anything that can, in any way, be disagreeable to the ministers.'

government was proclaimed an enemy to his country.[397] Political associations and public meetings were strictly forbidden. Every popular leader was in personal danger; and every popular assemblage was dispersed, either by threats or by military execution. That hateful machinery, familiar to the worst days of the seventeenth century, was put into motion. Spies were paid; witnesses were suborned; juries were packed.[398] The coffee-houses, the inns, and the clubs, were filled with emissaries of the government, who reported the most hasty expressions of common conversation.[399] If, by these means, no sort of evidence could be collected, there was another resource, which was unsparingly used. For, the habeas-corpus act being constantly suspended, the crown had the power of imprisoning without inquiry, and without limitation, any person offensive to the ministry, but of whose crime no proof was attempted to be brought.[400]

[397] Those who opposed the slave-trade were called jacobins, and 'enemies to the ministers;' and the celebrated Dr. Currie was pronounced to be a jacobin, and an 'enemy to his country,' because he remonstrated against the shameful manner in which the English government, in 1800, allowed the French prisoners to be treated. *Life of Currie*, vol. i. pp. 330, 332; *Life of Wilberforce*, vol. i. pp. 342-344, vol. ii. pp. 18, 133; *Parl. Hist.* vol. xxx. p. 654, vol. xxxi. p. 467, vol. xxxiii. p. 1387, vol. xxxiv. pp. 1119, 1485.

[398] *Life of Cartwright*, vol. i. p. 209; *Hunt's Hist. of Newspapers*, vol. ii. p. 104; *Belsham's Hist.* vol. ix. p. 227; *Adolphus's Hist.* vol. vi. p. 264; *Annual Register for* 1795, pp. 156, 160; *Stephens's Mem. of Tooke*, vol. ii. p. 118; *Life of Currie*, vol. i. p. 172; *Campbell's Chancellors*, vol. vi. p. 316, vol. vii. p. 316; *Life of Wilberforce*, vol. iv. pp. 369, 377; *Parl. Hist.* vol. xxxi. pp. 543, 667, 668, 1067, vol. xxxii. pp. 296, 302, 366, 367, 374, 664, vol. xxxv. pp. 1538, 1540; *Holcroft's Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 190.

[399] In addition to the passages referred to in the preceding note, compare *Hutton's Life of Himself*, p. 209, with *Campbell's Chancellors*, vol. vi. p. 441, vol. vii. p. 104, and *Adolphus's Hist. of George III.* vol. vi. p. 45. In 1798, Caldwell wrote to Sir James Smith (*Correspondence of Sir J. E. Smith*, vol. ii. p. 143): 'The power of the crown is become irresistible. The new scheme of inquisition into every man's private circumstances is beyond any attempt I have ever heard of under Louis XIV.'

[400] In 1794, Fox said, in his speech on the habeas-corpus suspension bill: 'Every man who talked freely, every man who detested, as he did from his heart, this war, might be, and would be, in the hands and at the mercy of ministers. Living under such a government, and being subject to insurrection, comparing the two evils, he confessed, he thought the evil they were pretending to remedy, was less than the one they were going to inflict by the remedy itself.' *Parl. Hist.* vol. xxxi. p. 509. In 1800, Lord Holland stated, in the House of Lords, that, 'of the seven years of the war, the habeas-corpus act had been suspended five; and, of the multitudes who had

Such was the way in which, at the end of the eighteenth century, the rulers of England, under pretence of protecting the institutions of the country, oppressed the people, for whose benefit alone those institutions ought to exist. Nor was even this the whole of the injury they actually inflicted. Their attempts to stop the progress of opinions were intimately connected with that monstrous system of foreign policy, by which there has been entailed upon us a debt of unexampled magnitude. To pay the interest of this, and to meet the current expenses of a profuse and reckless administration, taxes were laid upon nearly every product of industry and of nature.* In the vast majority of cases, these taxes fell upon the great body of the people,[401] who were thus placed in a position of singular hardship. For the upper classes not only refused to the rest of the nation the reforms which were urgently required, but compelled the country to pay for the precautions which, in consequence of the refusal, it was thought necessary to take. Thus it was that the government diminished the liberties of the people, and wasted the fruit of their industry, in order to protect that very people against opinions which the growth of their knowledge had irresistibly forced upon them.

It is not surprising that, in the face of these circumstances, some of the ablest observers should have despaired of the liberties of England, and should have believed that, in the course of a few years, a despotic government would be firmly established. Even we, who, looking at these things half a century after they occurred, are able to take a calmer view, and who moreover possess the advantages of a larger knowledge, and a riper experience, must nevertheless allow that, so far as political events were concerned, the danger was more imminent than at any moment since

been imprisoned in virtue of that suspension, few had been brought to trial, and only one convicted.' vol. xxxiv. pp. 1486. See also vol. xxxv. p. 609, 610. On the effect of the suspension of the habeas-corpus act upon literature, see *Life of Currie*, vol. i. p. 506.

[401] See decisive evidence of this, in *Porter's Progress of the Nation*, vol. ii. pp. 283-285; and, on the enormous increase of expense and taxation, see *Pellew's Life of Sidmouth*, vol. i. p. 358, vol. ii. p. 47.

the reign of Charles I. But what was forgotten then, and what is too often forgotten now, is, that political events form only one of the many parts which compose the history of a great country. In the period we have been considering, the political movement was, no doubt, more threatening than it had been for several generations. On the other hand, the intellectual movement was, as we have seen, highly favourable, and its influence was rapidly spreading. Hence it was that, while the government of the country tended in one direction, the knowledge of the country tended in another; and while political events kept us back, intellectual events urged us forward. In this way, the despotic principles that were enforced were, in some degree, neutralized; and although it was impossible to prevent them from causing great suffering, still the effect of that suffering was to increase the determination of the people to reform a system under which such evils could be inflicted. For while they felt the evils, the knowledge which they had obtained made them see the remedy. They saw that the men who were at the head of affairs were despotic; but they saw, too, that the system must be wrong, which could secure to such men such authority. This confirmed their dissatisfaction, and justified their resolution to effect some fresh arrangement, which should allow their voices to be heard in the councils of the state.[402] And that resolution, I need hardly add, grew stronger and stronger, until it eventually produced those great legislative reforms which have already signalized the present century, have given a new tone to the character of public men, and changed the structure of the English parliament.

It is thus that, in the latter part of the eighteenth century, the increase and diffusion of knowledge were in

[402] A careful observer of what was going on late in the eighteenth century, expresses what, early in the nineteenth century, was becoming the conviction of most men of plain, sound understanding, who had no interest in the existing corruption: 'Immoderate taxation, the result of the unnecessary wars of the reign of George III., is the cause of our embarrassments; and that immoderate taxation has been occasioned by the House of Commons being composed of men not interested to protect the property of the people.' *Nicholls's Recollections*, vol. i. p. 213.

England, directly antagonistic to the political events which occurred during the same period. The extent and the nature of that antagonism I have endeavoured to explain, as clearly as the complexity of the subject, and the limits of this Introduction, enable me to do. We have seen that, looking at our country as a whole, the obvious tendency of affairs was to abridge the authority of the church, the nobles, and the crown, and thus give greater play to the power of the people. Looking, however, at the country, not as a whole, but looking merely at its political history, we find that the personal peculiarities of George III., and the circumstances under which he came to the throne, enabled him to stop the great progress, and eventually cause a dangerous reaction. Happily for the fortunes of England, those principles of liberty which he and his supporters wished to destroy, had before his reign become so powerful, and so widely diffused, that they not only resisted this political reaction, but seemed to gain fresh strength from the contest. That the struggle was arduous, and at one time extremely critical, it is impossible to deny. Such, however, is the force of liberal opinions, when they have once taken root in the popular mind, that notwithstanding the ordeal to which they were exposed, and notwithstanding the punishments inflicted on their advocates, it was found impossible to stifle them; it was found impossible even to prevent their increase. Doctrines subversive of every principle of freedom were personally favoured by the sovereign, openly avowed by the government, and zealously defended by the most powerful classes; and laws in accordance with these doctrines were placed on our statute-book, and enforced in our courts. All, however, was in vain. In a few years that generation began to pass away; a better one succeeded in its place; and the system of tyranny fell to the ground. And thus it is, that in all countries which are even tolerably free, every system must fall if it opposes the march of opinions, and gives shelter to maxims and institutions repugnant to the spirit of the age. In this sort of contest, the ultimate result is never doubtful. For the vigour of an

arbitrary government depends merely on a few individuals, who, whatever their abilities may be, are liable, after their death, to be replaced by timid and incompetent successors. But the vigour of public opinion is not exposed to these casualties; it is unaffected by the laws of mortality; it does not flourish to-day and decline to-morrow; and so far from depending on the lives of individual men, it is governed by large general causes, which, from their very comprehensiveness, are in short periods scarcely seen, but on a comparison of long periods, are found to outweigh all other considerations, and reduce to insignificance those little stratagems by which princes and statesmen think to disturb the order of events, and mould to their will the destinies of a great and civilized people.

These are broad and general truths, which will hardly be questioned by any man who, with a competent knowledge of history, has reflected much on the nature and conditions of modern society. But during the period we have been considering, they were utterly neglected by our political rulers, who not only thought themselves able to check the growth of opinions, but entirely mistook the very end and object of government. In those days, it was believed that government is made for the minority, to whose wishes the majority are bound humbly to submit. It was believed that the power of making laws must always be lodged in the hands of a few privileged classes; that the nation at large has no concern with those laws, except to obey them;[403] and that it is the duty of a wise government to secure the obedience of the people by preventing them from being enlightened by the spread of knowledge.[404] We may surely deem it a remarkable cir-

[403] Bishop Horsley, the great champion of the existing state of things, said in the House of Lords, in 1795, that he 'did not know what the mass of the people in any country had to do with the laws, but to obey them.' *Cooke's Hist. of Party*, vol. iii. p. 435. Compare *Godwin on Population*, p. 569.

[404] Lord Cockburn (*Life of Jeffrey*, 1852, vol. i. pp. 67, 68) says: 'If there was any principle that was reverenced as indisputable by almost the whole adherents of the party in power sixty, or even fifty, or perhaps even forty years ago, it was that the ignorance of the people was necessary for their obedience to the law.' One argument was, 'that to extend instruction,

cumstance, that these notions, and the schemes of legislation founded upon them, should, within half a century, have died away so completely, that they are no longer advocated, even by men of the most ordinary abilities. What is still more remarkable is, that this great change should have been effected, not by any external event, nor by a sudden insurrection of the people, but by the unaided action of moral force,—the silent, though overwhelming pressure of public opinion. This has always seemed to me a decisive proof of the natural, and, if I may so say, the healthy march of English civilization. It is a proof of an elasticity, and yet a sobriety of spirit, such as no other nation has ever displayed. No other nation could have escaped from such a crisis, except by passing through a revolution, of which the cost might well have exceeded the gain. The truth, however, is, that in England the course of affairs, which I have endeavoured to trace since the sixteenth century, had diffused among the people a knowledge of their own resources, and a skill and independence in the use of them, imperfect, indeed, but still far superior to that possessed by any other of the great European countries. Besides this, other circumstances, which will be hereafter related,[405] had, so early as the eleventh century, begun to affect our national character, and had assisted in imparting to it that sturdy boldness, and, at the same time, those habits of foresight, and of cautious reserve, to which the English mind owes its leading peculiarities. With us, therefore, the love of liberty has been tempered by a spirit of prudence, which has softened its violence, without impairing its strength. It is this which, more than once, has taught our countrymen to bear even considerable oppression rather than run the risk of rising against their oppressors. It has taught them to stay their hands; it has taught them to husband their force until they can use it with irresistible effect. To this great and valuable habit we owe the safety

would be to multiply the crime of forgery!' *Porter's Progress of the Nation*, vol. iii. p. 205.

[405] See chapters ix. and x., on the history of the protective spirit.

of England late in the eighteenth century. If the people had risen, they would have staked their all; and what the result of that desperate game would have been, no man can say. Happily for them, and for their posterity, they were content to wait yet a little; they were willing to bide their time, and watch the issue of things. Of this noble conduct their descendants reap the reward. After the lapse of a few years, the political crisis began to subside, and the people reëntered on their former rights. For although their rights had been in abeyance, they were not destroyed, simply because the spirit still existed by which they were originally won. Nor can any one doubt that, if those evil days had been prolonged, that same spirit which had animated their fathers in the reign of Charles I. would have again broken forth, and society have been convulsed by a revolution, the bare idea of which is frightful to contemplate. In the mean time, all this was avoided; and although popular tumults did arise in different parts of the country, and although the measures of government caused a disaffection of the most serious kind,[406] still the people, taken as a whole, remained firm, and patiently reserved their force till a better time, when, for their benefit, a new party was organized in the state, by whom their interests were successfully advocated even within the walls of parliament.

This great and salutary reaction began early in the present century; but the circumstances which accompanied it are so extremely complicated, and have been so little studied, that I cannot pretend in this Introduction to offer even a sketch of them. It is sufficient to say, what must be generally known, that for nearly fifty years the movement has continued with unabated speed. Everything which has been done, has increased the influence of the people. Blow after blow has been directed against those classes which were once the sole depositaries of power.

[406] Sir A. Alison notices in his *History,* (vol. iv. p. 213) 'how widely the spirit of discontent was diffused' in 1796; and the only wonder is, that the people were able to keep it in bounds. That, however, is a question which writers of his stamp never consider.

The Reform Bill, the Emancipation of the Catholics, and the Repeal of the Corn-laws, are admitted to be the three greatest political achievements of the present generation. Each of these vast measures has depressed a powerful party. The extension of the suffrage has lessened the influence of hereditary rank, and has broken up that great oligarchy of landowners, by which the House of Commons had long been ruled. The abolition of Protection has still further enfeebled the territorial aristocracy; while those superstitious feelings by which the ecclesiastical order is mainly upheld, received a severe shock, first by the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, and afterwards by the admission of Catholics into the legislature; steps which are with reason regarded as supplying precedents of mischievous import for the interests of the Established Church.[407] These measures, and others which are now obviously inevitable, have taken, and will continue to take, power from particular sections of society, in order to confer it upon the people at large. Indeed, the rapid progress of democratic opinions is a fact which no one in the present day ventures to deny. Timid and ignorant men are alarmed at the movement; but that there is such a movement is notorious to all the world. No one now dares to talk of bridling the people, or of resisting their united wishes. The utmost that is said is, that efforts should be made to inform them as to their real interests, and enlighten public opinion; but everyone allows that, so soon as public opinion is formed, it can no longer be withstood. On this point all are agreed; and this new power, which is gradually superseding every other, is now obeyed by those

[407] Bishop Burgess, in a letter to Lord Melbourne, bitterly complained that Catholic emancipation was 'the extinction of the purely Protestant character of the British legislature.' *Harford's Life of Burgess*, p. 506: see also pp. 238, 239, 369, 370. There can be no doubt that the bishop rightly estimated the danger to his own party; and as to the Corporation and Test Acts, which, says another bishop (*Tomline's Life of Pitt*, vol. ii. p. 604), 'were justly regarded as the firmest bulwarks of the British constitution,' the feeling was so strong, that at an episcopal meeting in 1787, there were only two members who were willing to repeal these persecuting laws. See *Bishop Watson's Life of Himself*, vol. i. p. 262. Lord Eldon, who to the last stood up for the church, pronounced the bill for repealing these acts to be 'a revolutionary bill.' *Twiss's Life of Eldon*, vol. ii. p. 202.

very statesmen who, had they lived sixty years ago, would have been the first to deny its authority, ridicule its pretensions, and, if possible, extinguish its liberty.

Such is the great gap which separates the public men of our time from those who flourished under that bad system which George III. sought to perpetuate. And it is evident, that this vast progress was brought about rather by destroying the system, than by improving the men. It is also evident, that the system perished because it was unsuited to the age; in other words, because a progressive people will never tolerate an unprogressive government. But it is a mere matter of history, that our legislators, even to the last moment, were so terrified by the idea of innovation, that they refused every reform until the voice of the people rose high enough to awe them into submission, and forced them to grant what, without such pressure, they would by no means have conceded.

These things ought to serve as a lesson to our political rulers. They ought also to moderate the presumption of legislators, and teach them that their best measures are but temporary expedients, which it will be the business of a later and riper age to efface. It would be well if such considerations were to check the confidence, and silence the loquacity, of those superficial men, who, raised to temporary power, think themselves bound to guarantee certain institutions, and uphold certain opinions. They ought clearly to understand, that it does not lie within their function thus to anticipate the march of affairs, and provide for distant contingencies. In trifling matters, indeed, this may be done without danger; though, as the constant changes in the laws of every country abundantly prove, it is also done without benefit. But in reference to those large and fundamental measures which bear upon the destiny of a people, such anticipation is worse than useless,—it is highly injurious. In the present state of knowledge, politics, so far from being a science, is one of the most backward of all the arts; and the only safe course for the legislator is, to look upon his craft as consisting in the adaptation of temporary contrivances to

temporary emergencies.[408] His business is to follow the age, and not at all to attempt to lead it. He should be satisfied with studying what is passing around him; and should modify his schemes, not according to the notions he has inherited from his fathers, but according to the actual exigencies of his own time. For he may rely upon it, that the movements of society have now become so rapid, that the wants of one generation are no measure of the wants of another; and that men, urged by a sense of their own progress, are growing weary of idle talk about the wisdom of their ancestors, and are fast discarding those trite and sleepy maxims which have hitherto imposed upon them, but by which they will not consent to be much longer troubled.

[408] Sir C. Lewis, though in his learned work he over-estimates the resources possessed by politicians, does nevertheless allow that they are rarely able to anticipate the manner in which their measures will work. *Lewis on the Methods of Observation and Reasoning in Politics*, 1852, vol. ii. pp. 360-362. A writer of repute, M. Flassan, says (*Hist. de la Diplomatie*, vol. i. p. 19): 'On doit être très-indulgent sur les erreurs de la politique, à cause de la facilité qu'il y a à en commettre; erreurs auxquelles la sagesse même quelquefois entraîne.' The first part of this sentence is true enough; but it conveys a truth which ought to repress that love of interfering with the natural march of affairs which still characterizes politicians, even in the freest countries.

CHAPTER VIII.

OUTLINE OF THE HISTORY OF THE FRENCH INTELLECT FROM THE MIDDLE OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY TO THE ACCESSION TO POWER OF LOUIS XIV.

THE consideration of these great changes in the English mind, has led me into a digression, which, so far from being foreign to the design of this Introduction, is absolutely necessary for a right understanding of it. In this, as in many other respects, there is a marked analogy between investigations concerning the structure of society and investigations concerning the human body. Thus, it has been found, that the best way of arriving at a theory of disease is by beginning with the theory of health; and that the foundation of all sound pathology must be first sought in an observation, not of the abnormal, but of the normal functions of life. Just in the same way, it will, I believe, be found, that the best method of arriving at great social truths, is by first investigating those cases in which society has developed itself according to its own laws, and in which the governing powers have least opposed themselves to the spirit of their times.[1] It is on

[1] The question as to whether the study of normal phenomena should or should not precede the study of abnormal ones, is of the greatest importance; and a neglect of it has introduced confusion into every work I have seen on general or comparative history. For this preliminary being unsettled, there has been no recognized principle of arrangement; and historians, instead of following a scientific method suited to the actual exigencies of our knowledge, have adopted an empirical method suited to their own exigencies; and have given priority to different countries, sometimes according to their size, sometimes according to their antiquity, sometimes according to their geographical position, sometimes according to their wealth, sometimes according to their religion, sometimes according to the brilliancy of their literature, and sometimes according to the facilities which the historian himself possessed for collecting materials. All these are factitious considerations; and, in a philosophic view, it is evident that precedence should be

this account that, in order to understand the position of France, I have begun by examining the position of Eng-

given to countries by the historian solely in reference to the ease with which their history can be generalized; following in this respect the scientific plan of proceeding from the simple to the complex. This leads us to the conclusion, that in the study of Man, as in the study of Nature, the question of priority resolves itself into a question of aberration; and that the more aberrant any people have been, that is to say, the more they have been interfered with, the lower they must be placed in an arrangement of the history of various countries. Coleridge (*Lit. Remains*, vol. i. p. 326, and elsewhere in his works) seems to suppose that the order should be the reverse of what I have stated, and that the laws both of mind and body can be generalized from pathological data. Without wishing to express myself too positively in opposition to so profound a thinker as Coleridge, I cannot help saying that this is contradicted by an immense amount of evidence, and, so far as I am aware, is supported by none. It is contradicted by the fact, that those branches of inquiry which deal with phenomena little affected by foreign causes, have been raised to sciences sooner than those which deal with phenomena greatly affected by foreign causes. The organic world, for example, is more perturbed by the inorganic world, than the inorganic world is perturbed by it. Hence we find that the inorganic sciences have always been cultivated before the organic ones, and at the present moment are far more advanced than they. In the same way, human physiology is older than human pathology; and while the physiology of the vegetable kingdom has been successfully prosecuted since the latter half of the seventeenth century, the pathology of the vegetable kingdom can scarcely be said to exist, since none of its laws have been generalized, and no systematic researches, on a large scale, have yet been made into the morbid-anatomy of plants. It appears, therefore, that different ages and different sciences bear unconscious testimony to the uselessness of paying much attention to the abnormal, until considerable progress has been made in the study of the normal; and this conclusion might be confirmed by innumerable authorities, who, differing from Coleridge, hold that physiology is the basis of pathology, and that the laws of disease are to be raised, not from the phenomena presented in disease, but from those presented in health; in other words, that pathology should be investigated deductively rather than inductively, and that morbid anatomy and clinical observations may verify the conclusions of science, but can never supply the means of creating the science itself. On this extremely interesting question, compare *Geoffroy Saint Hilaire, Hist. des Anomalies de l'Organisation*, vol. ii. pp. 9, 10, 127; *Bowman's Surgery*, in *Encyclop. of the Medical Sciences*, p. 824; *Bichat, Anatomie Générale*, vol. i. p. 20; *Cullen's Works*, vol. i. p. 424; *Comte, Philos. Positive*, vol. iii. pp. 334, 335; *Robin et Verdeil, Chimie Anatomique*, vol. i. p. 68; *Esquirol, Maladies Mentales*, vol. i. p. 111; *Georget, de la Folie*, pp. 2, 391, 392; *Brodie's Pathology and Surgery*, p. 3; *Blainville, Physiologie comparée*, vol. i. p. 20; *Feuchtersleben's Medical Psychology*, p. 200; *Lawrence's Lectures on Man*, 1844, p. 45; *Simon's Pathology*, p. 5.

Another confirmation of the accuracy of this view is, that pathological investigations of the nervous system, numerous as they have been, have effected scarcely anything; the reason evidently being, that the preliminary knowledge of the normal state is not sufficiently advanced. See *Noble on the Brain*, pp. 76-92, 337, 338; *Henry on the Nervous System*, in *Third Report of Brit. Assoc.* p. 78; *Holland's Medical Notes*, p. 608; *Jones and Sieveking's Patholog. Anat.* p. 211.

land. In order to understand the way in which the diseases of the first country were aggravated by the quackery of ignorant rulers, it was necessary to understand the way in which the health of the second country was preserved by being subjected to smaller interference, and allowed with greater liberty to continue its natural march. With the light, therefore, which we have acquired by a study of the normal condition of the English mind, we can, with the greater ease, now apply our principles to that abnormal condition of French society, by the operations of which, at the close of the eighteenth century, some of the dearest interests of civilization were imperilled.

In France, a long train of events, which I shall hereafter relate, had, from an early period, given to the clergy a share of power larger than that which they possessed in England. The results of this were for a time decidedly beneficial, inasmuch as the church restrained the lawlessness of a barbarous age, and secured a refuge for the weak and oppressed. But as the French advanced in knowledge, the spiritual authority, which had done so much to curb their passions, began to press heavily upon their genius, and impede its movements. That same ecclesiastical power, which to an ignorant age is an unmixed benefit, is to a more enlightened age a serious evil. The proof of this was soon apparent. For when the Reformation broke out, the church had in England been so weakened, that it fell almost at the first assault; its revenues were seized by the crown,[2] and its offices, after being greatly diminished both in authority and in wealth, were bestowed upon new men, who, from the uncertainty of their tenure, and the novelty of their doctrines, lacked that long-established prescription by which the claims of the profession are mainly supported. This, as we have already seen, was the beginning of an uninterrupted pro-

[2] A circumstance which Harris relates with evident delight, and goes out of his way to mention it. *Lives of the Stuarts*, vol. iii. p. 300. On the amount of loss the church thus sustained, see *Sinclair's Hist. of the Revenue*, vol. i. pp. 181-184, and *Eccleston's English Antiquities*, p. 228.

gress, in which, at every successive step, the ecclesiastical spirit lost some of its influence. In France on the other hand, the clergy were so powerful, that they were able to withstand the Reformation, and thus preserve for themselves those exclusive privileges which their English brethren vainly attempted to retain.

This was the beginning of that second marked divergence between French and English civilization,[3] which had its origin, indeed, at a much earlier period, but which now first produced conspicuous results. Both countries had, in their infancy, been greatly benefited by the church, which always showed itself ready to protect the people against the oppressions of the crown and the nobles.[4] But in both countries, as society advanced, there arose a capacity for self-protection; and early in the sixteenth, or probably even in the fifteenth century, it became urgently necessary to diminish that spiritual authority, which, by prejudging the opinions of men, has impeded the march of their knowledge.[5] It is on this account that Protestantism, so far from being, as its enemies have called it, an aberration arising from accidental causes, was essentially a normal movement, and was the legitimate expression of the wants of the European intellect. Indeed, the Reformation owed its success, not to a desire of purifying the church, but to a desire of lightening its pressure; and it may be broadly stated, that it was adopted in every

[3] The first divergence arose from the influence of the protective spirit, as I shall endeavour to explain in the next chapter.

[4] On the obligations Europe is under to the Catholic clergy, see some liberal and very just remarks in *Kemble's Saxons in England*, vol. ii. pp. 374, 375; and in *Guizot's Civilisation en France.* See also *Neander's Hist. of the Church*, vol. iii. pp. 199-206, 255-257, vol. v. p. 138, vol. vi. pp. 406, 407; *Palgrave's Anglo-Saxon Commonwealth*, vol. i. p. 655; *Lingard's Hist. of England*, vol. ii. p. 44; *Klimrath, Travaux sur l'Hist. du droit*, vol. i. p. 394; *Carwithen's Hist. of the Church of England*, vol. i. p. 157.

[5] The way in which this acted is concisely stated by Tennemann: 'Wenn sich nun auch ein freierer Geist der Forschung regte, so fand er sich gleich durch zwei Grundsätze, welche aus jenem Supremat der Theologie flossen, beengt und gehemmt. Der erste war: die menschliche Vernunft kann nicht über die Offenbarung hinausgehen. . . . . . Der zweite: die Vernunft kann nichts als wahr erkennen, was dem Inhalte der Offenbarung widerspricht, und nichts für falsch erkennen, was derselben angemessen ist,—folgte aus dem ersten.' *Gesch. der Philos.* vol. viii. part i. p. 8.

civilized country, except in those where preceding events had increased the influence of the ecclesiastical order, either among the people or among their rulers. This was, unhappily, the case with France, where the clergy not only triumphed over the Protestants, but appeared, for a time, to have gained fresh authority by the defeat of such dangerous enemies.[6]

The consequence of all this was, that, in France, every thing assumed a more theological aspect than in England. In our country, the ecclesiastical spirit had, by the middle of the sixteenth century, become so feeble, that even intelligent foreigners were struck by the peculiarity.[7] The same nation, which, during the Crusades, had sacrificed innumerable lives in the hope of planting the Christian standard in the heart of Asia,[8] was now almost indifferent

[6] As to the influence of the Reformation generally, in increasing the power of the Catholic clergy, see M. Ranke's important work on the *History of the Popes*; and as to the result in France, see *Monteil, Hist. des divers Etats*, vol. v. pp. 233-235. Corero, who was ambassador in France in 1569, writes, 'Il papa può dire a mio giudizio, d'aver in questi romori piuttosto guadagnato che perduto, percioché tanta era la licenza del vivere, secondo che ho inteso, prima che quel regno si dividesse in due parti, era tanta poca la devozione che avevano in Roma e in quei che vi abitavano, che il papa era più considerato come principe grande in Italia, che come capo della chiesa e pastore universale. Ma scoperti che si furono gli ugonotti, cominciarono i cattolici a riverire il suo nome, e riconoscerlo per vero vicario di Cristo, confirmandosi tanto più in opinione di doverlo tener per tale, quanto più lo sentivano sprezzare e negare da essi ugonotti.' *Relations des Ambassadeurs Vénitiens*, vol. ii. p. 162. This interesting passage is one of many proofs that the immediate advantages derived from the Reformation have been overrated; though the remote advantages were undoubtedly immense.

[7] The indifference of the English to theological disputes, and the facility with which they changed their religion, caused many foreigners to censure their fickleness. See, for instance, *Essais de Montaigne*, livre ii. chap. xii. p. 365. Perlin, who travelled in England in the middle of the sixteenth century, says, 'The people are reprobates, and thorough enemies to good manners and letters; for they don't know whether they belong to God or the devil, which St. Paul has reprehended in many people, saying, Be not transported with divers sorts of winds, but be constant and steady to your belief.' *Antiquarian Repertory*, vol. iv. p 511, 4to. 1809. See also the remarks of Michele in 1557, and of Crespet in 1590; *Ellis's Original Letters*. 2nd series, vol. ii. p. 239; *Hallam's Constitutional History*, vol. i. p. 102; *Southey's Commonplace Book*, 3rd series, p. 408.

[8] An historian of the thirteenth century strikingly expresses the theological feelings of the English crusaders, and the complete subordination of the political ones: 'Indignum quippe judicabant animarum suarum salutem omittere, et obsequium cœlestis Regis, clientelæ regis alicujus terreni

to the religion even of its own sovereign. Henry VIII., by his sole will, regulated the national creed, and fixed the formularies of the church, which, if the people had been in earnest, he could not possibly have done; for he had no means of compelling submission; he had no standing army; and even his personal guards were so scanty, that, at any moment, they could have been destroyed by a rising of the warlike apprentices of London.[9] After his death, there came Edward, who, as a Protestant king, undid the work of his father; and, a few years later, there came Mary, who, as a Popish queen, undid the work of her brother; while she, in her turn, was succeeded by Elizabeth, under whom another great alteration was effected in the established faith.[10] Such was the indifference of the people, that these vast changes were accomplished without any serious risk.[11] In France, on the other hand, at the mere name of religion, thousands of men were ready for the field. In England, our civil wars have all been secular; they have been waged, either for a change of dynasty, or for an increase of liberty. But those far more horrible wars, by which, in the sixteenth

postponere; constituerunt igitur terminum, videlicet festum nativitatis beati Johannis Baptistæ.' *Matthæi Paris Historia Major*, p. 671. It is said, that the first tax ever imposed in England on personal property was in 1166, and was for the purpose of crusading. *Sinclair's Hist. of the Revenue*, vol. i. p. 88: 'It would not probably have been easily submitted to, had it not been appropriated for so popular a purpose.'

[9] Henry VIII. had, at one time, fifty horse-guards, but they being expensive, were soon given up; and his only protection consisted of 'the yeomen of the guard, fifty in number, and the common servants of the king's household.' *Hallam's Const. Hist.* vol. i. p. 46. These 'yeomen of the guard were raised by Henry VII. in 1485.' *Grose's Military Antiquities*, vol. i. p. 167. Compare *Turner's Hist. of England*, vol. vii. p. 54; and *Lingard's Hist. of England*, vol. iii. p. 298.

[10] Locke, in his First Letter on Toleration, has made some pungent, and, I should suppose, very offensive, observations on these rapid changes. *Locke's Works*, vol. v. p. 27.

[11] But, although Mary easily effected a change of religion, the anti-ecclesiastical spirit was far too strong to allow her to restore to the church its property. 'In Mary's reign, accordingly, her parliament, so obsequious in all matters of religion, adhered with a firm grasp to the possession of church-lands.' *Hallam's Const. Hist.* vol. i. p. 77. See also *Short's Hist. of the Church of England*, p. 213; *Lingard's Hist. of England*, vol. iv. pp. 339, 340; *Butler's Mem. of the Catholics*, vol. i. p. 253; and *Carwithen's Hist. of the Church of England*, vol. i. p. 346.

century, France was desolated, were conducted in the name of Christianity, and even the political struggles of the great families were merged in a deadly contest between Catholics and Protestants.[12]

The effect this difference produced on the intellect of the two countries is very obvious. The English, concentrating their abilities upon great secular matters, had, by the close of the sixteenth century, produced a literature which never can perish. But the French, down to that period, had not put forth a single work, the destruction of which would now be a loss to Europe. What makes this contrast the more remarkable is, that in France the civilization, such as it was, had a longer standing; the material resources of the country had been earlier developed; its geographical position made it the centre of European thought;[13] and it had possessed a literature at a time when our ancestors were a mere tribe of wild and ignorant barbarians.

The simple fact is, that this is one of those innumerable instances which teach us that no country can rise to eminence so long as the ecclesiastical power possesses much authority. For, the predominance of the spiritual classes is necessarily accompanied by a corresponding predominance of the topics in which those classes delight. Whenever the ecclesiastical profession is very influential, ecclesiastical literature will be very abundant, and what is called profane literature will be very scanty. Hence it occurred, that the minds of the French, being almost entirely occupied with religious disputes, had no leisure for those great inquiries into which we in England were beginning to enter;[14] and there was, as we shall presently

[12] 'Quand éclata la guerre des opinions religieuses, les antiques rivalités des barons se transformèrent en haine du prêche ou de la messe.' *Capefigue, Hist. de la Réforme et de la Ligue*, vol. iv. p. 32. Compare *Duplessis Mornay, Mém. et Correspond* vol. ii. pp. 422, 563; and *Boullier, Maison Militaire des Rois de France*, p. 25, 'des querelles d'autant plus vives, qu'elles avoient la religion pour base.'

[13] The intellectual advantages of France, arising from its position between Italy, Germany, and England, are very fairly stated by M. Lerminier (*Philosophie du Droit*, vol. i. p. 9).

[14] Just in the same way, the religious disputes in Alexandria injured

see, an interval of a whole generation between the progress of the French and English intellects, simply because there was about the same interval between the progress of their scepticism. The theological literature, indeed, rapidly increased;[15] but it was not until the seventeenth century that France produced that great secular literature, the counterpart of which was to be found in England before the sixteenth century had come to a close.

Such was, in France, the natural consequence of the power of the church being prolonged beyond the period which the exigencies of society required. But while this was the intellectual result, the moral and physical results were still more serious. While the minds of men were thus heated by religious strife, it would have been idle to expect any of those maxims of charity to which theological faction is always a stranger. While the Protestants were murdering the Catholics,[16] and the Catholics murdering the Protestants, it was hardly likely that either sect should feel tolerance for the opinions of its enemy.[17] During the sixteenth century, treaties were occasionally

the interests of knowledge. See the instructive remarks of M. Matter (*Hist. de l'Ecole d'Alexandrie*, vol. ii p. 131).

[15] *Monteil, Hist. des divers Etats*, vol. vi. p. 136. Indeed, the theological spirit seized the theatre, and the different sectarians ridiculed each other's principles on the stage. See a curious passage at p. 182 of the same learned work.

[16] The crimes of the French Protestants, though hardly noticed in *Felice's History of the Protestants of France*, pp. 138-143, were as revolting as those of the Catholics, and quite as numerous relatively to the numbers and power of the two parties. Compare *Sismondi, Hist. des Français*, vol. xviii. pp. 516, 517, with *Capefigue, Hist. de la Réforme*, vol. ii. p. 173, vol. vi. p. 54; and *Smedley, Hist. of the Reformed Religion in France*, vol. i. pp. 199, 200, 237.

[17] In 1569 Corero writes: 'Ritrovai quel regno, certo, posto in grandissima confusione; perchè, stante quella divisione di religione (convertita quasi in due fazioni e inimicizie particolari), era causa ch' ognuno, senza che amicizia o parentela potesse aver luoco, stava con l' orecchie attente; e pieno di sospetto ascoltava da che parte nasceva qualche romore.' *Relat. des Ambassad. Vénitiens*, vol. ii. p. 106. He emphatically adds, 'Temevano gl' ugonotti, temevano li cattolici, temeva il prencipe, temevano li sudditi.' See also, on this horrible state of opinions, *Sismondi, Hist. des Français*, vol. xviii. pp. 21, 22, 118-120, 296, 430. On both sides, the grossest calumnies were propagated and believed; and one of the charges brought against Catherine de Medici was, that she caused the Cesarean operation to be performed on the wives of Protestants, in order that no new heretics might be born. *Sprengel, Hist. de la Médecine*, vol. vii. p. 294.

made between the two parties; but they were only made to be immediately broken;[18] and, with the single exception of l'Hôpital, the bare idea of toleration does not seem to have entered the head of any statesman of the age. It was recommended by him;[19] but neither his splendid abilities, nor his unblemished integrity, could make head against the prevailing prejudices, and he eventually retired into private life without effecting any of his noble schemes.[20]

Indeed, in the leading events of this period of French history, the predominance of the theological spirit was painfully shown. It was shown in the universal determination to subordinate political acts to religious opinions.[21] It was shown in the conspiracy of Amboise, and in the conference of Poissy; and still more was it shown in those revolting crimes so natural to superstition, the massacres of Vassy and of St. Bartholomew, the murder of Guise by Poltrot, and of Henry III. by Clement. These were the legitimate results of the spirit of religious bigotry. They were the results of that accursed spirit, which, whenever it has had the power, has punished even to the death those who dared to differ from it; and which, now that the power has passed away, still continues to dogmatize on the most mysterious subjects, tamper with

[18] *Mably, Observations sur l'Hist. de France*, vol. iii. p. 149. In the reign of Charles IX. alone, there were no less than five of these religious wars, each of which was concluded by a treaty. See *Flassan, Hist. de la Diplomatie Française*, vol. ii. p. 69.

[19] For which l'Hôpital was accused of atheism: 'Homo doctus, sed verus atheus.' *Dict. Philos.* article *Athéisme*, in *Œuvres de Voltaire*, vol. xxxvii. pp. 181, 182.

[20] I have not been able to meet with any good life of this great man: that by Charles Butler is very superficial, and so is that by Bernardi, in *Biog. Univ.* vol. xxiv. pp. 412-424. My own information respecting l'Hôpital is from *Sismondi, Hist. des Français*, vol. xviii. pp. 431-436; *Capefigue, Hist. de la Réforme*, vol. ii. pp. 135-137, 168-170; *De Thou, Hist. Univ.* vol. iii. pp. 519-523, vol. iv. pp. 2-8, 152-159, vol. v. pp. 180-182, 520, 521, 535, vol. vi. pp. 703, 704; *Sully, Œconomies Royales*, vol. i. p. 234. Duvernet (*Hist. de la Sorbonne*, vol. i. pp. 215-218) is unsatisfactory, though fully recognizing his merit.

[21] 'Ce fut alors que la nation ne prit conseil que de son fanatisme. Les esprits, de jour en jour plus échauffés, ne virent plus d'autre objet que celui de la religion, et par piété se firent les injures les plus atroces.' *Mably, Observations sur l'Hist. de France*, vol. iii. p. 145.

the most sacred principles of the human heart, and darken with its miserable superstitions those sublime questions that no one should rudely touch, because they are for each according to the measure of his own soul, because they lie in that unknown tract which separates the Finite from the Infinite, and because they are as a secret and individual covenant between Man and his God.

How long these sad days[22] would, in the ordinary course of affairs, have been prolonged in France, is a question which we now perhaps have no means of answering; though there is no doubt that the progress even of empirical knowledge must, according to the process already pointed out, have eventually sufficed to rescue so great a country from her degraded position. Fortunately, however, there now took place what we must be content to call an accident, but which was the beginning of a most important change. In the year 1589, Henry IV. ascended the throne of France. This great prince, who was far superior to any of the French sovereigns of the sixteenth century,[23] made small account of those theolo-

[22] The 19th and 20th volumes of *Sismondi's Histoire des Français* contain painful evidence of the internal condition of France before the accession of Henry IV. Indeed, as Sismondi says (vol. xx. pp. 11-16), it seemed at one time as if the only prospect was a relapse into feudalism. See also *Monteil, Hist. des divers Etats*, vol. v. pp. 242-249: 'plus de trois cent mille maisons détruites' De Thou, in the memoirs of his own life, says, 'Les loix furent méprisées, et l'honneur de la France fut presque anéanti . . . . et sous le voile de la religion, on ne respiroit que la haine, la vengeance, le massacre et l'incendie.' *Mém. de la Vie*, in *Histoire Univ.* vol. i. p. 120; and the same writer, in his great history, gives almost innumerable instances of the crimes and persecutions constantly occurring. See, for some of the most striking cases, vol. ii. p. 383, vol. iv. pp. 378, 380, 387, 495, 496, 539, vol. v. pp. 189, 518, 561, 647, vol. vi. pp. 421, 422, 424, 426, 427, 430, 469. Compare *Duplessis, Mém. et Correspond.* vol. ii. pp. 41, 42, 322, 335, 611, 612, vol. iii. pp. 344, 445, vol. iv. pp. 112-114; *Benoist, Hist. de l'Edit de Nantes*, vol. i. pp. 307, 308; *Duvernet, Hist. de la Sorbonne*, vol. i. p. 217.

[23] This, indeed, is not saying much; and far higher praise might be justly bestowed. As to his domestic policy, there can be only one opinion; and M. Flassan speaks in the most favourable terms of his management of foreign affairs. *Flassan, Hist. de la Diplomatie Franç.* vol. ii. pp. 191, 192, 294-297, vol. iii. p. 243. And see, to the same effect, the testimony of M. Capefigue, an unfriendly judge. *Hist. de la Réforme*, vol. vii. p. xiv. vol. viii. p. 156. Fontenay Mareuil, who was a contemporary of Henry IV., though he wrote many years after the king was murdered, says, 'Ce grand roy, qui estoit en plus de considération dans le monde que pas un de ses prédé-

gical disputes which his predecessors had thought to be of paramount importance. Before him, the kings of France, animated by the piety natural to the guardians of the church, had exerted all their authority to uphold the interests of the sacred profession. Francis I. said, that if his right hand were a heretic, he would cut it off.[24] Henry II., whose zeal was still greater,[25] ordered the judges to proceed against the Protestants, and publicly declared that he would 'make the extirpation of the heretics his principal business.'[26] Charles IX., on the celebrated day of St. Bartholomew, attempted to relieve the church by destroying them at a single blow. Henry III. promised to 'oppose heresy even at the risk of his life;' for he said 'he could not find a prouder grave than amidst the ruins of heresy.'[27]

cesseurs n'avoit esté depuis Charlesmagne.' *Mém. de Fontenay*, vol. i. p. 46. Duplessis Mornay calls him 'le plus grand roy que la chrestienté ait porté depuis cinq cens ans;' and Sully pronounces him to be 'le plus grand de nos rois.' *Duplessis Mornay, Mém. et Correspond.* vol. xi. pp. 30, 77, 131. *Sully, Œconomies Royales*, vol. vii. p. 15. Compare vol. vi. pp. 397, 398, vol. ix. pp. 35, 242, with some sensible remarks in *Mém. de Genlis*, Paris, 1825, vol. ix. p. 299.

[24] So it is generally related: but there is a slightly different version of this orthodox declaration in *Smedley's Hist. of the Reformation in France*, vol. i. p. 30. Compare *Maclaine's note* in *Mosheim's Eccles. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 24, with *Sismondi, Hist. des Français*, vol. xvi. pp. 453, 454, and *Relat. des Ambassad. Vénitiens*, vol. i. p. 50, vol. ii. p. 48. It was also Francis I. who advised Charles V. to expel all the Mohammedans from Spain. *Llorente, Hist. de l'Inquisition*, vol. i. p. 429.

[25] The historian of the French Protestants says, in 1548, 'le nouveau roi Henri II fut encore plus rigoureux que son père.' *Benoist, Hist. de l'Edit de Nantes*, vol. i. p. 12.

[26] M. Ranke (*Civil Wars in France*, vol. i. pp. 240, 241) says, that he issued a circular 'addressed to the parliaments and to the judicial tribunals, in which they were urged to proceed against the Lutherans with the greatest severity, and the judges informed that they would be held responsible, should they neglect these orders; and in which he declared plainly, that as soon as the peace with Spain was concluded, he was determined to make the extirpation of the heretics his principal business.' See also, on Henry II., in connexion with the Protestants, *Mably, Observ. sur l'Hist. de France*, vol. iii. pp. 133, 134; *De Thou, Hist. Univ.* vol. i. pp. 334, 335, 387, vol. ii. p. 640, vol. iii. pp. 365, 366; *Felice's Hist. of the French Protestants*, p. 58.

[27] He said this to the Estates of Blois in 1588. *Ranke's Civil Wars in France*, vol. ii. p. 202. Compare his edict, in 1585, in *Capefigue, Hist. de la Réforme*, vol. iv. pp. 244, 245, and his speech in vol. v. p. 122; and see *Benoist, Hist. de l'Edit de Nantes*, vol. i. p. 328; *Duplessis Mornay, Mém. et Corresp.* vol. i. p. 110; *De Thou, Hist. Univ.* vol. i. p. 250, vol. viii. p. 651, vol. x. pp. 294, 589, 674, 675.

These were the opinions expressed, in the sixteenth century, by the heads of the oldest monarchy in Europe.[28] But with such feelings, the powerful intellect of Henry IV. had not the slightest sympathy. To suit the shifting politics of his age, he had already changed his religion twice; and he did not hesitate to change it a third time,[29] when he found that by doing so he could ensure tranquillity to his country. As he had displayed such indifference about his own creed, he could not with decency show much bigotry about the creed of his subjects.[30] We find, accordingly, that he was the author of the first public act of toleration which any government promulgated in France since Christianity had been the religion of the country. Only five years after he had solemnly abjured Protestantism, he published the celebrated Edict of Nantes,[31] by which, for the first time, a Catholic government granted to heretics a fair share of civil and religious rights. This was, unquestionably, the most important event that had yet occurred in the history of French civilization.[32] If it is considered by itself, it is merely an evidence of the enlightened principles of the king; but when we look at its

[28] With what zeal these opinions were enforced, appears, besides many other authorities, from Marino Cavalli, who writes in 1546, 'Li maestri di Sorbona hanno autorità estrema di castigare li eretici, il che fanno con il fuoco, brustolandoli vivi a poco a poco.' *Relat. des Ambassad. Vénitiens*, vol. i. p. 262; and see vol. ii. p. 24.

[29] Indeed, Clement VIII. was afterwards apprehensive of a fourth apostasy: 'Er meinte noch immer, Heinrich IV. werde zuletzt vielleicht wieder zum Protestantismus zurückkehren, wie er es schon einmal gethan.' *Ranke, die Päpste*, vol. ii. p. 246. M. Ranke, from his great knowledge of Italian manuscripts, has thrown more light on these transactions than the French historians have been able to do.

[30] On his conversion, the character of which was as obvious then as it is now, compare *Duplessis Mornay, Mém. et Correspond.* vol. i. p. 257, with *Sully, Œconomies Royales*, vol. ii. p. 126. See also *Howell's Letters*, book i. p. 42; and a letter from Sir H. Wotton in 1593, printed in *Reliquiæ Wottonianæ*, p. 711. See also *Ranke, Civil Wars in France*, vol. ii. pp. 257, 355; *Capefigue, Hist. de la Réforme*, vol. vi. pp. 305, 358.

[31] The edict of Nantes was in 1598; the abjuration in 1593. *Sismondi, Hist. des Français*, vol. xxi. pp. 202, 486. But in 1590 it was intimated to the pope as probable, if not certain, that Henry would 'in den Schooss der katholischen Kirche zurückkehren.' *Ranke, die Päpste*, vol. ii. p. 210.

[32] Of this edict, Sismondi says, 'Aucune époque dans l'histoire de France ne marque mieux peut-être la fin d'un monde ancien, le commencement d'un monde nouveau.' *Hist. des Français*, vol. xxi. p. 489.

general success, and at the cessation of religious war which followed it, we cannot fail to perceive that it was part of a vast movement, in which the people themselves participated. Those who recognize the truth of the principles I have laboured to establish, will expect that this great step towards religious liberty was accompanied by that spirit of scepticism, in the absence of which toleration has always been unknown. And that this was actually the case, may be easily proved by an examination of the transitionary state which France began to enter towards the end of the sixteenth century.

The writings of Rabelais are often considered to afford the first instance of religious scepticism in the French language.[33] But, after a tolerably intimate accquaintance with the works of this remarkable man, I have found nothing to justify such an opinion. He certainly treats the clergy with great disrespect, and takes every opportunity of covering them with ridicule.[34] His attacks, however, are always made upon their personal vices, and not upon that narrow and intolerant spirit to which those vices were chiefly to be ascribed. In not a single instance does he show any thing like consistent scepticism;[35] nor does he appear to

[33] On Rabelais, as the supposed founder of French scepticism, compare *Lavallée, Hist. des Français*, vol. ii. p. 306; *Stephen's Lectures on the History of France*, vol. ii. p. 242; *Sismondi, Hist. des Français*, vol. xvi. p. 376.

[34] Particularly the monks. See, among numerous other instances, vol. i. pp. 278, 282, vol. ii. pp. 284, 285, of *Œuvres de Rabelais*, edit. Amsterdam, 1725. However, the high dignitaries of the church are not spared; for he says that Gargantua 'se morvoit en archidiacre,' vol. i. p. 132; and on two occasions (vol. iii. p. 65, vol. iv. pp. 199, 200) he makes a very indecent allusion to the pope. In vol. i. pp. 260, 261, he satirically notices the way in which the services of the church were performed: 'Dont luy dist le moyne: Je ne dors jamais à mon aise, sinon quand je suis au sermon, ou quand je prie Dieu.'

[35] His joke on the strength of Samson (*Œuvres de Rabelais*, vol. ii. pp. 29, 30), and his ridicule of one of the Mosaic laws (vol. iii. p. 34), are so unconnected with other parts of his work, as to have no appearance of belonging to a general scheme. The commentators, who find a hidden meaning in every author they annotate, have represented Rabelais as aiming at the highest objects, and seeking to effect the most extensive social and religious reforms. This I greatly doubt, at all events I have seen no proof of it; and I cannot help thinking that Rabelais owes a large share of his reputation to the obscurity of his language. On the other side of the question, and in favour of his comprehensiveness, see a bold passage in *Coleridge's Lit. Remains*, vol. i. pp. 138, 139.

be aware that the disgraceful lives of the French clergy were but the inevitable consequence of a system, which, corrupt as it was, still possessed every appearance of strength and vitality. Indeed, the immense popularity which he enjoyed is, almost of itself, a decisive consideration; since no one, who is well informed as to the condition of the French early in the sixteenth century, will believe it possible that a people, so sunk in superstition, should delight in a writer by whom superstition is constantly attacked.

But the extension of experience, and the consequent increase of knowledge, were preparing the way for a great change in the French intellect. The process, which had just taken place in England, was now beginning to take place in France; and in both countries the order of events was precisely the same. The spirit of doubt, hitherto confined to an occasional solitary thinker, gradually assumed a bolder form: first it found a vent in the national literature, and then it influenced the conduct of practical statesmen. That there was, in France, an intimate connexion between scepticism and toleration, is proved, not only by those general arguments which make us infer that such connexion must always exist, but also by the circumstance, that only a few years before the promulgation of the Edict of Nantes, there appeared the first systematic sceptic who wrote in the French language. The Essays of Montaigne were published in 1588,[36] and form an epoch, not only in the literature, but also in the civilization, of France. Putting aside personal peculiarities, which have less weight than is commonly supposed, it will be found, that the difference between Rabelais and Montaigne is a measure of the difference between 1545[37] and 1588, and that it, in some degree, corresponds with the relation I have indicated

[36] The two first books in 1580; the third in 1588, with additions to the first two. See *Niceron, Mém. pour servir à l'Hist. des Hommes illustres*, vol. xvi. p. 210, Paris, 1731.

[37] The first impression of the Pantagruel of Rabelais has no date on the title-page; but it is known that the third book was first printed in 1545, and the fourth book in 1546. See *Brunet, Manuel du Libraire*, vol. iv. pp. 4-6, Paris, 1843. The statement in *Biog. Univ.* vol. xxxvi. pp. 482, 483, is rather confused.

between Jewel and Hooker, and between Hooker and Chillingworth. For, the law which governs all these relations, is the law of a progressive scepticism. What Rabelais was to the supporters of theology, that was Montaigne to the theology itself. The writings of Rabelais were only directed against the clergy; but the writings of Montaigne were directed against the system of which the clergy were the offspring.[38] Under the guise of a mere man of the world, expressing natural thoughts in common language, Montaigne concealed a spirit of lofty and audacious inquiry.[39] Although he lacked that comprehensiveness which is the highest form of genius, he possessed other qualities essential to a great mind. He was very cautious, and yet he was very bold. He was cautious, since he would not believe strange things because they had been handed down by his forefathers; and he was bold, since he was undaunted by the reproaches with which the ignorant, who love to dogmatize, always cover those whose knowledge makes them ready to doubt.[40] These pecu-

[38] Mr. Hallam (*Lit. of Europe*, vol. ii. p. 29) says, that his scepticism 'is not displayed in religion.' But if we use the word 'religion' in its ordinary sense, as connected with dogma, it is evident, from Montaigne's language, that he was a sceptic, and an unflinching one too. Indeed, he goes so far as to say that all religious opinions are the result of custom: 'Comme de vray nous n'avons aultre mire de la vérité et de la raison, que l'exemple et idée des opinions et usances du païs où nous sommes: *là est tousiours la parfaicte religion*, la parfaicte police, parfaict et accomply usage de toutes choses.' *Essais de Montaigne*, p. 121, livre i. chap. xxx. As a natural consequence, he lays down that religious error is not criminal, p. 53; compare p. 28. See also how he notices the usurpations of the theological spirit, pp. 116, 508, 528. The fact seems to be, that Montaigne, while recognizing abstractedly the existence of religious truths, doubted our capacity for knowing them; that is to say, he doubted if, out of the immense number of religious opinions, there were any means of ascertaining which were accurate. His observations on miracles (pp. 541, 653, 654, 675) illustrate the character of his mind; and what he says on prophetic visions is quoted and confirmed by Pinel, in his profound work *Aliénation Mentale*, p. 256. Compare *Maury, Légendes Pieuses*, p. 268 note.

[39] His friend, the celebrated De Thou, calls him 'homme franc, ennemi de toute contrainte.' *Mémoires*, in *De Thou, Hist. Univ.* vol. i. p. 59: see also vol. xi. p. 590. And M. Lamartine classes him with Montesquieu, as 'ces deux grands républicains de la pensée française.' *Hist. des Girondins*, vol. i. p. 174.

[40] He says (*Essais*, p. 97), 'Ce n'est pas à l'adventure sans raison que nous attribuons à simplesse et ignorance la facilité de croire et de se laisser persuader.' Compare two striking passages, pp. 199 and 685. Nothing of this sort had ever appeared before in the French language.

liarities would, in any age, have made Montaigne a useful man: in the sixteenth century they made him an important one. At the same time, his easy and amusing style[41] increased the circulation of his works, and thus contributed to popularize those opinions which he ventured to recommend for general adoption.

This, then, is the first open declaration of that scepticism, which, towards the end of the sixteenth century, publicly appeared in France.[42] During nearly three generations, it continued its course with a constantly increasing activity, and developed itself in a manner similar to that which took place in England. It will not be necessary to follow all the steps of this great process; but I will endeavour to trace those which, by their prominence, seem to be the most important.

A few years after the appearance of the Essays of Montaigne, there was published in France a work, which, though now little read, possessed in the seventeenth century a reputation of the highest order. This was the celebrated *Treatise on Wisdom*, by Charron, in which we find, for the first time, an attempt made in a modern language to construct a system of morals without the aid of theology.[43] What rendered this book, in some respects, even more formidable than Montaigne's, was the air of gravity with which it was written. Charron was evidently deeply impressed with the importance of the task he had

[41] Dugald Stewart, whose turn of mind was very different from that of Montaigne, calls him 'this most amusing author.' *Stewart's Philos. of the Mind*, vol. i. p. 468. But Rousseau, in every respect a more competent judge, enthusiastically praises 'la naiveté, la grâce et l'énergie de son style inimitable.' *Musset Pathay, Vie de Rousseau*, vol. i. p. 185. Compare *Lettres de Sévigné*, vol. iii. p. 491, edit. Paris, 1843, and *Lettres de Dudeffand à Walpole*, vol. i. p. 94.

[42] 'Mais celui qui a répandu et popularisé en France le scepticisme, c'est Montaigne.' *Cousin, Hist. de la Philos.* II. série, vol. ii. pp. 288, 289. 'Die erste Regung des skeptischen Geistes finden wir in den Versuchen des Michael von Montaigne.' *Tennemann, Gesch. der Philos.* vol. ix. p. 443. On the immense influence of Montaigne, compare *Tennemann*, vol. ix. p. 458; *Monteil, Divers États*, vol. v. pp. 263-265; *Sorel, Bibliothèque Françoise*, pp. 80-91; *Le Long, Bibliothèque Historique*, vol. iv. p. 527.

[43] Compare the remarks on Charron in *Tennemann, Geschichte der Philosophie*, vol. ix. p. 527, with two insidious passages in *Charron, De la Sagesse*, vol. i. pp. 4, 366.

undertaken, and he is honourably distinguished from his contemporaries, by a remarkable purity both of language and of sentiment. His work is almost the only one of that age in which nothing can be found to offend the chastest ears. Although he borrowed from Montaigne innumerable illustrations,[44] he has carefully omitted those indecencies into which that otherwise charming writer was often betrayed. Besides this, there is about the work of Charron a systematic completeness which never fails to attract attention. In originality, he was, in some respects, inferior to Montaigne; but he had the advantage of coming after him, and there can be no doubt that he rose to an elevation which, to Montaigne, would have been inaccessible. Taking his stand, as it were, on the summit of knowledge, he boldly attempts to enumerate the elements of wisdom, and the conditions under which those elements will work. In the scheme which he thus constructs, he entirely omits theological dogmas;[45] and he treats with undissembled scorn many of those conclusions which the people had hitherto universally received. He reminds his countrymen that their religion is the accidental result of their birth and education, and that if they had been born in a Mohammedan country, they would have been as firm believers in Mohammedanism as they then were in Christianity.[46] From this consideration, he insists on the absurdity of their trou-

[44] The obligations of Charron to Montaigne were very considerable, but are stated too strongly by many writers. *Sorel, Bibliothèque Françoise*, p. 93; and *Hallam's Literature of Europe*, vol. ii. pp. 362, 509. On the most important subjects, Charron was a bolder and deeper thinker than Montaigne; though he is now so little read, that the only tolerably complete account I have seen of his system is in *Tennemann, Gesch. der Philosophie*, vol. ix. pp. 458-487. Buhle (*Geschichte der neuern Philosophie*, vol. ii. pp. 918-925) and Cousin (*Hist. de la Philos.* II. série, vol. ii. p. 289) are short and unsatisfactory. Even Dr. Parr, who was extensively read in this sort of literature, appears only to have known Charron through Bayle (see notes on the Spital Sermon, in *Parr's Works*, vol. ii. pp. 520, 521); while Dugald Stewart, with suspicious tautology, quotes, in three different places, the same passage from Charron. *Stewart's Philosophy of the Mind*, vol. ii. p. 233, vol. iii. pp. 365, 393. Singularly enough, Talleyrand was a great admirer of *De la Sagesse*, and presented his favourite copy of it to Madame de Genlis! See her own account, in *Mém. de Genlis*, vol. iv. pp. 352, 353.

[45] See his definition, or rather description, of wisdom, in Charron, *De la Sagesse*, vol. i. p. 295, vol. ii. pp. 113, 115.

[46] *De la Sagesse*, vol. i. pp. 63, 351.

bling themselves about the variety of creeds, seeing that such variety is the result of circumstances over which they have no control. Also it is to be observed, that each of these different religions declares itself to be the true one;[47] and all of them are equally based upon supernatural pretensions, such as mysteries, miracles, prophets, and the like.[48] It is because men forget these things, that they are the slaves of that confidence which is the great obstacle to all real knowledge, and which can only be removed by taking such a large and comprehensive view, as will show us how all nations cling with equal zeal to the tenets in which they have been educated.[49] And, says Charron, if we look a little deeper, we shall see that each of the great religions is built upon that which preceded it. Thus, the religion of the Jews is founded upon that of the Egyptians; Christianity is the result of Judaism; and, from these two last, there has naturally sprung Mohammedanism.[50] We,

[47] 'Chacune se préfère aux autres, et se confie d'être la meilleure et plus vraie que les autres, et s'entre-reprochent aussi les unes aux autres quelque chose, et par-là s'entre-condamnent et rejettent.' *De la Sagesse*, vol. i. p. 348; see also vol. i. pp. 144, 304, 305, 306, vol. ii. p. 116. Expressions almost identical are used by M. Charles Comte, *Traité de Législation*, vol. i. p. 233.

[48] 'Toutes trouvent et fournissent miracles, prodiges, oracles, mystères sacrés, saints prophètes, fêtes, certains articles de foy et créance nécessaires au salut.' *De la Sagesse*, vol. i. p. 346.

[49] Hence he opposes proselytism, and takes up the philosophic ground, that religious opinions, being governed by undeviating laws, owe their variations to variations in their antecedents, and are always, if left to themselves, suited to the existing state of things: 'Et de ces conclusions, nous apprendrons à n'épouser rien, ne jurer à rien, n'admirer rien, ne se troubler de rien, mais quoi qu'il advienne, que l'on crie, tempête, se resoudre à ce point, que c'est le cours du monde, *c'est nature qui fait des siennes.*' *De la Sagesse*, vol. i. p. 311.

[50] 'Mais comme elles naissent l'une après l'autre, la plus jeune bâtit toujours sur son aînée et prochaine précédente, laquelle elle n'improuve, ni ne condamne de fonds en comble, autrement elle ne seroit pas ouïe, et ne pourroit prendre pied; mais seulement l'accuse ou d'imperfection, ou de son terme fini, et qu'à cette occasion elle vient pour lui succéder et la parfaire, et ainsi la ruine peu-à-peu, et s'enrichit de ses dépouilles, comme la Judaïque a fait à la Gentille et Egyptienne, la Chrétienne à la Judaïque, la Mahométane à la Judaïque et Chrétienne ensemble: mais les vieilles condamnent bien tout-à-fait et entièrement les jeunes, et les tiennent pour ennemies capables.' *De la Sagesse*, vol. i. p. 349. This, I believe, is the first instance in any modern language of the doctrine of religious development; a doctrine which, since Charron, has been steadily advancing, particularly among men whose knowledge is extensive enough to enable them to compare the different religions which have prevailed at different times. In this, as in other

therefore, adds this great writer, should rise above the pretensions of hostile sects, and, without being terrified by the fear of future punishment, or allured by the hope of future happiness, we should be content with such practical religion as consists in performing the duties of life; and, uncontrolled by the dogmas of any particular creed, we should strive to make the soul retire inward upon itself, and by the efforts of its own contemplation, admire the ineffable grandeur of the Being of beings, the supreme cause of all created things.[51]

Such were the sentiments which, in the year 1601, were for the first time laid before the French people in their own mother-tongue.[52] The sceptical and secular spirit, of which they were the representatives, continued to increase; and, as the seventeenth century advanced, the decline of fanaticism, so far from being confined to a few isolated thinkers, gradually became common, even among ordinary politicians.[53] The clergy, sensible of the danger,

subjects, they who are unable to compare, suppose that everything is isolated, simply because to them the continuity is invisible. As to the Alexandrian doctrine of development, found particularly in Clement and Origen, see *Neander's Hist. of the Church*, vol. ii. pp. 234-257; and in particular pp. 241, 246.

[51] *De la Sagesse*, vol. i. pp. 356, 365; two magnificent passages. But the whole chapter ought to be read, livre ii. chap. v. In it there is an occasional ambiguity. Tennemann, however, in the most important point, understands Charron as I do in regard to the doctrine of future punishments. *Geschichte der Philosophie*, vol. ix. p. 473.

[52] The first edition of *La Sagesse* was published at Bourdeaux in 1601. *Niceron, Hommes illustres*, vol. xvi. p. 224; *Hallam's Lit. of Europe*, vol. ii. p. 509; *Biog. Univ.* vol. viii. p. 250. Two editions were subsequently published in Paris, in 1604 and 1607. *Brunet, Manuel du Libraire*, vol. i. p. 639.

[53] Sismondi (*Hist. des Français*, vol. xxii. p. 86) and Lavallée (*Hist. des Français*, vol. iii. p. 84) have noticed the diminution of religious zeal early in the seventeenth century; and some curious evidence will also be found in the correspondence of Duplessis Mornay. See, for instance, a letter he wrote to Diodati, in 1609: 'A beaucoup aujourd'hui il fault commencer par là, qu'il y a une religion, premier que de leur dire quelle.' *Duplessis, Mém. et Corresp.* vol. x. p. 415. This middle, or secular party, received the name of 'Politiques,' and began to be powerful in 1592 or 1593. Benoist (*Hist. de l'Edit de Nantes*, vol. i. p. 113), under the year 1593, contemptuously says: 'Il s'éleva une foule de conciliateurs de religion;' see also pp. 201, 273. In 1590, and in 1594, the 'Politiques' are noticed by De Thou (*Hist. Univ.* vol. xi. p. 171, vol. xii. p. 134); and on the increase, in 1593, of 'le tiers parti politique et négociateur,' see *Capefigue, Hist. de la Réforme*, vol. vi. p. 235. See also, respecting 'les politiques,' a letter from

wished the government to check the progress of inquiry;[54] and the pope himself, in a formal remonstrance with Henry, urged him to remedy the evil, by prosecuting the heretics, from whom he thought all the mischief had originally proceeded.[55] But this the king steadily refused. He saw the immense advantages that would arise, if he could weaken the ecclesiastical power by balancing the two sects against each other;[56] and therefore, though he was a Catholic, his policy rather leaned in favour of the Protestants, as being the weaker party.[57] He granted sums of money towards the support of their ministers and the repair of their churches;[58] he banished the Jesuits, who were their most dangerous enemies;[59] and he always

the Spanish ambassador to his own court, in 1615, in *Capefigue's Richelieu*, vol. i. p. 93; and for the rise in Paris, in 1592, of a 'politisch und kirchlich gemässigte Gesinnung,' see *Ranke, die Päpste*, vol. ii. p. 243.

[54] The Sorbonne went so far as to condemn Charron's great work, but could not succeed in having it prohibited. Compare *Duvernet, Hist. de la Sorbonne*, vol. ii. p. 139, with *Bayle*, article Charron, note F.

[55] In the appendix to Ranke (*Die Römischen Päpste*, vol. iii. pp. 141, 142), there will be found the instructions which were given to the nuncio, in 1603, when he was sent to the French court; and which should be compared with a letter, written in 1604, in *Sully, Œconomies Royales*, vol. v. p. 122, edit. 1820.

[56] 'Sein Sinn war im Allgemeinen, ohne Zweifel, das Gleichgewicht zwischen ihnen zu erhalten.' *Ranke, die Päpste*, vol. ii. pp. 430, 431. 'Henri IV, l'expression de l'indifférentisme religieux, se posa comme une transaction entre ces deux systèmes.' *Capefigue, Hist. de la Réforme*, vol. vi. p. 358. 'Henry IV. endeavoured to adjust the balance evenly.' *Smedley's Hist. of the Reformed Religion in France*, vol. iii. p. 19. See also *Benoist, Hist. de l'Edit de Nantes*, vol i. p. 136. Hence, of course, neither party was quite satisfied. *Mably's Observations*, vol. iii. p. 220; *Mezeray, Histoire de France*, vol. iii. p. 959.

[57] Compare *Capefigue, Hist. de la Réforme*, vol. viii. p. 61, with *Bazin, Hist. de Louis XIII*, vol. i. pp. 32, 33. See also, on his inclination towards the Protestants, *Mém. de Fontenay Mareuil*, vol. i. p. 91. Fontenay, p. 94, mentions, as a singular instance, that 'il se vist de son temps des huguenots avoir des abbayes.'

[58] *Sully, Œconomies Royales*, vol. iv. p. 134, vol. vi. p. 233; *Duplessis Mornay, Mém. et Corresp.* vol. xi. p. 242; *Benoist, Hist. de l'Edit de Nantes*, vol. ii. pp. 68, 205. These grants were annual, and were apportioned by the Protestants themselves. See their own account, in *Quick's Synodicon in Gallia*, vol. i. pp. 198, 222, 246, 247, 249, 275-277.

[59] Henry IV. banished the Jesuits in 1594; but they were allowed, later in his reign, to make fresh settlements in France. *Flassan, Hist. de la Diplomatie*, vol. vi. p. 485; *Bazin, Hist. de Louis XIII*, vol. i. p. 106; *Monteil, Divers Etats*, vol. v. p. 192 note; *De Thou, Hist. Univ.* vol. xiv. p. 298. Compare the notices of them in *Sully, Œconomies*, vol. ii. p. 234, vol. iv. pp. 200, 235, 245. But there can be little doubt that they owed their recall to the

had with him two representatives of the reformed church, whose business it was to inform him of any infraction of those edicts which he had issued in favour of their religion.[60]

Thus it was, that in France, as well as in England, toleration was preceded by scepticism; and thus it was, that out of this scepticism there arose the humane and enlightened measures of Henry IV. The great prince, by whom these things were effected, unhappily fell a victim to that fanatical spirit which he had done much to curb;[61] but the circumstances which occurred after his death, showed how great an impetus had been given to the age.

On the murder of Henry IV., in 1610, the government fell into the hands of the queen, who administered it during the minority of her son, Louis XIII. And it is a remarkable evidence of the direction which the mind was now taking, that she, though a weak and bigoted woman,[62] refrained from those persecutions which, only one generation before, had been considered a necessary proof of religious sincerity. That, indeed, must have been a movement of no common energy, which could force toleration, early in the seventeenth century, upon a princess of the house of Medici, an ignorant and superstitious Catholic, who had been educated in the midst of her priests, and had been accustomed to look for their applause as the highest object of earthly ambition.

dread entertained of their intrigues (*Grégoire, Hist. des Confesseurs*, p. 316); and Henry evidently disliked, as well as feared them. See two letters from him in *Duplessis, Mém. et Corresp.* vol. vi. pp. 129, 151. It would appear, from the *Mém. de Richelieu*, vol. v. p. 350, Paris, 1823, that the king never restored to them their former authority in regard to education.

[60] *Bazin, Hist. de Louis XIII*, vol. i. pp. 142, 143; *Le Vassor*, vol. i. p. 156; *Sismondi*, vol. xxii. p. 116; *Duplessis Mornay*, vol. i. p. 389; *Sully, Œconomies*, vol. vii. pp. 105, 432, 442.

[61] When Ravaillac was examined, he said, 'qu'il y avait été excité par l'intérêt de la religion, et par une impulsion irrésistible.' *Bazin, Hist. de Louis XIII*, vol. i. p. 38. This work contains the fullest account I have met with of Ravaillac; of wh m there is, moreover, a description in *Les Historiettes de Tallemant des Réaux*, vol. i. p. 85, Paris, 1840, a very curious book.

[62] Le Vassor (*Hist. de Louis XIII*, vol. i. p. 279) calls her 'superstitieuse au dernier point;' and, in vol. v. p. 481, 'femme crédule et superstitieuse.' See also vol. iii. p. 250, vol. vi. p. 628; and *Grégoire, Hist. des Confesseurs*, p. 65.

Yet this was what actually occurred. The queen continued the ministers of Henry IV., and announced, that in every thing she would follow his example.[63] Her first public act was, a declaration, that the Edict of Nantes should be inviolably preserved; for, she says, 'experience has taught our predecessors, that violence, so far from inducing men to return to the Catholic church, prevents them from doing so.[64] Indeed, so anxious was she upon this point, that when Louis, in 1614, attained his nominal majority, the first act of his government was another confirmation of the Edict of Nantes.[65] And, in 1615, she caused the king, who still remained under her tutelage,[66] to issue a declaration, by which all preceding measures in favour of the Protestants were publicly confirmed.[67] In the same spirit, she, in 1611, wished to raise to the presidency of parliament the celebrated De Thou; and it was only by making a formal announcement of his heresy, that the pope succeeded in frustrating what he considered an impious design.[68]

[63] 'Elle annonça qu'elle vouloit suivre en tout l'exemple du feu roi. . . . Le ministère de Henri IV, que la reine continuoit.' *Sismondi, Hist. des Français*, vol. xxii. pp. 206, 210; and see two letters from her, in *Duplessis Mornay, Mém. et Corresp.* vol. xi. p. 282, vol. xii. p. 428. Sully had feared that the death of Henry IV. would cause a change of policy: 'que l'on s'alloit jetter dans des desseins tous contraires aux règles, ordres et maximes du feu roy.' *Œconomies Royales*, vol. viii. p. 401.

[64] See the declaration in *Bazin, Hist. de Louis XIII*, vol. i. pp. 74, 75; and notices of it in *Mém. de Richelieu*, vol. i. p. 58; *Capefigue's Richelieu*, vol. i. p. 27; *Benoist, Hist. de l'Edit de Nantes*, vol. ii. p. 7; *Le Vassor, Hist. de Louis XIII*, vol. i. p. 58. But none of these writers, nor Sismondi (vol. xxii. p. 221), appear to be aware that the issuing of this declaration was determined on, in council, as early as the 17th of May; that is, only three days after the death of Henry IV. This is mentioned by Pontchartrain, who was then one of the ministers. See *Mém. de Pontchartrain*, edit. Petitot, 1822, vol. i. p. 409; a book little known, but well worthy of being read.

[65] *Bazin, Hist. de Louis XIII*, vol. i. p. 262; *Benoist, Hist. de l'Edit de Nantes*, vol. ii. p. 140; *Mém. de Fontenay Mareuil*, vol. i. p. 257; *Le Vassor*, vol. i. p. 604.

[66] 'Laissant néanmoins l'administration du royaume à la reine sa mère.' *Mém. de Bassompierre*, vol. ii. p. 52. Compare *Sully, Œconomies*, vol. ix. p. 177. She possessed complete authority over the king till 1617. See *Mémoires de Montglat*, vol. i. p. 24: 'avoit été tenu fort bas par la reine sa mère.' See also *Le Vassor, Hist. de Louis XIII*, vol. ii. pp. 640, 677, 716, 764.

[67] *Bazin, Hist. de Louis XIII*, vol. i. pp. 381, 382.

[68] In 1611, 'le pape le rejeta formellement comme hérétique. *Bazin*, vol. i. p. 174. This is glossed over by Pontchartrain (*Mémoires*, vol. i. p. 450);

The turn which things were now taking, caused no little alarm to the friends of the hierarchy. The most zealous churchmen loudly censured the policy of the queen; and a great historian has observed that when, during the reign of Louis XIII., such alarm was caused in Europe by the active encroachments of the ecclesiastical power, France was the first country that ventured to oppose them.[69] The nuncio openly complained to the queen of her conduct in favouring heretics; and he anxiously desired that those Protestant works should be suppressed, by which the consciences of true believers were greatly scandalized.[70] But these, and similar representations, were no longer listened to with the respect they would formerly have received; and the affairs of the country continued to be administered with those purely temporal views, on which the measures of Henry IV. had been avowedly based.[71]

Such was now the policy of the government of France; a government which, not many years before, had considered it the great duty of a sovereign to punish heretics and extirpate heresy. That this continued improvement was merely the result of the general intellectual development, is evident, not only from its success, but also from the character of the queen-regent and the king. No one who has read the contemporary memoirs, can deny that Mary de Medici and Louis XIII. were as superstitious as any of their predecessors; and it is, therefore, evident, that this disregard of theological prejudices was due, not to their own personal merits, but to the advancing knowledge of the country, and to the pressure of an age

but the statement of M. Bazin is confirmed in the preface to *De Thou, Histoire Universelle*, vol. i. p. xvi.

[69] 'Der erste Einhalt den die kirchliche Restauration erfuhr, geschah in Frankreich.' *Ranke, die Römischen Päpste*, vol. iii. p. 160.

[70] This desire was expressed several times, but in vain: 'Gern hätten die Nuntien Werke wie von Thou und Richer verboten, aber es war ihnen nicht möglich.' *Ranke, die Päpste*, vol. iii. p. 181, Anhang. Compare *Mém. de Richelieu*, vol. ii. p. 68; *Mém. de Pontchartrain*, vol. i. p. 428.

[71] This decline of the ecclesiastical power is noticed by many writers of the time; but it is sufficient to refer to the very curious remonstrance of the French clergy, in 1605, in *De Thou, Hist. Univ.* vol. xiv. pp. 446, 447.

which, in the rapidity of its progress, hurried along those who believed themselves to be its rulers.

But these considerations, weighty as they are, will only slightly diminish the merit of that remarkable man, who now appeared on the stage of public affairs. During the last eighteen years of the reign of Louis XIII., France was entirely governed by Richelieu,[72] one of that extremely small class of statesmen to whom it is given to impress their own character on the destiny of their country. This great ruler has, in his knowledge of the political art, probably never been surpassed, except by that prodigy of genius who, in our time, troubled the fortunes of Europe. But, in one important point of view, Richelieu was superior to Napoleon. The life of Napoleon was a constant effort to oppress the liberties of mankind; and his unrivalled capacity exhausted its resources in struggling against the tendencies of a great age. Richelieu, too, was a despot; but his despotism took a nobler turn. He displayed, what Napoleon never possessed, a just appreciation of the spirit of his own time. In one great point, indeed, he failed. His attempts to destroy the power of the French nobility were altogether futile;[73] for, owing to a long course of events, the authority of that insolent class was so deeply rooted in the popular mind, that the labours of another century were required to efface its ancient influence. But, though Richelieu could not diminish the social and moral weight of the French nobles, he curtailed

[72] As M. Monteil says (*Hist. des Français des divers Etats*, vol. vii. p. 114), 'Richelieu tint le sceptre; Louis XIII. porta la couronne.' And Campion (*Mémoires*, p. 37) calls him 'plutôt le maître que le ministre;' and adds, pp. 218, 219, that he 'avoit gouverné dix-huit ans la France avec un pouvoir absolu et une gloire sans pareille.' Compare *Mém. du Cardinal de Retz*, vol. i. p. 63.

[73] The common opinion, put forth in *Alison's Hist. of Europe*, vol. i. pp. 101-104, and in many other books, is, that Richelieu did destroy their influence; but this error arises from confusing political influence with social influence. What is termed the political power of a class, is merely the symptom and manifestation of its real power; and it is no use to attack the first, unless you can also weaken the second. The real power of the nobles was social, and that neither Richelieu nor Louis XIV. could impair; and it remained intact until the middle of the eighteenth century, when the intellect of France rebelled against it, overthrew it, and finally effected the French Revolution.

their political privileges; and he chastised their crimes with a severity which, for a time at least, repressed their former license.[74] So little, however, can even the ablest statesman effect, unless he is seconded by the general temper of the age in which he lives, that these checks, rude as they were, produced no permanent result. After his death, the French nobles, as we shall presently see, quickly rallied; and, in the wars of the Fronde, debased that great struggle into a mere contest of rival families. Nor was it until the close of the eighteenth century, that France was finally relieved from the overweening influence of that powerful class, whose selfishness had long retarded the progress of civilization, by retaining the people in a thraldom, from the remote effects of which they have not yet fully recovered.

Although in this respect Richelieu failed in achieving his designs, he in other matters met with signal success. This was owing to the fact, that his large and comprehensive views harmonized with that sceptical tendency, of which I have just given some account. For this remarkable man, though he was a bishop and a cardinal, never for a moment allowed the claims of his profession to make him forego the superior claims of his country. He knew, what is too often forgotten, that the governor of a people should measure affairs solely by a political standard, and should pay no regard to the pretensions of any sect, or the propagation of any opinions, except in reference to the present and practical welfare of men. The consequence was, that, during his administration, there was seen the marvellous spectacle of supreme authority wielded by a priest, who took no pains to increase the power of the spiritual classes. Indeed, so far from this, he often treated them with what was then considered unexampled rigour. The royal confessors, on account of the importance of their

[74] Richelieu appears to have formed the design of humbling the nobles, at least as early as 1624. See a characteristic passage in his *Mémoires*, vol. ii. p. 340. In *Swinburne's Courts of Europe*, vol. ii. pp. 63-65, there is a curious traditional anecdote, which, though probably false, shows, at all events, the fear and hatred with which the French nobles regarded the memory of Richelieu more than a century after his death.

functions, had always been regarded with a certain veneration; they were supposed to be men of unspotted piety; they had hitherto possessed immense influence, and even the most powerful statesmen had thought it advisable to show them the deference due to their exalted position.[75] Richelieu, however, was too familiar with the arts of his profession, to feel much respect for these keepers of the consciences of kings. Caussin, the confessor of Louis XIII., had, it seems, followed the example of his predecessors, and endeavoured to instil his own views of policy into the mind of the royal penitent.[76] But Richelieu, so soon as he heard of this, dismissed him from office, and sent him into exile; for, he contemptuously says, 'the little father Caussin' should not interfere in matters of government, since he is one of those 'who have always been brought up in the innocence of a religious life.'[77] Caussin was succeeded by the celebrated Sirmond; but Richelieu would not allow the new confessor to begin his duties, until

[75] On their influence, see *Grégoire, Histoire des Confesseurs*; and compare the remarks of Mr. Grote, a great writer, whose mind is always ready with historical analogies. *Grote's Hist. of Greece*, vol. vi. p. 393, 2nd edit. 1851. Many of the French kings had a strong natural affection for monks; but the most singular instance I have found of this sort of love is mentioned by no less a man than De Thou, respecting Henry III. De Thou (*Hist. Univ.* vol. x. pp. 666, 667) says of that prince: 'Soit tempérament, soit éducation, la présence d'un moine faisait toujours plaisir à Henri; et je lui ai moi-même souvent entendu dire, que leur vue produisoit le même effet sur son âme, que le chatouillement le plus délicat sur le corps.'

[76] One of his suggestions was, 'sur les dangers que couroit le catholicisme en Allemagne, par ses liaisons avec les puissances protestantes.' *Grégoire, Histoire des Confesseurs*, p. 342. The fullest account of Caussin is in *Le Vassor, Hist. de Louis XIII*, vol. ix. pp. 287-299; to which, however, Grégoire never refers. As I shall have frequent occasion to quote Le Vassor, I may observe, that he is far more accurate than is generally supposed, and that he has been very unfairly treated by the majority of French writers, among whom he is unpopular, on account of his constant attacks on Louis XIV. Sismondi (*Hist. des Français*, vol. xxii. pp. 188, 189) speaks highly of his *Hist. of Louis XIII.*; and so far as my own reading extends, I can confirm his favourable opinion.

[77] 'Le petit père Caussin.' *Mém. de Richelieu*, vol. x. p. 206; and at p. 217, he is classed among the 'personnes qui avoient toujours été nourries dans l'innocence d'une vie religieuse:' see also p. 215, on his 'simplicité et ignorance.' Respecting Richelieu's treatment of Caussin, see *Mém. de Montglat*, vol. i. pp. 173-175; *Lettres de Patin*, vol. i. p. 49; *Des Réaux, Historiettes*, vol. ii. p. 182.

he had solemnly promised never to interfere in state affairs.[78]

On another occasion of much more importance, Richelieu displayed a similar spirit. The French clergy were then possessed of enormous wealth; and, as they enjoyed the privilege of taxing themselves, they were careful not to make what they considered unnecessary contributions towards defraying the expenses of the state. They had cheerfully advanced money to carry on war against the Protestants, because they believed it to be their duty to assist in the extirpation of heresy.[79] But they saw no reason why their revenues should be wasted in effecting mere temporal benefits; they considered themselves as the guardians of funds set apart for spiritual purposes, and they thought it impious that wealth consecrated by the piety of their ancestors should fall into the profane hands of secular statesmen. Richelieu, who looked on these scruples as the artifices of interested men, had taken a very different view of the relation which the clergy bore to the country.[80] So far from thinking that the interests of the church were superior to those of the state, he laid

78 *Sismondi, Hist. des Français*, vol. xxiii. p. 332; *Tallemant des Réaux, Historiettes*, vol. iii. p. 78 note. Le Vassor (*Hist. de Louis XIII*, vol. x. part ii. p. 761) says, that Sirmond 'se soutint à la cour sous le ministère de Richelieu, parce qu'il ne se méloit point des affaires d'état.' According to the same writer (vol. viii. p. 156), Richelieu thought at one time of depriving the Jesuits of their post of confessor to the king.

79 *Lavallée, Hist. des Français*, vol. iii. p. 87; *Le Vassor, Hist. de Louis XIII*, vol. iv. p. 208; *Bazin, Hist. de Louis XIII*, vol. ii. p. 144; *Benoist, Hist. de l'Edit de Nantes*, vol. ii. pp. 337, 338. Benoist says: 'Le clergé de France, ignorant et corrompu, croyoit tout son devoir compris dans l'extirpation des hérétiques; et même il offroit de grandes sommes, à condition qu'on les employât à cette guerre.'

80 In which he is fully borne out by the high authority of Vattel, whose words I shall quote, for the sake of those politicians who still cleave to the superannuated theory of the sacredness of church-property: 'Loin que l'exemption appartienne aux biens d'église parce qu'ils sont consacrés à Dieu, c'est au contraire par cette raison même, qu'ils doivent être pris les premiers pour le salut de l'état; car il n'y a rien de plus agréable au Père commun des hommes, que de garantir une nation de sa ruine. Dieu n'ayant besoin de rien, lui consacrer des biens, c'est les destiner à des usages qui lui soient agréables. De plus, les biens de l'église, de l'aveu du clergé lui-même, sont en grande partie destinés aux pauvres. Quand l'état est dans le besoin, il est sans doute le premier pauvre, et le plus digne de secours.' *Vattel, le Droit des Gens*, vol. i. pp. 176, 177.

it down as a maxim of policy, that 'the reputation of the state was the first consideration.'[81] With such fearlessness did he carry out this principle, that having convoked at Mantes a great assembly of the clergy, he compelled them to aid the government by an extraordinary supply of 6,000,000 francs; and finding that some of the highest dignitaries had expressed their discontent at so unusual a step, he laid hands on them also, and to the amazement of the church, sent into exile not only four of the bishops, but likewise the two archbishops of Toulouse and of Sens.[82]

If these things had been done fifty years earlier, they would most assuredly have proved fatal to the minister who dared to attempt them. But Richelieu, in these and similar measures, was aided by the spirit of an age which was beginning to despise its ancient masters. For this general tendency was now becoming apparent, not only in literature and in politics, but even in the proceedings of the ordinary tribunals. The nuncio indignantly complained of the hostility displayed against ecclesiastics by the French judges; and he said that, among other shameful things, some clergymen had been hung, without being first deprived of their spiritual character.[83] On other occasions, the increasing contempt showed itself in a way well suited to the coarseness of the prevailing manners. Sourdis, the archbishop of Bourdeaux, was twice ignominiously beaten; once by the Duke d'Epernon, and afterwards

[81] 'Que la réputation de l'état est préférable à toutes choses.' *Mém. de Richelieu*, vol. ii. p. 482. This was in 1625, and by way of refuting the legate.

[82] *Sismondi, Hist. des Français*, vol. xxiii. pp. 477, 478; *Bazin, Hist. de Louis XIII*, vol. iv. pp. 325, 326. The Cardinal de Retz, who knew Richelieu personally, says: 'M. le cardinal de Richelieu avoit donné une atteinte cruelle à la dignité et à la liberté du clergé dans l'assemblée de Mante, et il avoit exilé, avec des circonstances atroces, six de ses prélats les plus considérables.' *Mém. de Retz*, vol. i. p. 50.

[83] 'Die Nuntien finden kein Ende der Beschwerden die sie machen zu müssen glauben, vorzüglich über die Beschränkungen welche die geistliche Jurisdiction erfahre. . . . Zuweilen werde ein Geistlicher hingerichtet ohne erst degradirt zu seyn.' *Ranke, die Päpste*, vol. iii. p. 157: a summary, in 1641, of the complaints of the then nuncio, and of those of his predecessors. Le Vassor (*Hist. de Louis XIII*, vol. v. pp. 51, seq.) has given some curious details respecting the animosity between the clergy and the secular tribunals of France in 1624.

by the Maréchal de Vitry.[84] Nor did Richelieu, who usually treated the nobles with such severity, seem anxious to punish this gross outrage. Indeed, the archbishop not only received no sympathy, but, a few years later, was peremptorily ordered by Richelieu to retire to his own diocese; such, however, was his alarm at the state of affairs, that he fled to Carpentras, and put himself under the protection of the pope.[85] This happened in 1641; and nine years earlier, the church had incurred a still greater scandal. For in 1632, serious disturbances having arisen in Languedoc, Richelieu did not fear to meet the difficulty by depriving some of the bishops, and seizing the temporalities of the others.[86]

The indignation of the clergy may be easily imagined. Such repeated injuries, even if they had proceeded from a layman, would have been hard to endure; but they were rendered doubly bitter by being the work of one of themselves—one who had been nurtured in the profession against which he turned. This it was which aggravated the offence, because it seemed to be adding treachery to insult. It was not a war from without, but it was a trea-

[84] *Sismondi, Hist. des Français*, vol. xxiii. p. 301; *Mém. de Bassompierre*, vol. iii. pp. 302, 353. Bazin, who notices this disgraceful affair, simply says (*Hist. de Louis XIII*, vol. iii. p. 453): 'Le maréchal de Vitry, suivant l'exemple qui lui en avoit donné le duc d'Epernon, s'emporta jusqu'à le frapper de son bâton.' In regard to Epernon, the best account is in *Mém. de Richelieu*, where it is stated (vol. viii. p. 194) that the duke, just before flogging the archbishop, 'disoit au peuple, "Rangez-vous, vous verrez comme j'étrillerai votre archevêque."' This was stated by a witness, who heard the duke utter the words. Compare, for further information, *Le Vassor, Hist. de Louis XIII*, vol. x. part ii. p. 97, with *Tallemant des Réaux, Historiettes*, vol. iii. p. 116. Des Réaux, who, in his own way, was somewhat of a philosopher, contentedly says: 'Cet archevêque se pouvoit vanter d'être le prélat du monde qui avoit été le plus battu.' His brother was Cardinal Sourdis; a man of some little reputation in his own time, and concerning whom a curious anecdote is related in *Mém. de Conrart*, pp. 231–234.

[85] *Sismondi, Hist. des Français*, vol. xxiii. p. 470. Le Vassor (*Hist. de Louis XIII*, vol. x. part ii. p. 149) says: Il s'enfuit donc honteusement à Carpentras sous la protection du pape.'

[86] 'Les évêques furent punis par la saisie de leur temporel; Alby, Nimes, Uzès, furent privées de leurs prélats.' *Capefigue's Richelieu*, Paris, 1844, vol. ii. p. 24. The Protestants were greatly delighted at the punishment of the bishops of Alby and Nimes, which 'les ministres regardoient comme une vengeance divine.' *Benoist, Hist. de l'Edit de Nantes*, vol. ii. pp. 528, 529.

son from within. It was a bishop who humbled the episcopacy, and a cardinal who affronted the church.[87] Such, however, was the general temper of men, that the clergy did not venture to strike an open blow; but, by means of their partisans, they scattered the most odious libels against the great minister. They said that he was unchaste, that he was guilty of open debauchery, and that he held incestuous commerce with his own niece.[88] They declared that he had no religion; that he was only a Catholic in name; that he was the pontiff of the Huguenots; that he was the patriarch of atheists;[89] and what was worse than all, they even accused him of wishing to establish a schism in the French church.[90] Happily, the time was now passing away in which the national mind could be moved by such artifices as these. Still, the charges are worth recording, because they illustrate the tendency of public affairs, and the bitterness with which the spiritual classes saw the reins of power falling from their hands. Indeed, all this was so manifest, that in the last civil war raised against Richelieu, only two years before his death, the insurgents stated in their proclamation, that one of their objects was to revive the respect with which the clergy and nobles had formerly been treated.[91]

The more we study the career of Richelieu, the more prominent does this antagonism become. Every thing proves that he was conscious of a great struggle going on between the old ecclesiastical scheme of government, and the new secular scheme; and that he was determined to

[87] In a short account of Richelieu, which was published immediately after his death, the writer indignantly says, that 'being a cardinal, he afflicted the church.' *Somers Tracts*, vol. v. p. 540. Compare *Bazin, Hist. de Louis XIII*, vol. iv. p. 322.

[88] This scandalous charge in regard to his niece was a favourite one with the clergy; and among many other instances, the accusation was brought by the Cardinal de Valençay in the grossest manner. See *Tallemant des Réaux, Historiettes*, vol. iii. p. 201.

[89] 'De là ces petits écrits qui le dénonçaient comme le "pontife des huguenots" ou "le patriarche des athées."' *Capefigue's Richelieu*, vol. i. p. 312.

[90] Compare *Des Réaux, Historiettes*, vol. ii. p. 233, with *Le Vassor, Hist. de Louis XIII*, vol. viii. part ii. pp. 177, 178, vol. ix. p. 277.

[91] See the manifesto in *Sismondi, Hist. des Français*, vol. xxiii. pp. 452, 453.

put down the old plan, and uphold the new one. For, not only in his domestic administration, but also in his foreign policy, do we find the same unprecedented disregard of theological interests. The House of Austria, particularly its Spanish branch, had long been respected by all pious men as the faithful ally of the church; it was looked upon as the scourge of heresy; and its proceedings against the heretics had won for it a great name in ecclesiastical history.[92] When, therefore, the French government, in the reign of Charles IX., made a deliberate attempt to destroy the Protestants, France naturally established an intimate connexion with Spain as well as with Rome;[93] and these three great powers were firmly united, not by a community of temporal interests, but by the force of a religious compact. This theological confederacy was afterwards broken up by the personal character of Henry IV.,[94] and by the growing indifference of the age; but during the minority of Louis XIII., the queen-regent had in some degree renewed it, and had attempted to revive the superstitious prejudices upon which it was based.[95] In all her feelings, she was a zealous Catholic; she was warmly attached to Spain; and she succeeded in marrying her son, the young king, to a Spanish princess, and her daughter to a Spanish prince.[96]

[92] Late in the sixteenth century, 'fils aîné de l'église' was the recognized and well-merited title of the kings of Spain. *De Thou, Hist. Univ.* vol. xi. p. 280. Compare *Duplessis Mornay, Mém. et Correspond.* vol. xi. p. 21. And on the opinions which the Catholics, early in the seventeenth century, generally held respecting Spain, see *Mém. de Fontenay Mareuil,* vol. i. p. 189; *Mém. de Bassompierre,* vol. i. p. 424.

[93] As to the connexion between this foreign policy and the massacre of Saint Bartholomew, see *Capefigue, Hist. de la Réforme,* vol. iii. pp. 253, 268, 269.

[94] On the policy, and still more on the feelings, of Henry IV. towards the House of Austria, see *Sully, Œconomies Royales,* vol. ii. p. 291, vol. iii. pp. 162, 166, vol. iv. pp. 289, 290, 321, 343, 344, 364, vol. v. p. 123, vol. vi. p. 293, vol. vii. p. 303, vol. viii. pp. 195, 202, 348.

[95] *Capefigue's Richelieu,* vol. i. pp. 26, 369; *Mém. de Montglat,* vol. i. pp. 16, 17; *Le Vassor, Hist. de Louis XIII,* vol. i. p. 268, vol. vi. p. 349; *Sismondi, Hist. des Français,* vol. xxii. p. 227. Her husband, Henry IV., said that she had 'the soul of a Spaniard.' *Capefigue, Hist. de la Réforme,* vol. viii. p. 150.

[96] This was, in her opinion, a master-stroke of policy: 'Entêtée du double mariage avec l'Espagne qu'elle avoit ménagé avec tant d'application, et qu'elle regardoit comme le plus ferme appui de son autorité.' *Le Vassor, Hist. de Louis XIII,* vol. i. pp. 453, 454.

It might have been expected that when Richelieu, a great dignitary of the Romish church, was placed at the head of affairs, he would have reëstablished a connexion so eagerly desired by the profession to which he belonged.[97] But his conduct was not regulated by such views as these. His object was, not to favour the opinions of a sect, but to promote the interests of a nation. His treaties, his diplomacy, and the schemes of his foreign alliances, were all directed, not against the enemies of the church, but against the enemies of France. By erecting this new standard of action, Richelieu took a great step towards secularizing the whole system of European politics. For he thus made the theoretical interests of men subordinate to their practical interests. Before his time, the rulers of France, in order to punish their Protestant subjects, had not hesitated to demand the aid of the Catholic troops of Spain; and in so doing, they merely acted upon the old opinion, that it was the chief duty of a government to suppress heresy. This pernicious doctrine was first openly repudiated by Richelieu. As early as 1617, and before he had established his power, he, in an instruction to one of the foreign ministers which is still extant, laid it down as a principle, that, in matters of state, no Catholic ought to prefer a Spaniard to a French Protestant.[98] To us, indeed, in the progress of society, such preference of the claims of our country to those of our creed, has become a matter of course; but in those days it was a startling novelty.[99] Richelieu, however, did

[97] So late as 1656, the French clergy wished 'to hasten a peace with Spain, and to curb the heretics in France.' *Letter from Pell to Thurbe*, written in 1656, and printed in *Vaughan's Protectorate of Cromwell*, vol. i. p. 436, 8vo, 1839. During the minority of Louis XIII. we hear of 'les zélés catholiques, et ceux qui désiroient, à quelque prix que ce fust, l'union des deux roys, et des deux couronnes de France et d'Espagne, comme le seul moyen propre, selon leur advis, pour l'extirpation des hérésies dans la chrestienté.' *Sully, Œcon. Royales*, vol. ix. p. 181: compare vol. vii. p. 248, on 'les zélés catholiques espagnolisez de France.'

[98] See *Sismondi, Hist. des Français*, vol. xxii. pp. 387-389, where the importance of this document is noticed, and it is said that Richelieu had drawn it up 'avec beaucoup de soin.' The language of it is very peremptory: 'Que nul catholique n'est si aveugle d'estimer en matière d'état un Espagnol meilleur qu'un français huguenot.'

[99] Even in the reign of Henry IV. the French Protestants were not con-

not fear to push the paradox even to its remotest consequences. The Catholic church justly considered that its interests were bound up with those of the House of Austria;[100] but Richelieu, directly he was called to the council, determined to humble that house in both its branches.[101] To effect this, he openly supported the bitterest enemies of his own religion. He aided the Lutherans against the Emperor of Germany; he aided the Calvinists against the King of Spain. During the eighteen years he was supreme, he steadily pursued the same undeviating policy.[102] When Philip attempted to oppress the Dutch Protestants, Richelieu made common cause with them; at first, advancing them large sums of money, and afterwards inducing the French king to sign a treaty of intimate alliance with those who, in the opinion of the church, he ought rather to have chastized as rebellious heretics.[103]

sidered to be Frenchmen: 'The intolerant dogmas of Roman Catholicism did not recognize them as Frenchmen. They were looked upon as foreigners, or rather as enemies; and were treated as such.' *Felice, Hist. of the Protestants of France*, p. 216.

[100] Sismondi says, under the year 1610, 'Toute l'église catholique croyoit son sort lié à celui de la maison d'Autriche.' *Hist. des Français*, vol. xxii. p. 180.

[101] 'Sa vue dominante fut l'abaissement de la maison d'Autriche.' *Flassan, Hist. de la Diplomatie Française*, vol. iii. p. 81. And, on the early formation of this scheme, see *Mém. de la Rochefoucauld*, vol. i. p. 350. De Retz says, that before Richelieu, no one had even thought of such a step: 'Celui d'attaquer la formidable maison d'Autriche n'avoit été imaginé de personne.' *Mém. de Retz*, vol. i. p. 45. This is rather too strongly expressed; but the whole paragraph is curious, as written by a man who possessed great ability, which De Retz undoubtedly did, and who, though hating Richelieu, could not refrain from bearing testimony to his immense services.

[102] 'Obwohl Cardinal der römischen Kirche trug Richelieu kein Bedenken, mit den Protestanten selbst unverhohlen in Bund zu treten.' *Ranke, die Päpste*, vol. ii. p. 510. Compare, in *Mém. de Fontenay Mareuil*, vol. ii. pp. 28, 29, the reproach which the nuncio Spada addressed to Richelieu for treating with the Protestants, 'de la paix qui se traittoit avec les huguenots.' See also *Le Vassor, Hist. de Louis XIII*, vol. v. pp. 236, 354-356, 567; and a good passage in *Lavallée, Hist. des Français*, vol. iii. p. 90,—an able little work, and perhaps the best small history ever published of a great country.

[103] De Retz mentions a curious illustration of the feelings of the ecclesiastical party respecting this treaty. He says, that the Bishop of Beauvais, who, the year after the death of Richelieu, was for a moment at the head of affairs, began his administration by giving to the Dutch their choice, either to abandon their religion, or else forfeit their alliance with France: 'Et il demanda dès le premier jour aux Hollandois qu'ils se convertissent à la re-

In the same way, when that great war broke out, in which the emperor attempted to subjugate to the true faith the consciences of German Protestants, Richelieu stood forward as their protector; he endeavoured from the beginning to save their leader the Palatine;[104] and, failing in that, he concluded in their favour an alliance with Gustavus Adolphus,[105] the ablest military commander the Reformers had then produced. Nor did he stop there. After the death of Gustavus, he, seeing that the Protestants were thus deprived of their great leader, made still more vigorous efforts in their favour.[106] He intrigued for them in foreign courts; he opened negotiations in their behalf; and eventually he organized for their protection a public confederacy, in which all ecclesiastical considerations were set at defiance. This league, which formed an important precedent in the international polity of Europe, was not only contracted by Richelieu with the two most powerful enemies of his own church, but it was, from its tenor, what Sismondi emphatically calls a 'Protestant confederation,' —a Protestant confederation, he says, between France, England, and Holland.[107]

ligion catholique, s'ils vouloient demeurer dans l'alliance de France.' *Mém. du Cardinal de Retz*, vol. i. p. 39. This, I suppose, is the original authority for the statement in the *Biog. Univ.* vol. xiv. p. 440; though, as is too often the case in that otherwise valuable work, the writer has omitted to indicate the source of his information.

104 In 1626, he attempted to form a league 'en faveur du Palatin.' *Sismondi, Hist. des Français*, vol. xxii. p. 576. Sismondi seems not quite certain as to the sincerity of his proposal; but as to this there can, I think, be little doubt; for it appears from his own memoirs, that even in 1624 he had in view the recovery of the Palatinate. *Mém. de Richelieu*, vol. ii. p. 405; and again in 1625, p. 468.

105 *Sismondi*, vol. xxiii. p. 173; *Capefigue's Richelieu*, vol. i. p. 415; *Le Vassor, Hist. de Louis XIII*, vol. vi. pp. 12, 600; and at p. 489: 'Le roi de Suède qui comptoit uniquement sur le cardinal.'

106 Compare *Mém. de Montglat*, vol. i. pp. 74, 75, vol. ii. pp. 92, 93, with *Mém. de Fontenay Mareuil*, vol. ii. p. 198; and *Howell's Letters*, p. 247. The different views which occurred to his fertile mind in consequence of the death of Gustavus, are strikingly summed up in *Mém. de Richelieu*, vol. vii. pp. 272-277. On his subsequent pecuniary advances, see vol. ix. p. 395.

107 In 1633, 'les ambassadeurs de France, d'Angleterre et de Hollande mirent à profit le repos de l'hiver pour ressorrer la confédération protestante.' *Sismondi, Hist. des Français*, vol. xxiii. p. 221. Compare, in *Whitelocke's Swedish Embassy*, vol. i. p. 275, the remark made twenty years later by Christina, daughter of Gustavus, on the union with 'papists.'

These things alone would have made the administration of Richelieu a great epoch in the history of European civilization. For his government affords the first example of an eminent Catholic statesman systematically disregarding ecclesiastical interests, and showing that disregard in the whole scheme of his foreign, as well as of his domestic, policy. Some instances, indeed, approaching to this, may be found, at an earlier period, among the petty rulers of Italian states; but, even there, such attempts had never been successful; they had never been continued for any length of time, nor had they been carried out on a scale large enough to raise them to the dignity of international precedents. The peculiar glory of Richelieu is, that his foreign policy was, not occasionally, but invariably, governed by temporal considerations; nor do I believe that, during the long tenure of his power, there is to be found the least proof of his regard for those theological interests, the promotion of which had long been looked upon as a matter of paramount importance. By thus steadily subordinating the church to the state; by enforcing the principle of this subordination, on a large scale, with great ability, and with unvarying success, he laid the foundation of that purely secular polity, the consolidation of which has, since his death, been the aim of all the best European diplomatists. The result was a most salutary change; which had been for some time preparing, but which, under him, was first completed. For, by the introduction of this system, an end was put to religious wars; and the chances of peace were increased, by thus removing one of the causes to which the interruption of peace had often been owing.[108] At the same time, there was pre-

[108] This change may be illustrated by comparing the work of Grotius with that of Vattel. These two eminent men are still respected, as the most authoritative expounders of international law; but there is this important difference between them, that Vattel wrote more than a century after Grotius, and when the secular principles enforced by Richelieu had penetrated the minds even of common politicians. Therefore, Vattel says (*Le Droit des Gens*, vol. i. pp. 379, 380): 'On demande s'il est permis de faire alliance avec une nation qui ne professe pas la même religion? Si les traités faits avec les ennemis de la foi sont valides? Grotius a traité la question assez au long. Cette discussion pouvait être nécessaire dans un temps où la

pared the way for that final separation of theology from politics, which it will be the business of future generations fully to achieve. How great a step had been taken in this direction, appears from the facility with which the operations of Richelieu were continued by men every way his inferiors. Less than two years after his death, there was assembled the Congress of Westphalia;[109] the members of which concluded that celebrated peace, which is remarkable, as being the first comprehensive attempt to adjust the conflicting interests of the leading European countries.[110] In this important treaty, ecclesiastical interests were altogether disregarded;[111] and the contracting parties, instead of, as heretofore, depriving each other of their possessions, took the bolder course of indemnifying themselves at the expense of the church, and did not hesitate to seize her revenues, and secularize several of her bishoprics.[112] From this grievous insult, which became a

fureur des partis obscurcissait encore des principes qu'elle avait long-temps fait oublier, osons croire qu'elle serait superflue dans notre siècle. La loi naturelle seule régit les traités des nations; la différence de religion y est absolument étrangère.' See also p. 318, and vol. ii. p. 151. On the other hand, Grotius opposes alliances between nations of different religion, and says, that nothing can justify them except 'une extrême nécessité. . . . . Car il faut chercher premièrement le règne céleste, c'est à dire penser avant toutes choses à la propagation de l'évangile.' And he further recommends that princes should follow the advice given on this subject by Foulques, Archbishop of Rheims! *Grotius, le Droit de la Guerre et de la Paix*, livre ii. chap. xv. sec. xi. vol. i. pp. 485, 486, edit. Barbeyrac, Amsterdam, 1724, 4to: a passage the more instructive, because Grotius was a man of great genius and great humanity. On religious wars, as naturally recognized in barbarous times, see the curious and important work, *Institutes of Timour*, pp. 141, 333, 335.

109 'Le Congrès de Westphalie s'ouvrit le 10 avril 1643.' *Lavallée, Hist. des Français*, vol. iii. p. 156. Its two great divisions at Munster and Osnabruck, were formed in March 1644. *Flassan, Hist. de la Diplomatie*, vol. iii. p. 110. Richelieu died in December 1642. *Biog. Univ.* vol. xxxviii. p. 28.

110 'Les règnes de Charles-Quint et de Henri IV font époque pour certaines parties du droit international; mais le point de départ le plus saillant, c'est la paix de Westphalie.' *Eschbach, Introduc. à l'Etude du Droit*, Paris, 1846, p. 92. Compare the remarks on Mably, in *Biog. Univ.* vol. xxvi. p. 7, and *Sismondi, Hist. des Français*, vol. xxiv. p. 179: 'base au droit public de l'Europe.'

111 Compare the indignation of the pope at this treaty (*Vattel, le Droit des Gens*, vol. ii. p. 28), with *Ranke's Päpste*, vol. ii. p. 576: 'Das religiöse Element ist zurückgetreten; die politischen Rücksichten beherrschen die Welt:' a summary of the general state of affairs.

112 'La France obtint, par ce traité, en indemnité la souveraineté des trois

precedent in the public law of Europe, the spiritual power has never recovered: and it is remarked by a very competent authority, that, since that period, diplomatists have, in their official acts, neglected religious interests, and have preferred the advocacy of matters relating to the commerce and colonies of their respective countries.[113] The truth of this observation is confirmed by the interesting fact, that the Thirty Years' War, to which this same treaty put an end, is the last great religious war which has ever been waged;[114] no civilized people, during two centuries, having thought it worth while to peril their own safety in order to disturb the belief of their neighbours. This, indeed, is but a part of that vast secular movement, by which superstition has been weakened, and the civilization of Europe secured. Without, however, discussing that subject, I will now endeavour to show how the policy of Richelieu, in regard to the French Protestant church, corresponded with his policy in regard to the French Catholic church; so that, in both departments, this great statesman, aided by that progress of knowledge for which his age was remarkable, was able to struggle with prejudices from which men, slowly, and with infinite difficulty, were attempting to emerge.

The treatment of the French Protestants by Richelieu is, undoubtedly, one of the most honourable parts of his system; and in it, as in other liberal measures, he was

évêchés, Metz, Toul et Verdun, ainsi que celle d'Alsace. La satisfaction ou indemnité des autres parties intéressées fut convenue, en grande partie, aux dépens de l'église, et moyennant la sécularisation de plusieurs évêchés et bénéfices ecclésiastiques.' *Koch, Tableau des Révolutions*, vol. i. p. 328.

[113] Dr. Vaughan (*Protectorate of Cromwell*, vol. i. p. civ.) says: 'It is a leading fact, also, in the history of modern Europe, that, from the peace of Westphalia, in 1648, religion, as the great object of negotiation, began every where to give place to questions relating to colonies and commerce.' Charles Butler observed, that this treaty 'considerably lessened the influence of religion on politics.' *Butler's Reminiscences*, vol. i. p. 181.

[114] The fact of the Thirty Years' War being a religious contest, formed the basis of one of the charges which the church-party brought against Richelieu; and an author, who wrote in 1634, 'montroit bien au long que l'alliance du roy de France avec les protestants étoit contraire aux intérêts de la religion catholique; parce que la guerre des Provinces Unies, et celle d'Allemagne étoient des guerres de religion.' *Benoist, Hist. de l'Edit de Nantes*, vol. ii. p. 536.

assisted by the course of preceding events. His administration, taken in connexion with that of Henry IV. and the queen-regent, presents the noble spectacle of a toleration far more complete than any which had then been seen in Catholic Europe. While in other Christian countries, men were being incessantly persecuted, simply because they held opinions different from those professed by the established clergy, France refused to follow the general example, and protected those heretics whom the church was eager to punish. Indeed, not only were they protected, but, when they possessed abilities, they were openly rewarded. In addition to their appointments to civil offices, many of them were advanced to high military posts; and Europe beheld, with astonishment, the armies of the king of France led by heretical generals. Rohan, Lesdiguières, Chatillon, La Force, Bernard de Weimar, were among the most celebrated of the military leaders employed by Louis XIII.; and all of them were Protestants, as also were some younger, but distinguished, officers, such as Gassion, Rantzau, Schomberg, and Turenne. For now, nothing was beyond the reach of men who, half a century earlier, would, on account of their heresies, have been persecuted to the death. Shortly before the accession of Louis XIII., Lesdiguières, the ablest general among the French Protestants, was made marshal of France.[115] Fourteen years later, the same high dignity was conferred upon two other Protestants, Chatillon and La Force; the former of whom is said to have been the most influential of the schismatics.[116] Both these appointments were in 1622;[117] and, in 1634, still greater scandal was caused by the elevation

[115] According to a contemporary, he received this appointment without having asked for it: 'sans être à la cour ni l'avoir demandé.' *Mém. de Fontenay, Mareuil*, vol. i. p. 70. In 1622, even the lieutenants of Lesdiguières were Protestants: 'ses lieutenants, qui estant tous huguenots.' *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 538. These memoirs are very valuable in regard to political and military matters; their author having played a conspicuous part in the transactions which he describes.

[116] 'Il n'y avoit personne dans le parti huguenot si considérable que lui.' *Tallemant des Réaux, Historiettes*, vol. v. p. 204.

[117] *Biog. Univ.* vol. xv. p. 247; *Benoist, Hist. de l'Edit de Nantes*, vol. ii. p. 400.

of Sully, who, notwithstanding his notorious heresy, also received the staff of marshal of France.[118] This was the work of Richelieu, and it gave serious offence to the friends of the church; but the great statesman paid so little attention to their clamour, that, after the civil war was concluded, he took another step equally obnoxious. The Duke de Rohan was the most active of all the enemies of the established church, and was looked up to by the Protestants as the main support of their party. He had taken up arms in their favour, and, declining to abandon his religion, had, by the fate of war, been driven from France. But Richelieu, who was acquainted with his ability, cared little about his opinions. He, therefore, recalled him from exile, employed him in a negotiation with Switzerland, and sent him on foreign service, as commander of one of the armies of the king of France.[119]

Such were the tendencies which characterized this new state of things. It is hardly necessary to observe how beneficial this great change must have been; since, by it, men were encouraged to look to their country as the first consideration, and, discarding their old disputes, Catholic soldiers were taught to obey heretical generals, and follow their standards to victory. In addition to this, the mere social amalgamation, arising from the professors of different creeds mixing in the same camp, and fighting under the same banner, must have still further aided to disarm the mind, partly by merging theological feuds in a common, and yet a temporal, object, and partly by showing to each sect, that their religious opponents were not entirely bereft of human virtue; that they still retained some of the qualities of men; and that it was even possible to combine the errors of heresy with all the capabilities of a good and competent citizen.[120]

118 Additions to *Sully, Œconomies Royales*, vol. viii. p. 496; *Smedley's Hist. of the Reformed Religion in France*, vol. iii. p. 204.

119 *Capefigue's Richelieu*, vol. ii. p. 57; *Mém. de Rohan*, vol. i. pp. 66, 69; *Mém. de Bassompierre*, vol. iii. pp. 324, 348; *Mém. de Montglat*, vol. i. p. 86; *Le Vassor, Hist. de Louis XIII.* vol. vii. p. 157, vol. viii. p. 284. This great rise in the fortunes of Rohan took place at different times between 1632 and 1635.

120 Late in the sixteenth century, Duplessis Mornay had to state, what

But, while the hateful animosities by which France had long been distracted, were, under the policy of Richelieu, gradually subsiding, it is singular to observe that, though the prejudices of the Catholics obviously diminished, those of the Protestants seemed, for a time, to retain all their activity. It is, indeed, a striking proof of the perversity and pertinacity of such feelings, that it was precisely in the country, and at the period, when the Protestants were best treated, that they displayed most turbulence. And, in this, as in all such cases, the cause principally at work was the influence of that class to which circumstances, I will now explain, had secured a temporary ascendency.

For, the diminution of the theological spirit had effected in the Protestants a remarkable but a very natural result. The increasing toleration of the French government had laid open to their leaders prizes which before they could never have obtained. As long as all offices were refused to the Protestant nobles, it was natural that they should cling with the greater zeal to their own party, by whom alone their virtues were acknowledged. But, when the principle was once recognized, that the state would reward men for their abilities, without regard to their religion, there was introduced into every sect a new element of discord. The leaders of the Reformers could not fail to feel some gratitude, or, at all events, some interest for the government which employed them; and the influence of temporal considerations being thus strengthened, the influence of religious ties must have been weakened. It is impossible that opposite feelings should be paramount, at the same moment, in the same mind. The further men extend their view, the less they care for each of the details of which the view is composed. Patriotism is a corrective of superstition; and the more we feel for our country, the less we feel for our sect. Thus it is, that in

was then considered by the majority of men an incredible paradox, 'que ce n'estoit pas chose incompatible d'estre bon hugenot et bon Françoys tout ensemble.' *Duplessis, Mém. et Correspond.* vol. i. p. 146. Compare p. 213, vol. ii. pp. 45, 46, 77, 677, vol. vii. p. 294, vol. xi. pp. 31, 68; interesting passages for the history of opinions in France.

the progress of civilization, the scope of the intellect is widened; its horizon is enlarged; its sympathies are multiplied; and, as the range of its excursions is increased, the tenacity of its grasp is slackened, until, at length, it begins to perceive that the infinite variety of circumstances necessarily causes an infinite variety of opinions; that a creed, which is good and natural for one man, may be bad and unnatural for another; and that, so far from interfering with the march of religious convictions, we should be content to look into ourselves, search our own hearts, purge our own souls, soften the evil of our own passions, and extirpate that insolent and intolerant spirit, which is at once the cause and the effect of all theological controversy.

It was in this direction, that a prodigious step was taken by the French in the first half of the seventeenth century. Unfortunately, however, the advantages which arose were accompanied by serious drawbacks. From the introduction of temporal considerations among the Protestant leaders, there occurred two results of considerable importance. The first result was, that many of the Protestants changed their religion. Before the Edict of Nantes, they had been constantly persecuted, and had, as constantly, increased.[121] But, under the tolerant policy of Henry IV. and Louis XIII., they continued to diminish.[122] Indeed, this was the natural consequence of the growth of that secular spirit which, in every country, has assuaged religious animosities. For, by the action of that spirit, the influence of social and political views began to outweigh those theological views to which the minds of

[121] See *Benoist, Hist. de l'Edit de Nantes*, vol. i. pp. 10, 14, 18; *De Thou, Hist. Univ.* vol. iii. pp. 181, 242, 357, 358, 543, 558, vol. iv. p. 155; *Relat. des Ambassadeurs Vénitiens*, vol. i. pp. 412, 536, vol. ii. pp. 66, 74; *Ranke's Civil Wars in France*, vol. i. pp. 279, 280, vol. ii. p. 94.

[122] Compare *Hallam's Const. Hist.* vol. i. p. 173, with *Ranke, die Römischen Päpste*, vol. ii. pp. 477-479. In spite of the increase of population, the Protestants diminished absolutely, as well as relatively, to the Catholics. In 1598 they had 760 churches; in 1619 only 700. *Smedley's Hist. of the Reformed Religion in France*, vol. iii. pp. 46, 145. De Thou, in the preface to his History (vol. i. p. 320), observes, that the Protestants had increased during the wars carried on against them, but 'diminuoient en nombre et en crédit pendant la paix.'

men had long been confined. As these temporal ties increased in strength, there was, of course, generated among the rival factions an increased tendency to assimilate; while, as the Catholics were not only much more numerous, but, in every respect, more influential, than their opponents, they reaped the benefit of this movement, and gradually drew over to their side many of their former enemies. That this absorption of the smaller sect into the larger, is due to the cause I have mentioned, is rendered still more evident by the interesting fact, that the change began among the heads of the party; and that it was not the inferior Protestants who first abandoned their leaders, but it was rather the leaders who deserted their followers. This was because the leaders, being more educated than the great body of the people, were more susceptible to the sceptical movement, and therefore set the example of an indifference to disputes which still engrossed the popular mind. As soon as this indifference had reached a certain point, the attractions offered by the conciliating policy of Louis XIII. became irresistible; and the Protestant nobles, in particular, being most exposed to political temptations, began to alienate themselves from their own party, in order to form an alliance with a court which showed itself ready to reward their merits.

It is, of course, impossible to fix the exact period at which this important change took place.[123] But we may say with certainty, that very early in the reign of Louis XIII. many of the Protestant nobles cared nothing for their religion, while the remainder of them ceased to feel that interest in it which they had formerly expressed. Indeed, some of the most eminent of them openly

[123] M. Ranke has noticed how the French Protestant nobles fell off from their party; but he does not seem aware of the remote causes of what he deems a sudden apostasy: 'In dem nemlichen Momente trat nun auch die grosse Wendung der Dinge in Frankreich ein. Fragen wir, woher im Jahr 1621 die Verluste des Protestantismus hauptsächlich kamen, so war es die Entzweiung derselben, der Abfall des Adels.' *Ranke, die Päpste*, vol. ii. p. 476. Compare a curious passage in *Benoist, Hist. de l'Edit de Nantes*, vol. ii. p. 33, from which it appears that in 1611 the French Protestants were breaking into three parties, one of which consisted of 'les seigneurs d'éminente qualité.'

abandoned their creed, and joined that very church which they had been taught to abhor as the man of sin, and the whore of Babylon. The Duke de Lesdiguières, the greatest of all the Protestant generals,[124] became a Catholic, and, as a reward for his conversion, was made constable of France.[125] The Duke de la Tremouille adopted the same course;[126] as also did the Duke de la Meilleraye,[127] the Duke de Bouillon,[128] and a few years later the Marquis de Montausier.[129] These illustrious nobles were among the most powerful of the members of the Reformed communion; but they quitted it without compunction, sacrificing their old associations in favour of the opinions professed by the state. Among the other men of high rank, who still remained nominally connected with the French Protestants, we find a similar spirit. We find them lukewarm respecting matters, for which, if they had been born fifty years earlier, they would have laid down their lives. The Maréchal de Bouillon, who professed himself to be a Protestant, was unwilling to change his religion; but he so comported himself as to show that he considered its interests as subordinate to political consi-

[124] 'Le plus illustre guerrier du parti protestant.' *Sismondi, Hist. des Français*, vol. xxii. p. 505. In the contemporary despatches of the Spanish ambassador, he is called 'l'un des huguenots les plus marquans, homme d'un grand poids, et d'un grand crédit.' *Capefigue's Richelieu*, vol. i. p. 60. His principal influence was in Dauphiné. *Benoist, Hist. de l'Edit de Nantes*, vol. i. p. 236.

[125] *Biog. Univ.* vol. xxiv. p. 293; and a dry remark on his 'conversion' in *Mém de Richelieu*, vol. ii. p. 215, which may be compared with *Œuvres de Voltaire*, vol. xviii. p. 132, and *Bazin, Hist. de Louis XIII.* vol. ii. pp. 195-197. Rohan (*Mém.* vol. i. p. 228) plainly says, 'le duc de Lesdiguières, ayant hardé sa religion pour la charge de connétable de France.' See also p. 91, and *Mém de Montglat*, vol. i. p. 37.

[126] *Sismondi, Hist. des Français*, vol. xxiii. p. 67; *Le Vassor, Hist. de Louis XIII* vol. v. pp. 809, 810, 865.

[127] *Tallemant des Réaux, Historiettes*, vol. iii. p. 43. La Meilleraye was also a duke; and what is far more in his favour, he was a friend of Descartes. *Biog. Univ.* vol. xxviii. pp. 152, 153.

[128] Sismondi (*Hist. des Français*, vol. xxiii. p. 27) says, 'il abjura en 1637;' but according to Benoist (*Hist. de l'Edit de Nantes*, vol. ii. p. 550) it was in 1635.

[129] *Tallemant des Réaux, Historiettes*, vol. iii. p. 245. Des Réaux, who saw these changes constantly happening, simply observes, 'notre marquis, voyant que sa religion étoit un obstacle à son dessein, en change.'

derations.[130] A similar remark has been made by the French historians concerning the Duke de Sully and the Marquis de Chatillon, both of whom, though they were members of the Reformed church, displayed a marked indifference to those theological interests which had formerly been objects of supreme importance.[131] The result was, that when, in 1621, the Protestants began their civil war against the government, it was found that of all their great leaders, two only, Rohan and his brother Soubise, were prepared to risk their lives in support of their religion.[132]

Thus it was, that the first great consequence of the tolerating policy of the French government was to deprive the Protestants of the support of their former leaders, and, in several instances, even to turn their sympathies on the side of the Catholic church. But the other consequence, to which I have alluded, was one of far greater moment. The growing indifference of the higher classes of Protestants threw the management of their party

[130] 'Mettoit la politique avant la religion.' *Sismondi, Hist. des Français*, vol. xxii. p. 264. This was Henry Bouillon, whom some writers have confused with Frederick Bouillon. Both of them were dukes; but Henry, who was the father, and who did not actually change his religion, was the marshal. The following notices of him will more than confirm the remark made by Sismondi: *Mém. de Bassompierre*, vol. i. p. 455; *Smedley's Reformed Religion in France*, vol. iii. p. 99; *Capefigue's Richelieu*, vol. i. p. 107; *Le Vassor, Hist. de Louis XIII.* vol. ii. pp. 420, 467, 664, vol. iv. p. 519; *Mém. de Richelieu*, vol. i. p. 104, vol. ii. p. 259; *Mém. de Duplessis Mornay*, vol. xi. p. 450, vol. xii. p. 79, 182, 263, 287, 345, 361, 412, 505.

[131] *Benoist, Hist. de l'Edit de Nantes*, vol. i. pp. 121, 298, vol. ii. pp. 5, 180, 267, 341; *Capefigue's Richelieu*, vol. i. p. 267; *Felice's Hist. of the Protestants of France*, p. 206. Sully advised Henry IV., on mere political considerations, to become a Catholic; and there were strong, but I believe unfounded rumours, that he himself intended taking the same course. See *Sully, Œconomies Royales*, vol. ii. p. 81, vol. vii. pp. 362, 363.

[132] 'There were, among all the leaders, but the Duke de Rohan and his brother the Duke de Soubise, who showed themselves disposed to throw their whole fortunes into the new wars of religion.' *Felice's Hist.* of the *Protestants of France*, p. 241. For this, M. Felice, as usual, quotes no authority; but Rohan himself says: 'C'est ce qui s'est passé en cette seconde guerre (1626), où Rohan et Soubise ont eu pour contraires tous les grands de la religion de France.' *Mém. de Rohan*, vol. i. p. 278. Rohan claims great merit for his religious sincerity; though, from a passage in *Mém. de Fontenay Mareuil*, vol. i. p. 418, and another in *Benoist, Hist. de l'Edit de Nantes*, vol. ii. p. 173, one may be allowed to doubt if he were so single-minded as is commonly supposed.

into the hands of the clergy. The post, which was deserted by the secular leaders, was naturally seized by the spiritual leaders. And as, in every sect, the clergy, as a body, have always been remarkable for their intolerance of opinions different to their own, it followed, that this change infused into the now mutilated ranks of the Protestants an acrimony not inferior to that of the worst times of the sixteenth century.[133] Hence it was, that by a singular, but perfectly natural combination, the Protestants, who professed to take their stand on the right of private judgment, became, early in the seventeenth century, more intolerant than the Catholics, who based their religion on the dictates of an infallible church.

This is one of the many instances which show how superficial is the opinion of those speculative writers, who believe that the Protestant religion is necessarily more liberal than the Catholic. If those who adopt this view had taken the pains to study the history of Europe in its original sources, they would have learned, that the liberality of every sect depends, not at all on its avowed tenets, but on the circumstances in which it is placed, and on the amount of authority possessed by its priesthood. The Protestant religion is, for the most part more tolerant than the Catholic, simply because the events which have given rise to Protestantism have at the same time increased the play of the intellect, and therefore lessened the power of the clergy. But whoever has read the works of the great Calvinist divines, and above all, whoever has studied their history, must know, that in the sixteenth and seven-

[133] Sismondi notices this remarkable change; though he places it a few years earlier than the contemporary writers do: 'Depuis que les grands seigneurs s'étoient éloignés des églises, c'étoient les ministres qui étoient devenus les chefs, les représentans et les démagogues des huguenots; et ils apportoient dans leurs délibérations cette âpreté et cette inflexibilité théologiques qui semblent caractériser les prêtres de toutes les religions, et qui donnent à leurs haines une amertume plus offensante.' *Sismondi, Hist. des Français*, vol. xxii. p. 87. Compare p. 478. In 1621, 'Rohan lui-même voyait continuellement ses opérations contrariées par le conseil-général des églises.' *Lavallée, Hist. des Français*, vol. iii. p. 88. In the same year, M. Capefigue (*Richelieu*, vol. i. p. 271) says, 'Le parti modéré cessa d'avoir action sur le prêche; la direction des forces huguenotes était passée dans les mains des ardents, conduits par les ministres.'

teenth centuries, the desire of persecuting their opponents burnt as hotly among them, as it did among any of the Catholics even in the worst days of the papal dominion. This is a mere matter of fact, of which any one may satisfy himself, by consulting the original documents of those times. And even now, there is more superstition, more bigotry, and less of the charity of real religion, among the lower order of Scotch Protestants, than there is among the lower order of French Catholics. Yet for one intolerant passage in Protestant theology, it would be easy to point out twenty in Catholic theology. The truth, however, is, that the actions of men are governed, not by dogmas, and text-books, and rubrics, but by the opinions and habits of their contemporaries, by the general spirit of their age, and by the character of those classes who are in the ascendant. This seems to be the origin of that difference between religious theory and religious practice, of which theologians greatly complain as a stumbling-block and an evil. For, religious theories being preserved in books, in a doctrinal and dogmatic form, remain a perpetual witness, and, therefore, cannot be changed without incurring the obvious charge of inconsistency, or of heresy. But the practical part of every religion, its moral, political, and social workings, embrace such an immense variety of interests, and have to do with such complicated and shifting agencies, that it is hopeless to fix them by formularies: they, even in the most rigid systems, are left, in a great measure, to private discretion; and, being almost entirely unwritten, they lack those precautions by which the permanence of dogmas is effectually secured.[134] Hence it is, that while

[134] The church of Rome has always seen this, and on that account has been, and still is, very pliant in regard to morals, and very inflexible in regard to dogmas; a striking proof of the great sagacity with which her affairs are administered. In *Blanco White's Evidence against Catholicism*, p. 48, and in *Parr's Works*, vol. vii. pp. 454, 455, there is an unfavourable and, indeed, an unjust notice of this peculiarity, which, though strongly marked in the Romish church, is by no means confined to it, but is found in every religious sect which is regularly organized. Locke, in his *Letters on Toleration*, observes, that the clergy are naturally more eager against error than against vice (*Works*, vol. v. pp. 6, 7, 241); and their preference of dogmas to moral truths is also mentioned by M. C. Comte, *Traité de Legislat.* vol. i. p. 245; and

the religious doctrines professed by a people in their national creed are no criterion of their civilization, their religious practice is, on the other hand, so pliant and so capable of adaptation to social wants, that it forms one of the best standards by which the spirit of any age can be measured.

It is on account of these things, that we ought not to be surprised that, during many years, the French Protestants, who affected to appeal to the right of private judgment, were more intolerant of the exercise of that judgment by their adversaries than were the Catholics; although the Catholics, by recognizing an infallible church, ought, in consistency, to be superstitious, and may be said to inherit intolerance as their natural birthright.[135] Thus, while the Catholics were theoretically more bigoted than the Protestants, the Protestants became practically more bigoted than the Catholics. The Protestants continued to insist upon that right of private judgment in religion, which the Catholics continued to deny. Yet, such was the force of circumstances, that each sect, in its practice, contradicted its own dogma, and acted as if it had embraced the dogma of its opponents. The cause of this change was very simple. Among the French, the theological spirit, as we have already seen, was decaying; and the decline of the influence of the clergy was, as invariably happens, accompanied by an increase of toleration. But, among the French Protestants, this partial diminution of the theological spirit had produced different consequences; because it had brought about a change of leaders, which threw the

is alluded to by Kant in his comparison of 'ein moralischer Katechismus' with a 'Religionskatechismus.' *Die Metaphysik der Sitten (Ethische Methodenlehre)*, in *Kant's Werke*, vol. v. p. 321. Compare *Temple's Observations upon the United Provinces*, in *Works of Sir W. Temple*, vol. i. p. 154, with the strict adhesion to formularies noticed in *Ward's Ideal Church*, p. 358; and analogous cases in *Mill's Hist. of India*, vol. i. pp. 399, 400, and in *Wilkinson's Ancient Egyptians*, vol. iii. p. 87; also *Combe's Notes on the United States*, vol. iii. pp. 256, 257.

[135] Blanco White (*Evidence against Catholicism*, p. vi.) harshly says, '*sincere* Roman Catholics cannot conscientiously be tolerant.' But he is certainly mistaken; for the question is one, not of sincerity, but of consistency. A sincere Roman Catholic may be, and often is, conscientiously tolerant; a consistent Roman Catholic, never.

command into the hands of the clergy, and, by increasing their power, provoked a reaction, and revived those very feelings to the decay of which the reaction owed its origin. This seems to explain how it is, that a religion, which is not protected by the government, usually displays greater energy and greater vitality than one which is so protected. In the progress of society, the theological spirit first declines among the most educated classes; and then it is that the government can step in, as it does in England, and, controlling the clergy, make the church a creature of the state; thus weakening the ecclesiastical element by tempering it with secular considerations. But, when the state refuses to do this, the reins of power, as they fall from the hands of the upper classes, are seized by the clergy, and there arises a state of things of which the French Protestants in the seventeenth century, and the Irish Catholics in our own time, form the best illustration. In such cases, it will always happen, that the religion which is tolerated by the government, though not fully recognized by it, will the longest retain its vitality; because its priesthood, neglected by the state, must cling the closer to the people, in whom alone is the source of their power.[136] On the other hand, in a religion which is favoured and richly endowed by the state, the union between the priesthood and inferior laity will be less intimate; the clergy will look to the government as well as to the people; and the interference of political views, of considerations of temporal expediency, and if it may be added without irreverence, the hopes of promotion, will secularize the ecclesiastical spirit,[137] and, according to the process I have already traced, will thus hasten the march of toleration.

[136] We also see this very clearly in England, where the dissenting clergy have much more influence among their hearers than the clergy of the Establishment have among theirs. This has often been noticed by impartial observers, and we are now possessed of statistical proof that 'the great body of Protestant dissenters are more assiduous' in attending religious worship than churchmen are. See a valuable essay by Mr. Mann *On the Statistical Position of Religious Bodies in England and Wales*, in *Journal of Statist. Soc.* vol. xviii. p. 152.

[137] Respecting the working of this in England, there are some shrewd remarks made by Le Blanc in his *Lettres d'un Français*, vol. i. pp. 267, 268;

These generalizations, which account for a great part of the present superstition of the Irish Catholics, will also account for the former superstition of the French Protestants. In both cases, the government disdaining the supervision of an heretical religion, allowed supreme authority to fall into the hands of the priesthood, who stimulated the bigotry of men, and encouraged them in a hatred of their opponents. What the results of this are in Ireland, is best known to those of our statesmen, who, with unusual candour, have declared Ireland to be their greatest difficulty. What the results were in France, we will now endeavour to ascertain.

The conciliating spirit of the French government having drawn over to its side some of the most eminent of the French Protestants, and having disarmed the hostility of others, the leadership of the party fell, as we have already seen, into the hands of those inferior men, who displayed in their new position the intolerance characteristic of their order. Without pretending to write a history of the odious feuds that now arose, I will lay before the reader some evidence of their increasing bitterness; and I will point out a few of the steps by which the angry feelings of religious controversy became so inflamed, that at length they kindled a civil war, which nothing but the improved temper of the Catholics prevented from being as sanguinary as were the horrible struggles of the sixteenth century. For, when the French Protestants became governed by men whose professional habits made them consider heresy to be the greatest of crimes, there naturally sprung up a missionary and proselytizing spirit, which induced them to interfere with the religion of the Catholics, and, under the old pretence of turning them from the error of their ways, revived those animosities which the progress of knowledge tended to appease. And as, under such guidance,

which may be compared with *Lord Holland's Mem. of the Whig Party*, vol. ii. p. 253, where it is suggested, that in the case of complete emancipation of the Catholics, 'eligibility to worldly honours and profits would somewhat abate the fever of religious zeal.' On this, there are observations worth attending to in *Lord Cloncurry's Recollections*, Dublin, 1849, pp. 342, 343.

these feelings quickly increased, the Protestants soon learnt to despise that great Edict of Nantes, by which their liberties were secured; and they embarked in a dangerous contest, in which their object was, not to protect their own religion, but to weaken the religion of that very party to whom they owed a toleration, which had been reluctantly conceded by the prejudices of the age.

It was stipulated, in the Edict of Nantes, that the Protestants should enjoy the full exercise of their religion; and this right they continued to possess until the reign of Louis XIV. To this there were added several other privileges, such as no Catholic Government, except that of France, would then have granted to its heretical subjects. But these things did not satisfy the desires of the Protestant clergy. They were not content to exercise their own religion, unless they could also trouble the religion of others. Their first step was, to call upon the government to limit the performance of those rights which the French Catholics had long revered as emblems of the national faith. For this purpose, directly after the death of Henry IV. they held a great assembly at Saumur, in which they formally demanded that no Catholic processions should be allowed in any town, place, or castle occupied by the Protestants.[138] As the government did not seem inclined to countenance this monstrous pretension, these intolerant sectaries took the law into their own hands. They not only attacked the Catholic processions wherever they met them, but they subjected the priests to personal insults, and even endeavoured to prevent them from administering the sacrament to the sick. If a Catholic clergyman was engaged in burying the dead, the Protestants were sure to be present, interrupting the funeral, turning the ceremonies into ridicule, and attempting, by their clamour, to deaden the voice of the minister, so that the service performed in the church should not be heard.[139] Nor did they always con-

[138] 'Les processions catholiques seraient interdites dans toutes les places, villes et châteaux occupés par ceux de la religion.' *Capefigue's Richelieu*, vol. i. p. 39.

[139] Of these facts we have the most unequivocal proof; for they were not only stated by the Catholics in 1623, but they are recorded, without being

fine themselves even to such demonstrations as these. For, certain towns having been, perhaps imprudently, placed under their control, they exercised their authority in them with the most wanton insolence. At La Rochelle, which for importance was the second city in the kingdom, they would not permit the Catholics to have even a single church in which to celebrate what for centuries had been the sole religion of France, and was still the religion of an enormous majority of Frenchmen.[140] This, however, only formed part of a system, by which the Protestant clergy hoped to trample on the rights of their fellow-subjects. In 1619, they ordered in their general assembly at Loudon, that in none of the Protestant towns should there be a sermon preached by a Jesuit, or indeed by any ecclesiastical person commissioned by a bishop.[141] In another assembly, they forbade any Protestant even to be present at a baptism, or at a marriage, or at a funeral, if the ceremony was performed by a Catholic priest.[142] And, as if to cut off all hope of reconciliation, they not only vehemently opposed those intermarriages between the two parties, by which, in every Christian country, religious animosities have been softened, but they publicly declared, that they would withhold the sacrament from any parents whose children were married into a Catholic family.[143] Not, however, to accumulate unnecessary evidence, there

denied, by the Protestant historian Benoist: 'On y accusoit les Réformez d'injurier les prêtres, quand ils les voyoient passer; d'empêcher les processions des Catholiques; l'administration des sacremens aux malades; l'enterrement des morts avec les cérémonies accoutumées; . . . . que les Réformez s'étoient emparez des cloches en quelques lieux, et en d'autres se servoient de celles des Catholiques pour avertir de l'heure du prêche; qu'ils affectoient de faire du bruit autour des églises pendant le service; qu'ils tournoient en dérision les cérémonies de l'église romaine.' *Benoist, Hist. de l'Edit de Nantes*, vol. ii. pp. 433, 434; see also pp. 149, 150.

140 'On pouvait dire que La Rochelle était la capitale, le saint temple du calvinisme; car on ne voyait là aucune église, aucune cérémonie papiste.' *Capefigue's Richelieu*, vol. i. p. 342.

141 *Mém. de Richelieu*, vol. ii. p. 100. For other and similar evidence, see *Duplessis Mornay, Mémoires*, vol. xi. p. 244; *Sully, Œconomies Royales*, vol. vii. p. 164; *Benoist, Hist. de l'Edit de Nantes*, vol. ii. pp. 70, 233, 279.

142 *Quick's Synodicon in Gallia*, vol. ii. p. 196.

143 For a striking instance of the actual enforcement of this intolerant regulation, see *Quick's Synodicon in Gallia*, vol. ii. p. 344.

is one other circumstance worth relating, as a proof of the spirit with which these and similar regulations were enforced. When Louis XIII., in 1620, visited Pau, he was not only treated with indignity, as being an heretical prince, but he found that the Protestants had not left him a single church, not one place, in which the king of France, in his own territory, could perform those devotions which he believed necessary for his future salvation.[144]

This was the way in which the French Protestants, influenced by their new leaders, treated the first Catholic government which abstained from persecuting them; the first which not only allowed them the free exercise of their religion, but even advanced many of them to offices of trust and of honour.[145] All this, however, was only of a piece with the rest of their conduct. They, who in numbers and in intellect formed a miserable minority of the French nation, claimed a power which the majority had abandoned, and refused to concede to others the toleration they themselves enjoyed. Several persons, who had joined their party, now quitted it, and returned to the Catholic church; but for exercising this undoubted right, they were insulted by the Protestant clergy in the grossest manner, with every term of opprobrium and abuse.[146] For those who resisted their authority, no treatment was considered too severe. In 1612, Ferrier, a man of some reputation in his own day, having disobeyed their injunctions, was ordered to appear before one of their synods. The gist of his offence was, that he had spoken contemptuously of ecclesiastical assemblies; and to this there were, of course, added those accusations against his moral conduct, with which theologians often attempt to blacken

[144] *Bazin, Hist. de Louis XIII.* vol. ii. p. 124; *Mém. de Richelieu,* vol. ii. pp. 109, 110; *Felice's Hist. of the Protestants of France,* p. 238.

[145] In 1625, Howell writes that the Protestants had put up an inscription on the gates of Montauban, 'Roy sans foy, ville sans peur.' *Howell's Letters,* p. 178.

[146] Sometimes they were called dogs returning to the vomit of popery; sometimes they were swine wallowing in the mire of idolatry. *Quick's Synodicon in Gallia,* vol. i. pp. 385, 398.

the character of their opponents.[147] Readers of ecclesiastical history are too familiar with such charges to attach any importance to them; but as, in this case, the accused was tried by men who were at once his prosecutors, his enemies, and his judges, the result was easy to anticipate. In 1613 Ferrier was excommunicated, and the excommunication was publicly proclaimed in the church of Nîmes. In this sentence, which is still extant, he is declared by the clergy to be 'a scandalous man, a person incorrigible, impenitent, and ungovernable.' We, therefore, they add, 'in the name and power of our Lord Jesus Christ, by the conduct of the Holy Ghost, and with authority from the church, have cast, and do now cast and throw him out of the society of the faithful, that he may be delivered up unto Satan.'[148]

That he may be delivered up unto Satan! This was the penalty which a handful of clergymen, in a corner of France, thought they could inflict on a man who dared to despise their authority. In our time such an anathema would only excite derision;[149] but, early in the seventeenth century, the open promulgation of it was enough to ruin any private person against whom it might be directed. And they whose studies have enabled them to take the measure of the ecclesiastical spirit will easily believe that, in that age, the threat did not remain a dead letter. The people, inflamed by their clergy, rose against Ferrier, attacked his family, destroyed his property, sacked and

[147] It is observable, that on the first occasion (*Quick's Synodicon*, vol. i. p. 362) nothing is said of Ferrier's immorality; and on the next occasion (p. 449) the synod complains, among other things, that 'he hath most licentiously inveighed against, and satirically lampooned, the ecclesiastical assemblies.'

[148] See this frightful and impious document, in *Quick's Synodicon*, vol. i. pp. 448-450.

[149] The notion of theologians respecting excommunication may be seen in Mr. Palmer's entertaining book, *Treatise on the Church*, vol. i. pp. 64-67, vol. ii. pp. 299, 300; but the opinions of this engaging writer should be contrasted with the indignant language of Vattel, *Le Droit des Gens*, vol. i. pp. 177, 178. In England, the terrors of excommunication fell into contempt towards the end of the seventeenth century. See *Life of Archbishop Sharpe*, edited by Newcome, vol. i. p. 216: compare p. 363; and see the mournful remarks of Dr. Mosheim, in his *Eccles. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 79; and *Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs*, pp. 175, 176.

gutted his houses, and demanded with loud cries, that the 'traitor Judas' should be given up to them. The unhappy man, with the greatest difficulty, effected his escape; but though he saved his life by flying in the dead of the night, he was obliged to abandon for ever his native town, as he dared not return to a place where he had provoked so active and so implacable a party.[150]

Into other matters, and even into those connected with the ordinary functions of government, the Protestants carried the same spirit. Although they formed so small a section of the people, they attempted to control the administration of the crown, and, by the use of threats, turn all its acts to their own favour. They would not allow the state to determine what ecclesiastical councils it should recognize; they would not even permit the king to choose his own wife. In 1615, without the least pretence of complaint, they assembled in large numbers at Grenoble and at Nîmes.[151] The deputies of Grenoble insisted that government should refuse to acknowledge the Council of Trent;[152] and both assemblies ordered that the Protestants should prevent the marriage of Louis XIII. with a Spanish princess.[153] They laid similar claims to interfere with the disposal of civil and military offices. Shortly after the death of Henry IV., they, in an assembly at Saumur, insisted that Sully should be restored to some posts from which, in their opinion, he had been unjustly

[150] On the treatment of Ferrier, which excited great attention as indicating the extreme lengths to which the Protestants were prepared to go, see *Mém. de Richelieu*, vol. i. p. 177; *Mém. de Pontchartrain*, vol. ii. pp. 5, 6, 12, 29, 32; *Mém. de Duplessis Mornay*, vol. xii. pp. 317, 333, 341, 350, 389, 399, 430; *Felice's Hist. of the Protestants of France*, p. 235; *Biog. Univ.* vol. xiv. p. 440; *Tallemant des Réaux, Historiettes*, vol. v. pp. 48-54. Mr. Smedley, who refers to none of these authorities, except two passages in Duplessis, has given a garbled account of this riot. See his *History of the Reformed Religion in France*, vol. iii. pp. 119, 120.

[151] *Capefigue's Richelieu*, vol. i. p. 123.

[152] *Capefigue*, vol. i. p. 123; *Bazin, Hist. de Louis XIII*, vol. i. p. 364; *Benoist, Hist. de l'Edit de Nantes*, vol. ii. p. 183; *Mém. de Rohan*, vol. i. p. 130.

[153] *Capefigue's Richelieu*, vol. i. p. 124; *Mém. de Pontchartrain*, vol. ii. p. 100; *Le Vassor, Hist. de Louis XIII*, vol. ii. pp. 333, 334. The consequence was, that the king was obliged to send a powerful escort to protect his bride against his Protestant subjects. *Mém. de Richelieu*, vol. i. p. 274.

removed.[154] In 1619, another of their assemblies at Loudun declared, that as one of the Protestant councillors of the parliament of Paris had become a Catholic, he must be dismissed; and they demanded that, for the same reason, the government of Lectoure should be taken from Fontrailles, he also having adopted the not infrequent example of abandoning his sect in order to adopt a creed sanctioned by the state.[155]

By way of aiding all this, and with the view of exasperating still further religious animosities, the principal Protestant clergy put forth a series of works, which, for bitterness of feeling, have hardly ever been equalled, and which it would certainly be impossible to surpass. The intense hatred with which they regarded their Catholic countrymen, can only be fully estimated by those who have looked into the pamphlets written by the French Protestants during the first half of the seventeenth century, or who have read the laboured and formal treatises of such men as Chamier, Drelincourt, Moulin, Thomson, and Vignier. Without, however, pausing on these, it wil perhaps be thought sufficient if, for the sake of brevity, I follow the mere outline of political events. Great numbers of the Protestants had joined in the rebellion which, in 1615, was raised by Condé;[156] and, although they were then easily defeated, they seemed bent on trying the issue of a fresh struggle. In Béarn, where they were unusually numerous,[157] they, even during the reign of Henry IV., had

[154] *Capefigue's Richelieu*, vol. i. p. 38; *Benoist, Hist. de l'Edit de Nantes*, vol. ii. pp. 28, 29, 63.

[155] *Mém. de Fontenay Mareuil*, vol. i. p. 450; *Mém. de Bassompierre*, vol. ii. p. 161. See a similar instance, in the case of Berger, in *Benoist, Hist. de l'Edit de Nantes*, vol. ii. p. 136, whom the Protestants sought to deprive because 'il avoit quitté leur religion.'

[156] *Bazin, Hist. de Louis XIII*, vol. i. p. 381. Sismondi (*Hist. des Français*, vol. xxii. p. 349) says that they had no good reason for this; and it is certain that their privileges, so far from being diminished since the Edict of Nantes, had been confirmed and extended.

[157] M. Felice (*Hist. of the Protestants of France*, p. 237) says of Lower Navarre and Béarn, in 1617: 'Three-fourths of the population, some say nine-tenths, belonged to the reformed communion.' This is perhaps over-estimated; but we know, from De Thou, that they formed a majority in Béarn in 1566: 'Les Protestans y fussent en plus grand nombre que les Catholiques.' *De Thou, Hist. Univ.* vol. v. p. 187.

refused to tolerate the Catholic religion; 'their fanatical clergy,' says the historian of France, 'declaring that it would be a crime to permit the idolatry of the mass.'[158] This charitable maxim they for many years actively enforced, seizing the property of the Catholic clergy, and employing it in support of their own churches;[159] so that, while in one part of the dominions of the king of France the Protestants were allowed to exercise their religion, they, in another part of his dominions, prevented the Catholics from exercising theirs. It was hardly to be expected that any government would suffer such an anomaly as this; and, in 1618, it was ordered that the Protestants should restore the plunder, and reinstate the Catholics in their former possessions. But the reformed clergy, alarmed at so sacrilegious a proposal, appointed a public fast, and inspiriting the people to resistance, forced the royal commissioner to fly from Pau, where he had arrived in the hope of effecting a peaceful adjustment of the claims of the rival parties.[160]

The rebellion, thus raised by the zeal of the Protestants, was soon put down; but, according to the confession of Rohan, one of the ablest of their leaders, it was the beginning of all their misfortunes.[161] The sword had now been drawn; and the only question to be decided was, whether France should be governed according to the principles of toleration recently established, or according to

[158] 'Les ministres fanatiques déclaroient qu'ils ne pouvaient sans crime souffrir dans ce pays régénéré l'idolâtrie de la messe.' *Sismondi, Hist. des Français*, vol. xxii. p. 415.

[159] *Notice sur les Mémoires de Rohan*, vol. i. p. 26. Compare the account given by Pontchartrain, who was one of the ministers of Louis XIII., *Mém. de Pontchartrain*, vol. ii. pp. 248, 264; and see *Mém. de Richelieu*, vol. i. p. 443.

[160] *Bazin, Hist. de France sous Louis XIII*, vol. ii. pp. 62-64. The pith of the question was, that 'l'édit de Nantes ayant donné pouvoir, tant aux catholiques qu'aux huguenots, de rentrer partout dans leurs biens, les ecclésiastiques de Béarn démandèrent aussytost les leurs.' *Mém. de Fontenay Mareuil*, vol. i. p. 392.

[161] 'L'affaire de Béarn, source de tous nos maux.' *Mém. de Rohan*, vol. i. p. 156; see also p. 183. And the Protestant Le Vassor says (*Hist. de Louis XIII*, vol. iii. p. 634): 'L'affaire du Béarn et l'assemblée qui se convoqua ensuite à la Rochelle, sont la source véritable des malheurs des églises réformées de France sous le règne dont j'écris l'histoire.'

the maxims of a despotic sect, which, while professing to advocate the right of private judgment, was acting in a way that rendered all private judgment impossible.

Scarcely was the war in Béarn brought to an end, when the Protestants determined on making a great effort in the west of France.[162] The seat of this new struggle was Rochelle, which was one of the strongest fortresses in Europe, and was entirely in the hands of the Protestants,[163] who had grown wealthy, partly by their own industry, and partly by following the occupation of public pirates.[164] In this city, which they believed to be impregnable,[165] they, in December 1620, held a Great Assembly, to which their spiritual chiefs flocked from all parts of France. It was soon evident that their party was now governed by men who were bent on the most violent measures. Their great secular leaders were, as we have already seen, gradually falling off; and, by this time, there only remained two of much ability, Rohan and Mornay, both of whom saw the inexpediency of their proceedings, and desired that the assembly should peaceably separate.[166] But the authority

[162] On the connexion between the proceedings of Béarn and those of Rochelle, compare *Mém. de Montglat*, vol. i. p. 33, with *Mém. de Richelieu*, vol. ii. p. 113, and *Mém. de Rohan*, vol. i. p. 446.

[163] Their first church was established in 1556 (*Ranke's Civil Wars in France*, vol. i. p. 360); but, by the reign of Charles IX. the majority of the inhabitants were Protestants. See *De Thou, Hist. Univ.* vol. iv. p. 263, vol. v. p. 379, ad ann. 1562 and 1567.

[164] Or, as M. Capefigue courteously puts it, 'les Rochelois ne respectaient pas toujours les pavillons amis.' *Capefigue's Richelieu*, vol. i. p. 332. A delicate circumlocution, unknown to Mezeray, who says (*Hist. de France*, vol. iii. p. 426) in 1587, 'et les Rochelois, qui par le moyen du commerce et de la *piraterie*,' &c.

[165] Ceste place, que les huguenots tenoient quasy pour imprenable.' *Mém. de Fontenay Mareuil*, vol. i. p. 512. 'Cette orgueilleuse cité, qui se croyoit imprenable.' *Mém. de Montglat*, vol. i. p. 45. Howell, who visited Rochelle in 1620 and 1622, was greatly struck by its strength. *Howell's Letters*, pp. 46, 47, 108. At p. 204, he calls it, in his barbarous style, 'the chiefest propugnacle of the Protestants there.' For a description of the defences of Rochelle, see *De Thou, Hist. Univ.* vol. vi. pp. 615-617; and some details worth consulting in *Mezeray, Hist. de France*, vol. ii. pp. 977-980.

[166] *Bazin, Hist. de Louis XIII*, vol. ii. p. 139; *Sismondi, Hist. des Français*, vol. xxii. pp. 480, 481. Rohan himself says (*Mém.* vol. i. p. 446): 'je m'efforçai de la séparer.' In a remarkable letter, which Mornay wrote ten years before this, he shows his apprehensions of the evil that would result from the increasing violence of his party; and he advises, 'que nostre zèle soit tempéré de prudence.' *Mém. et Correspond.* vol. xi. p. 122;

of the clergy was irresistible; and, by their prayers and exhortations, they easily gained over the ordinary citizens, who were then a gross and uneducated body.[167] Under their influence, the assembly adopted a course which rendered civil war inevitable. Their first act was an edict, by which they at once confiscated all the property belonging to Catholic churches.[168] They then caused a great seal to be struck; under the authority of which they ordered that the people should be armed, and taxes collected from them for the purpose of defending their religion.[169] Finally, they drew up the regulations, and organized the establishment, of what they called the Reformed Churches of France and of Béarn; and, with a view to facilitate the exercise of their spiritual jurisdiction, they parcelled out France into eight circles, to each of which there was allotted a separate general; who, however, was to be accompanied by a clergyman, since the administration, in all its parts, was held responsible to that ecclesiastical assembly which called it into existence.[170]

Such were the forms and pomp of authority assumed by the spiritual leaders of the French Protestants; men by nature destined to obscurity, and whose abilities were so despicable, that, notwithstanding their temporary

and as to the divisions this caused among the Protestants, see pp. 154, 510, vol. xii. pp. 82, 255; and *Sully, Œconomies Royales*, vol. ix. pp. 350, 435.

[167] 'Les seigneurs du parti, et surtout le sage Duplessis Mornay, firent ce qu'ils purent pour engager les réformés à ne pas provoquer l'autorité royale pour des causes qui ne pouvoient justifier une guerre civile; mais le pouvoir dans le parti avoit passé presque absolument aux bourgeois des villes et aux ministres qui se livroient aveuglément à leur fanatisme, et à leur orgueil, et qui étoient d'autant plus applaudis, qu'ils montroient plus de violence.' *Sismondi, Hist. des Français*, vol. xxii. p. 478.

[168] 'On confisqua les biens des églises catholiques.' *Lavallée, Hist. des Français*, vol. iii. p. 85; and see *Capefigue's Richelieu*, vol. i. p. 258.

[169] 'Ils donnent des commissions d'armer et de faire des impositions sur le peuple, et ce sous leur grand sceau, qui étoit une Religion appuyée sur une croix, ayant en la main un livre de l'évangile, foulant aux pieds un vieux squelette, qu'ils disoient être l'église romaine.' *Mém. de Richelieu*, vol. ii. p. 120. M. Capefigue (*Richelieu*, vol. i. p. 259) says that this seal still exists; but it is not even alluded to by a late writer (*Felice, Hist. of the Protestants of France*, p. 240), who systematically suppresses every fact unfavourable to his own party.

[170] *Le Vassor, Hist. de Louis XIII*, vol. iv. p. 157; *Bazin, Hist. de Louis XIII*, vol. ii. p. 145; *Benoist, Hist. de l'Edit de Nantes*, vol. ii. pp. 353-355; *Capefigue's Richelieu*, vol. i. p. 258.

importance, they have left no name in history. These insignificant priests, who, at the best, were only fit to mount the pulpit of a country village, now arrogated to themselves the right of ordering the affairs of France, imposing taxes upon Frenchmen, confiscating property, raising troops, levying war; and all this for the sake of propagating a creed, which was scouted by the country at large as a foul and mischievous heresy.

In the face of these inordinate pretensions, it was evident that the French government had no choice, except to abdicate its functions, or else take arms in its own defence.[171] Whatever may be the popular notion respecting the necessary intolerance of the Catholics, it is an indisputable fact, that, early in the seventeenth century, they displayed in France a spirit of forbearance, and a Christian charity, to which the Protestants could make no pretence. During the twenty-two years which elapsed between the Edict of Nantes and the Assembly of Rochelle, the government, notwithstanding repeated provocations, never attacked the Protestants;[172] nor did they make any attempt to destroy the privileges of a sect, which they were bound to consider heretical, and the extirpation of which had been deemed by their fathers to be one of the first duties of a Christian statesman.

The war that now broke out lasted seven years, and was uninterrupted, except by the short peace, first of Montpelier, and afterwards of Rochelle; neither of which, however, was very strictly preserved. But the difference in the views and intentions of the two parties, corresponded to the difference between the classes which governed them. The Protestants, being influenced mainly by the clergy, made their object religious domination. The Catholics, being led by statesmen, aimed at temporal advantages. Thus it was, that circumstances had,

[171] Even Mosheim, who, as a Protestant, was naturally prejudiced in favour of the Huguenots, says, that they had established 'imperium in imperio;' and he ascribes to the violence of their rulers the war of 1621. *Mosheim's Eccles. Hist.* vol. ii. pp. 237, 238.

[172] Compare *Mém. de Fontenay Mareuil,* vol. ii. p. 88, with *Flassan, Hist. de la Diplomatie Française,* vol. ii. p. 351.

in France, so completely obliterated the original tendency of these two great sects, that, by a singular metamorphosis, the secular principle was now represented by the Catholics, and the theological principle by the Protestants. The authority of the clergy, and therefore the interests of superstition, were upheld by that very party which owed its origin to the diminution of both; they were, on the other hand, attacked by a party whose success had hitherto depended on the increase of both. If the Catholics triumphed, the ecclesiastical power would be weakened; if the Protestants triumphed, it would be strengthened. Of this fact, so far as the Protestants are concerned, I have just given ample proof, collected from their proceedings, and from the language of their own synods. And that the opposite, or secular principle, predominated among the Catholics, is evident, not only from their undeviating policy in the reigns of Henry IV. and Louis XIII., but also from another circumstance worthy of note. For, their motives were so obvious, and gave such scandal to the church, that the pope, as the great protector of religion, thought himself bound to reprehend that disregard of theological interests which they displayed, and which he considered to be a crying and unpardonable offence. In 1622, only one year after the struggle between the Protestants and Catholics had begun, he strongly remonstrated with the French government upon the notorious indecency of which they were guilty, in carrying on war against heretics, not for the purpose of suppressing the heresy, but merely with a view of procuring for the state those temporal advantages which, in the opinion of all pious men, ought to be regarded as of subordinate importance.[173]

[173] See the paper of instructions from Pope Gregory XV. in the appendix to *Ranke, die Röm. Päpste*, vol. iii. pp. 173, 174: 'Die Hauptsache aber ist was er dem Könige von Frankreich vorstellen soll: 1, dass er ja nicht den Verdacht auf sich laden werde als verfolge er die Protestanten bloss aus Staats-interesse.' Bazin (*Hist. de Louis XIII*, vol. ii. p. 320) says, that Richelieu attacked the Huguenots 'sans aucune idée de persécution religieuse.' See, to the same effect, *Capefigue's Richelieu*, vol. i. p. 274; and the candid admissions of the Protestant Le Vassor, in his *Hist. de Louis XIII*, vol. v. p. 11.

If, at this juncture, the Protestants had carried the day, the loss to France would have been immense, perhaps irreparable. For no one, who is acquainted with the temper and character of the French Calvinists, can doubt, that if they had obtained possession of the government, they would have revived those religious persecutions which, so far as their power extended, they had already attempted to enforce. Not only in their writings, but even in the edicts of their assemblies, we find ample proof of that meddling and intolerant spirit which, in every age, has characterized ecclesiastical legislation. Indeed, such a spirit is the legitimate consequence of the fundamental assumption from which theological lawgivers usually start. The clergy are taught to consider that their paramount duty is to preserve the purity of the faith, and guard it against the invasions of heresy. Whenever, therefore, they rise to power, it almost invariably happens, that they carry into politics the habits they have contracted in their profession; and having long been accustomed to consider religious error as criminal, they now naturally attempt to make it penal. And as all the European countries have, in the period of their ignorance, been once ruled by the clergy, just so do we find in the law-books of every land those traces of their power which the progress of knowledge is gradually effacing. We find the professors of the dominant creed enacting laws against the professors of other creeds; laws sometimes to burn them, sometimes to exile them, sometimes to take away their civil rights, sometimes only to take away their political rights. These are the different gradations through which persecution passes; and by observing which, we may measure, in any country, the energy of the ecclesiastical spirit. At the same time, the theory by which such measures are supported, generally gives rise to other measures of a somewhat different, though of an analogous character. For, by extending the authority of law to opinions as well as to acts, the basis of legislation becomes dangerously enlarged; the individuality and independence of each man are invaded; and encouragement is given to the enactment of

intrusive and vexatious regulations, which are supposed to perform for morals the service that the other class of laws performs for religion. Under pretence of favouring the practice of virtue, and maintaining the purity of society, men are troubled in their most ordinary pursuits, in the commonest occurrences of life, in their amusements, nay, even in the very dress they may be inclined to wear. That this is what has actually been done, must be known to whoever has looked into the writings of the fathers, into the canons of Christian councils, into the different systems of ecclesiastical law, or into the sermons of the earlier clergy. Indeed, all this is so natural, that regulations, conceived in the same spirit, were drawn up for the government of Geneva by the Calvinist clergy, and for the government of England by Archbishop Cranmer and his coadjutors; while a tendency, precisely identical, may be observed in the legislation of the Puritans, and to give a still later instance, in that of the Methodists. It is, therefore, not surprising that, in France, the Protestant clergy, having great power among their own party, should enforce a similar discipline. Thus, to mention only a few examples, they forbade any one to go to the theatre, or even to witness the performance of private theatricals.[174] They looked upon dancing as an ungodly amusement, and, therefore, they not only strictly prohibited it, but they ordered that all dancing-masters should be admonished by the spiritual power, and desired to abandon so unchristian a profession. If, however, the admonition failed in effecting its purpose, the dancing-masters, thus remaining obdurate, were to be excommunicated.[175] With the same pious care did the clergy superintend other matters equally important. In one of their synods, they ordered that all persons should abstain from wearing gay apparel, and should arrange their hair with becoming modesty.[176] In another synod, they forbade women to paint; and they declared, that if,

174 *Quick's Synodicon in Gallia*, vol. i. p. lvii.

175 *Ibid.* vol. i. pp. lvii. 17, 131, vol. ii. p. 174.

176 'And both sexes are required to keep modesty in their hair,' &c. *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 119.

after this injunction, any woman persisted in painting, she should not be allowed to receive the sacrament.[177] To their own clergy, as the instructors and shepherds of the flock, there was paid an attention still more scrupulous. The ministers of the word were permitted to teach Hebrew, because Hebrew is a sacred dialect, uncontaminated by profane writers. But the Greek language, which contains all the philosophy and nearly all the wisdom of antiquity, was to be discouraged, its study laid aside, its professorship suppressed.[178] And, in order that the mind might not be distracted from spiritual things, the study of chemistry was likewise forbidden; such a mere earthly pursuit being incompatible with the habits of the sacred profession.[179] Lest, however, in spite of these precautions, knowledge should still creep in among the Protestants, other measures were taken to prevent even its earliest approach. The clergy, entirely forgetting that right of private judgment upon which their sect was founded, became so anxious to protect the unwary from error, that they forbade any person to print or publish a work without the sanction of the church, in other words, without the sanction of the clergy themselves.[180] When, by these means, they had destroyed the possibility of free inquiry, and, so far as they were able, had put a stop to the acquisition of all real knowledge, they proceeded to guard against another circumstance to which their measures had given rise. For, several of the Protestants, seeing that under such a system, it was impossible to educate their families with advantage, sent their children to some of those celebrated Catholic colleges, where alone a sound

177 *Quick's Synodicon*, vol. i. p. 165.

178 The synod of Alez, in 1620, says, 'A minister may at the same time be professor in divinity and of the Hebrew tongue. But it is not seemly for him to profess the Greek also, because the most of his employment will be taken up in the exposition of Pagan and profane authors, unless he be discharged from the ministry.' *Quick's Synodicon*, vol. ii. p. 57. Three years later, the synod of Charenton suppressed altogether the Greek professorships, 'as being superfluous and of small profit.' *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 115.

179 The synod of St. Maixant, in 1609, orders that 'colloquies and synods shall have a watchful eye over those ministers who study chemistry, and grievously reprove and censure them.' *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 314.

180 *Ibid.* vol. i. pp. 140, 194, vol. ii. p. 110.

education could then be obtained. But the clergy, so soon as they heard of this practice, put an end to it, by excommunicating the offending parents;[181] and to this there was added an order forbidding them to admit into their own private houses any tutor who professed the Catholic religion.[182] Such was the way in which the French Protestants were watched over and protected by their spiritual masters. Even the minutest matters were not beneath the notice of these great legislators. They ordered that no person should go to a ball or masquerade;[183] nor ought any Christian to look at the tricks of conjurors, or at the famous game of goblets, or at the puppet-show; neither was he to be present at morris-dances; for all such amusements should be suppressed by the magistrates, because they excite curiosity, cause expense, waste time.[184] Another thing to be attended to, is the names that are bestowed in baptism. A child may have two christian names, though one is preferable.[185] Great care, however, is to be observed in their selection. They ought to be taken from the Bible, but they ought not to be Baptist or Angel; neither should any infant receive a name which has been formerly used by the Pagans.[186] When the children are grown up, there are other regulations to which they must be subject. The clergy declared that the faithful must by no means let their hair grow long, lest by so doing they indulge in the luxury of 'lascivious curls.'[187] They are to make their garments in such a manner as to

181 *Quick's Synodicon*, vol. i. pp. lv. 235, 419, vol. ii. pp. 201, 509, 515. Compare *Benoist, Hist. de l'Edit de Nantes*, vol. ii. p. 473.

182 *Quick's Synodicon*, vol. ii. p. 81.

183 *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 174.

184 'All Christian magistrates are advised not in the least to suffer them, because it feeds foolish curiosity, puts upon unnecessary expenses, and wastes time.' *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 194.

185 This was a very knotty question for the theologians; but it was at length decided in the affirmative by the synod of Saumur: 'On the 13th article of the same chapter, the deputies of Poictou demanded, whether two names might be given a child at baptism? To which it was replied: The thing was indifferent; however, parents were advised to observe herein Christian simplicity.' *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 178.

186 *Ibid.* vol. i. pp. xlvi. 25.

187 I quote the language of the synod of Castres, in 1626. *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 174.

avoid 'the new-fangled fashions of the world:' they are to have no tassels to their dress: their gloves must be without silk and ribbons: they are to abstain from fardingales: they are to beware of wide sleeves.[188]

Those readers who have not studied the history of ecclesiastical legislation, will perhaps be surprised to find, that men of gravity, men who had reached the years of discretion, and were assembled together in solemn council, should evince such a prying and puerile spirit; that they should display such miserable and childish imbecility. But, whoever will take a wider survey of human affairs, will be inclined to blame, not so much the legislators, as the system of which the legislators formed a part. For as to the men themselves, they merely acted after their kind. They only followed the traditions in which they were bred. By virtue of their profession, they had been accustomed to hold certain views, and, when they rose to power, it was natural that they should carry those views into effect; thus transplanting into the law-book the maxims they had already preached in the pulpit. Whenever, therefore, we read of meddling, inquisitive, and vexatious regulations imposed by ecclesiastical authority, we should remember, that they are but the legitimate result of the ecclesiastical spirit; and that the way to remedy such grievances, or to prevent their occurrence, is not by vainly labouring to change the tendencies of that class from whence they proceed, but rather by confining the class within its proper limits, by jealously guarding against its earliest encroachments, by taking every opportunity of lessening its influence, and finally, when the progress of society will justify so great a step, by depriving it of that political and legislative power which, though gradually falling from its hands, it is, even in the most civilized countries, still allowed in some degree to retain.

188 *Quick's Synodicon*, vol. i. p. 165, vol. ii. pp. 7, 174, 574, 583. In the same way, the Spanish clergy, early in the present century, attempted to regulate the dress of women. See *Doblado's Letters from Spain*, pp. 202-205: a good illustration of the identity of the ecclesiastical spirit, whether it be Catholic or Protestant.

But, setting aside these general considerations, it will, at all events, be admitted, that I have collected sufficient evidence to indicate what would have happened to France, if the Protestants had obtained the upper hand. After the facts which I have brought forward, no one can possibly doubt, that if such a misfortune had occurred, the liberal and, considering the age, the enlightened policy of Henry IV. and Louis XIII. would have been destroyed, in order to make way for that gloomy and austere system which, in every age and in every country, has been found to be the natural fruit of ecclesiastical power. To put, therefore, the question in its proper form, instead of saying that there was a war between hostile creeds, we should rather say that there was a war between rival classes. It was a contest, not so much between the Catholic religion and the Protestant religion, as between Catholic laymen and Protestant clergy. It was a struggle between temporal interests and theological interests,—between the spirit of the present and the spirit of the past. And the point now at issue was, whether France should be governed by the civil power or by the spiritual power,—whether she should be ruled according to the large views of secular statesmen, or according to the narrow notions of a factious and intolerant priesthood.

The Protestants having the great advantage of being the aggressive party, and being, moreover, inflamed by a religious zeal unknown to their opponents, might, under ordinary circumstances, have succeeded in their hazardous attempt; or, at all events, they might have protracted the struggle for an indefinite period. But, fortunately for France, in 1624, only three years after the war began, Richelieu assumed the direction of the government. He had for some years been the secret adviser of the queen-mother, into whose mind he had always inculcated the necessity of complete toleration.[189] When placed at the head

[189] On his influence over her in and after 1616, see *Le Vassor, Hist. de Louis XIII*, vol. ii. p. 508; *Mém. de Pontchartrain*, vol. ii. p. 240; *Mém. de Montglat*, vol. i. p. 23; and compare, in *Mém. de Richelieu*, vol. ii. pp. 198-200, the curious arguments which he put in her mouth respecting the impolicy of making war on the Protestants.

of affairs, he pursued the same policy, and attempted in every way to conciliate the Protestants. The clergy of his own party were constantly urging him to exterminate the heretics, whose presence they thought polluted France.[190] But Richelieu, having only secular objects, refused to embitter the contest by turning it into a religious war. He was determined to chastize the rebellion, but he would not punish the heresy. Even while the war was raging, he would not revoke those edicts of toleration, by which the full liberty of religious worship was granted to the Protestants. And when they, in 1626, showed signs of compunction, or at all events of fear, he publicly confirmed the Edict of Nantes,[191] and he granted them peace; although, as he says, he knew that by doing so, he should fall under the suspicion of those 'who so greatly affected the name of zealous Catholics.'[192] A few months afterwards, war again broke out; and then it was that Richelieu determined on that celebrated siege of Rochelle, which, if brought to a successful issue, was sure to be a decisive blow against the French Protestants. That he was moved to this hazardous undertaking solely by secular considerations, is evident, not only from the general spirit of his preceding policy, but also from his subsequent conduct. With the details of this famous siege, history is not concerned, as such matters have no value, except to military readers. It is enough to say that, in 1628, Rochelle was taken; and the Protestants, who had been induced by their clergy[193] to continue to resist long after relief was hopeless,

190 In 1625, the Archbishop of Lyons wrote to Richelieu, urging him 'assiéger la Rochelle, et châtier ou, pour mieux dire, exterminer les huguenots, toute autre affaire cessante.' *Bazin, Hist. de Louis XIII*, vol. ii. p. 276. See also, on the anxiety of the clergy in the reign of Louis XIII. to destroy the Protestants, *Benoist, Hist. de l'Edit de Nantes*, vol. ii. pp. 155, 166, 232, 245, 338, 378, 379, 427; *Sismondi, Hist. des Français*, vol. xxii. p. 485.

191 He confirmed it in March 1626; *Flassan, Hist. de la Diplomatie Française*, vol. ii. p. 399; and also in the preceding January. See *Benoist, Hist. de l'Edit de Nantes*, vol. ii. appendix, pp. 77, 81.

192 'Ceux qui affectent autant le nom de zélés catholiques.' *Mém. de Richelieu*, vol. iii. p. 16; and at p. 2, he, in the same year (1626), says, that he was opposed by those who had 'un trop ardent et précipité désir de ruiner les huguenots.'

193 *Sismondi, Hist. des Français*, vol. xxiii. p. 66.

and who, in consequence, had suffered the most dreadful hardships, were obliged to surrender at discretion.[194] The privileges of the town were revoked, and its magistrates removed; but the great minister, by whom these things were effected, still abstained from that religious persecution to which he was urged.[195] He granted to the Protestants the toleration which he had offered at an earlier period, and he formally conceded the free exercise of their public worship.[196] But, such was their infatuation, that because he likewise restored the exercise of the Catholic religion, and thus gave to the conquerors the same liberty that he had granted to the conquered, the Protestants murmured at the indulgence; they could not bear the idea that their eyes should be offended by the performance of Popish rites.[197] And their indignation waxed so high, that the next year they, in another part of France, again rose in arms. As, however, they were now stripped of their principal resources, they were easily defeated; and, their existence as a political faction being destroyed, they were, in reference to their religion, treated by Richelieu in the same manner as before.[198] To the Protestants generally, he confirmed the privilege of preaching and of performing the other ceremonies of their creed.[199] To

[194] On the sufferings of the inhabitants, see extract from the Dupuis Mss., in *Capefigue's Richelieu*, vol. i. p. 351. Fontenay Mareuil, who was an eye-witness, says, that the besieged, in some instances, ate their own children; and that the burial-grounds were guarded, to prevent the corpses from being dug up and turned into food. *Mém. de Fontenay Mareuil*, vol. ii. p. 119.

[195] And in which he would most assuredly have been supported by Louis XIII.; of whom an intelligent writer says: 'Il étoit plein de piété et de zèle pour le service de Dieu et pour la grandeur de l'église; et sa plus sensible joie, en prenant La Rochelle et les autres places qu'il prit, fut de penser qu'il chasseroit de son royaume les hérétiques, et qu'il le purgeroit par cette voie des différentes religions qui gâtent et infectent l'église de Dieu.' *Mém. de Motteville*, vol. i. p. 425, edit. Petitot, 1824.

[196] *Bazin, Hist. de Louis XIII*, vol. ii. p. 423; *Sismondi, Hist. des Français*, vol. xxiii. p. 77; *Capefigue's Richelieu*, vol. i. p. 357; *Mém. de Fontenay Mareuil*, vol. ii. p. 122.

[197] 'Les huguenots murmuraient de voir le rétablissement de l'église romaine au sein de leur ville.' *Capefigue's Richelieu*, vol. i. p. 359.

[198] 'Dès qu'il ne s'agit plus d'un parti politique, il concéda, comme à la Rochelle, la liberté de conscience et la faculté de prêche.' *Capefigue's Richelieu*, vol. i. p. 381. Compare *Smedley's Hist. of the Reformed Religion in France*, vol. iii. p. 201, with *Mémoires de Richelieu*, vol. iv. p. 484.

[199] The Edict of Nismes, in 1629, an important document, will be found

their leader, Rohan, he granted an amnesty, and, a few years afterwards, employed him in important public services. After this, the hopes of the party were destroyed; they never again rose in arms, nor do we find any mention of them until a much later period, when they were barbarously persecuted by Louis XIV.[200] But from all such intolerance Richelieu sedulously abstained; and having now cleared the land from rebellion, he embarked in that vast scheme of foreign policy, of which I have already given some account, and in which he clearly showed that his proceedings against the Protestants had not been caused by hatred of their religious tenets. For, the same party which he attacked at home, he supported abroad. He put down the French Protestants, because they were a turbulent faction that troubled the state, and wished to suppress the exercise of all opinions unfavourable to themselves. But, so far from carrying on a crusade against their religion, he, as I have already observed, encouraged it in other countries; and, though a bishop of the Catholic church, he did not hesitate, by treaties, by money, and by force of arms, to support the Protestants against the House of Austria, maintain the Lutherans against the Emperor of Germany, and uphold the Calvinists against the King of Spain.

I have thus endeavoured to draw a slight, though, I trust, a clear outline, of the events which took place in France during the reign of Louis XIII., and particularly during that part of it which included the administration of Richelieu. But such occurrences, important as they are, only formed a single phase of that larger development which was now displaying itself in nearly every branch of the national intellect. They were the mere political ex-

in *Quick's Synodicon*, vol. i. pp. xcvi.-ciii., and in *Benoist, Hist. de l'Edit de Nantes*, vol. ii. appendix, pp. 92-98; and a commentary on it in *Bazin, Hist. de Louis XIII*, vol. iii. pp. 36-38. M. Bazin, unfortunately for the reputation of this otherwise valuable work, never quotes his authorities.

[200] In 1633, their own historian says: 'les Réformez ne faisoient plus de party.' *Benoist, Hist. de l'Edit de Nantes*, vol. ii. p. 532. Compare Sir Thomas Hanmer's account of France in 1648, in *Bunbury's Correspond. of Hanmer*, p. 309, Lond. 1838.

pression of that bold and sceptical spirit which cried havoc to the prejudices and superstitions of men. For, the government of Richelieu was successful, as well as progressive; and no government can unite these two qualities, unless its measures harmonize with the feelings and temper of the age. Such an administration, though it facilitates progress, is not the cause of it, but is rather its measure and symptom. The cause of the progress lies far deeper, and is governed by the general tendency of the time. And as the different tendencies observable in successive generations depend on the difference in their knowledge, it is evident, that we can only understand the working of the tendencies, by taking a wide view of the amount and character of the knowledge. To comprehend, therefore, the real nature of the great advance made during the reign of Louis XIII., it becomes necessary that I should lay before the reader some evidence respecting those higher and more important facts, which historians are apt to neglect, but without which the study of the past is an idle and trivial pursuit, and history itself a barren field, which, bearing no fruit, is unworthy of the labour that is wasted on the cultivation of so ungrateful a soil.

It is, indeed, a very observable fact, that while Richelieu, with such extraordinary boldness, was secularizing the whole system of French politics, and by his disregard of ancient interests, was setting at naught the most ancient traditions, a course precisely similar was being pursued, in a still higher department, by a man greater than he; by one, who, if I may express my own opinion, is the most profound among the many eminent thinkers France has produced. I speak of Réné Descartes, of whom the least that can be said is, that he effected a revolution more decisive than has ever been brought about by any other single mind. With his mere physical discoveries we are not now concerned, because in this Introduction I do not pretend to trace the progress of science, except in those epochs which indicate a new turn in the habits of national thought. But I may remind the reader, that he was the first who successfully applied algebra to geome-

try;[201] that he pointed out the important law of the sines;[202] that in an age in which optical instruments were extremely imperfect, he discovered the changes to which light is subjected in the eye by the cystalline lens;[203]

[201] Thomas (*Eloge*, in *Œuvres de Descartes*, vol. i. p. 32) says, 'cet instrument, c'est Descartes qui l'a créé; c'est l'application de l'algèbre à la géométrie.' And this, in the highest sense, is strictly true; for although Vieta and two or three others in the sixteenth century had anticipated this step, we owe entirely to Descartes the magnificent discovery of the possibility of applying algebra to the geometry of curves, he being undoubtedly the first who expressed them by algebraic equations. See *Montucla, Hist. des Mathémat.* vol. i. pp. 704, 705, vol. ii. p. 120, vol. iii. p. 64.

[202] The statements of Huygens and of Isaac Vossius to the effect that Descartes had seen the papers of Snell before publishing his discovery, are unsupported by any direct evidence; at least none of the historians of science, so far at I am aware, have brought forward any. So strong, however, is the disposition of mankind at large to depreciate great men, and so general is the desire to convict them of plagiarism, that this charge, improbable in itself, and only resting on the testimony of two envious rivals, has been not only revived by modern writers, but has been, even in our own time, spoken of as a well-established and notorious fact! The flimsy basis of this accusation is clearly exposed by M. Bordas Demoulin, in his valuable work *Le Cartésianisme*, Paris, 1843, vol. ii. pp. 9-12; while, on the other side of the question, I refer with regret to *Sir D. Brewster on the Progress of Optics, Second Report of British Association*, pp. 309, 310; and to *Whewell's Hist. of the Inductive Sciences*, vol. ii. pp. 379, 502, 503.

[203] See the interesting remarks of Sprengel (*Hist. de la Médecine*, vol. iv. pp. 271, 272), and *Œuvres de Descartes*, vol. iv. pp. 371 seq. What makes this the more observable is, that the study of the crystalline lens was neglected long after the death of Descartes, and no attempt made for more than a hundred years to complete his views by ascertaining its intimate structure. Indeed, it is said (*Thomson's Animal Chemistry*, p. 512) that the crystalline lens and the two humours were first analyzed in 1802. Compare *Simon's Animal Chemistry*, vol. ii. pp. 419-421; *Henle, Traité d'Anatomie*, vol. i. p. 357; *Lepelletier, Physiologie Médicale*, vol. iii. p. 160; *Mayo's Human Physiol.* p. 279; *Blainville, Physiol. comparée*, vol. iii. pp. 325-328; none of whom refer to any analysis earlier than the nineteenth century. I notice this partly as a contribution to the history of our knowledge, and partly as proving how slow men have been in following Descartes, and in completing his views; for, as M. Blainville justly observes, the chemical laws of the lens must be understood, before we can exhaustively generalize the optical laws of its refraction; so that, in fact, the researches of Berzelius on the eye are complemental to those of Descartes. The theory of the limitation of the crystalline lens according to the descending scale of the animal kingdom, and the connexion between its development and a general increase of sensuous perception, seem to have been little studied; but Dr. Grant (*Comparative Anatomy*, p. 252) thinks that the lens exists in some of the rotifera; while in regard to its origin, I find a curious statement in *Müller's Physiology*, vol. i. p. 450, that after its removal in mammals, it has been reproduced by its matrix, the capsule. (If this can be relied on, it will tell against the suggestion of Schwann, who supposes, in his *Microscopical Researches*, 1847, pp. 87, 88, that its mode of life is vegetable, and that it is not 'a secretion of its capsule.') As to its probable existence in the

that he directed attention to the consequences resulting from the weight of the atmosphere;[204] and that he, moreover, detected the causes of the rainbow,[205] that singular phenomenon, with which, in the eyes of the vulgar, some theological superstitions are still connected.[206] At the same time, and as if to combine the most varied forms of excellence, he is not only allowed to be the first geometrician of the age,[207] but by the clearness and admirable precision of his style, he became one of the founders of French prose.[208] And although he was constantly en-

hydrozoa, see *Rymer Jones's Animal Kingdom*, 1855, p. 96, 'regarded either as a crystalline lens, or an otolithe;' and as to its embryonic development, see *Burdach, Traité de Physiologie*, vol. iii. pp. 435-438.

204 Torricelli first weighed the air in 1643. *Brande's Chemistry*, vol. i. p. 360; *Leslie's Natural Philosophy*, p. 419: but there is a letter from Descartes, written as early as 1631, 'où il explique le phénomène de la suspension du mercure dans un tuyau fermé par en haut, en l'attribuant au poids de la colonne d'air élevée jusqu'au delà des nues.' *Bordas Demoulin, le Cartésianisme*, vol. i. p. 311. And Montucla (*Hist. des Mathémat.* vol. ii. p. 205) says of Descartes, 'nous avons des preuves que ce philosophe reconnut avant Toricelli la pesanteur de l'air.' Descartes himself says, that he suggested the subsequent experiment of Pascal. *Œuvres de Descartes*, vol. x. pp. 344, 351.

205 Dr. Whewell, who has treated Descartes with marked injustice, does nevertheless allow that he is 'the genuine author of the explanation of the rainbow.' *Hist. of the Induc. Sciences*, vol. ii. pp. 380, 384. See also *Boyle's Works*, vol. iii. p. 189; *Thomson's Hist. of the Royal Society*, p. 364; *Hallam's Lit. of Europe*, vol. iii. p. 205; *Œuvres de Descartes*, vol. i. pp. 47, 48, vol. v. pp. 265-284. On the theory of the rainbow as known in the present century, see *Kaemtz, Course of Meteorology*, pp. 440-445; and *Forbes on Meteorology*, pp. 125-130, in *Report of British Association for* 1840. Compare *Leslie's Natural Philosophy*, p. 531; *Pouillet, Elémens de Physique*, vol. ii. p. 788.

206 The Hebrew notion of the rainbow is well known; and for the ideas of other nations on this subject, see *Prichard's Physical History of Mankind*, vol. v. pp. 154, 176; *Kames's Sketches of the History of Man*, vol. iv. p. 252, Edinb. 1788; and *Burdach's Physiologie*, vol. v. pp. 546, 547, Paris, 1839.

207 Thomas calls him 'le plus grand géomètre de son siècle.' *Œuvres de Descartes*, vol. i. p. 89. Sir W. Hamilton (*Discussions on Philosophy*, p. 271) says, 'the greatest mathematician of the age;' and Montucla can find no one but Plato to compare with him: 'On ne sauroit donner une idée plus juste de ce qu'a été l'époque de Descartes dans la géométrie moderne, qu'en la comparant à celle de Platon dans le géométrie ancienne. . . . . De même enfin que Platon prépara par sa découverte celles des Archimède, des Apollonius, &c., on peut dire que Descartes a jetté les fondemens de celles qui illustrent aujourd'hui les Newton, les Leibnitz, &c.' *Montucla, Hist. des Mathémat.* vol. ii. p. 112.

208 'Descartes joint encore à ses autres titres, celui d'avoir été un des créateurs de notre langue.' *Biog. Univ.* vol. xi. p. 154. Sir James Mack-

gaged in those lofty inquiries into the nature of the human mind, which can never be studied without wonder, I had almost said can never be read without awe, he combined with them a long course of laborious experiment upon the animal frame, which raised him to the highest rank among the anatomists of his time.[209] The great discovery made by Harvey of the circulation of the blood, was neglected by most of his contemporaries;[210] but it was at once recognized by Descartes, who made it the basis of the physiological part of his work on Man.[211] He likewise adopted the discovery of the lacteals by Aselli,[212]

intosh (*Dissert. on Ethical Philos.* p. 186) has also noticed the influence of Descartes in forming the style of French writers; and I think that M. Cousin has somewhere made a similar remark.

[209] Thomas says, 'Descartes eut aussi la gloire d'être un des premiers anatomistes de son siècle.' *Œuvres de Descartes*, vol. i. p. 55; see also p. 101. In 1639, Descartes writes to Mersenne (*Œuvres*, vol. viii. p. 100) that he had been engaged 'depuis onze ans' in studying comparative anatomy by dissection. Compare p. 174, and vol. i. pp. 175-184.

[210] Dr. Whewell (*Hist. of the Inductive Sciences*, vol. iii. p. 440) says: 'It was for the most part readily accepted by his countrymen; but that abroad it had to encounter considerable opposition.' For this no authority is quoted; and yet one would be glad to know who told Dr. Whewell that the discovery was readily accepted. So far from meeting in England with ready acceptance, it was during many years almost universally denied. Aubrey was assured by Harvey that in consequence of his book on the Circulation of the Blood he lost much of his practice, was believed to be crackbrained, and was opposed by 'all the physicians.' *Aubrey's Letters and Lives*, vol. ii. p. 383. Dr. Willis (*Life of Harvey*, p. xli., in *Harvey's Works*, edit. Sydenham Society, 1847) says, 'Harvey's views were at first rejected almost universally.' Dr. Elliotson (*Human Physiology*, p. 194) says, 'His immediate reward was general ridicule and abuse, and a great diminution of his practice.' Broussais (*Examen des Doctrines Médicales*, vol. i. p. vii.) says, 'Harvey passa pour fou quand il annonça la découverte de la circulation.' Finally, Sir William Temple, who belongs to the generation subsequent to Harvey, and who, indeed, was not born until some years after the discovery was made, mentions it in his works in such a manner as to show that even then it was not universally received by educated men. See two curious passages, which have escaped the notice of the historians of physiology, in *Works of Sir W. Temple*, vol. iii. pp. 293, 469, 8vo., 1814.

[211] 'Taken by Descartes as the basis of his physiology, in his work on Man.' *Whewell's Hist. of the Induc. Sciences*, vol. iii. p. 441. 'René Descartes se déclara un des premiers en faveur de la doctrine de la circulation.' *Renouard, Hist. de la Médecine*, vol. ii. p. 163. See also *Bordas Demoulin, le Cartésianisme*, vol. ii. p. 324; and *Œuvres de Descartes*, vol. i. pp. 68, 179, vol. iv. pp. 42, 449, vol. ix. pp. 159, 332. Compare *Willis's Life of Harvey*, p. xlv., in *Harvey's Works*.

[212] 'Les veines blanches, dites lactées, qu'Asellius a découvertes depuis peu dans le mésentère.' *De la Formation du Fœtus*, sec. 49, in *Œuvres de Descartes*, vol. iv. p. 483.

which, like every great truth yet laid before the world, was, at its first appearance, not only disbelieved, but covered with ridicule.[213]

These things might have been sufficient to rescue even the physical labours of Descartes from the attacks constantly made on them by men who either have not studied his works, or else, having studied them, are unable to understand their merit. But the glory of Descartes, and the influence he exercised over his age, do not depend even on such claims as these. Putting them aside, he is the author of what is emphatically called Modern Philosophy.[214] He is the originator of that great system and method of metaphysics, which notwithstanding its errors, has the undoubted merit of having given a wonderful impulse to the European mind, and communicated to it an activity which has been made available for other purposes of a different character. Besides this, and superior to it, there is another obligation which we are under to the memory of Descartes. He deserves the gratitude of posterity, not so much on account of what he built up, as on account of what he pulled down. His life was one great and successful warfare against the prejudices and traditions of men. He was great as a creator, but he was far greater as a destroyer. In this respect he was the true successor of Luther, to whose labours his own were the fitting supplement. He completed what the great German reformer had left undone.[215] He bore to the old systems of

[213] Even Harvey denied it to the last. *Sprengel, Hist. de la Méd.* vol. iv. pp. 203, 204. Compare *Harvey's Works*, edit. Sydenham Soc. pp. 605, 614.

[214] M. Cousin (*Hist. de la Philos.* II. série, vol. i. p. 39) says of Descartes, 'son premier ouvrage écrit en français est de 1637. C'est donc de 1637 que date la philosophie moderne.' See the same work, I. série, vol. iii. p. 77; and compare *Stewart's Philos. of the Mind*, vol. i. pp. 14, 529, with *Eloge de Parent*, in *Œuvres de Fontenelle*, Paris, 1766, vol. v. p. 444, and vol. vi. p. 318: 'Cartésien, ou, si l'on veut, philosophe moderne.'

[215] 'Descartes avait établi dans le domaine de la pensée l'indépendance absolue de la raison; il avait déclaré à la scolastique et à la théologie que l'esprit de l'homme ne pouvait plus relever que de l'évidence qu'il aurait obtenue par lui-même. Ce que Luther avait commencé dans la religion, le génie français si actif et si prompt l'importait dans la philosophie, et l'on peut dire à la double gloire de l'Allemagne et de la France que Descartes est le fils aîné de Luther.' *Lerminier, Philos. du Droit*, vol. ii. p. 141. See also,

philosophy precisely the same relation that Luther bore to the old systems of religion. He was the great reformer and liberator of the European intellect. To prefer, therefore, even the most successful discoverers of physical laws, to this great innovator and disturber of tradition, is just as if we should prefer knowledge to freedom, and believe that science is better than liberty. We must, indeed, always be grateful to those eminent thinkers, to whose labours we are indebted for that vast body of physical truths which we now possess. But, let us reserve the full measure of our homage for those far greater men, who have not hesitated to attack and destroy the most inveterate prejudices; men who, by removing the pressure of tradition, have purified the very source and fountain of our knowledge, and secured its future progress, by casting off obstacles in the presence of which progress was impossible.[216]

It will not be expected, perhaps it will hardly be desired, that I should enter into a complete detail of the philosophy of Descartes; a philosophy which, in England at least, is rarely studied, and, therefore, is often attacked. But it will be necessary to give such an account of it as will show its analogy with the anti-theological policy of Richelieu, and will thus enable us to see the full extent of that vast movement which took place in France before the accession of Louis XIV. By this means, we shall be able to understand how the daring innovations of the great minister were so successful, since they were accompanied and reinforced by corresponding innovations in the national intellect; thus affording an additional instance of the way in which the political history of every country is to be explained by the history of its intellectual progress.

In 1637, when Richelieu was at the height of his power, Descartes published that great work which he had

on the philosophy of Descartes as a product of the Reformation, *Ward's Ideal of a Christian Church*, p. 498.

[216] For, as Turgot finely says, 'ce n'est pas l'erreur qui s'oppose aux progrès de la vérité. Ce sont la mollesse, l'entêtement, l'esprit de routine, tout ce qui porte à l'inaction.' *Pensées* in *Œuvres de Turgot*, vol. ii. p. 343.

long been meditating, and which was the first open announcement of the new tendencies of the French mind. To this work he gave the name of a 'Method;' and assuredly, the method is the most alien to what is commonly called theology that can possibly be conceived. Indeed, so far from being theological, it is essentially and exclusively psychological. The theological method rests on ancient records, on tradition, on the voice of antiquity. The method of Descartes rests solely on the consciousness each man has of the operations of his own mind. And, lest any one should mistake the meaning of this, he, in subsequent works, developed it at great length, and with unrivalled clearness. For his main object was to popularize the views which he put forward. Therefore, says Descartes, 'I write in French rather than in Latin, because I trust that they who only employ their simple and native reason will estimate my opinions more fairly than they who only believe in ancient books.'[217] So strongly does he insist upon this, that almost at the beginning of his first work, he cautions his readers against the common error of looking to antiquity for knowledge; and he reminds them that 'when men are too curious to know the practices of past ages, they generally remain very ignorant of their own.'[218]

Indeed, so far from following the old plan of searching for truth in the records of the past, the great essential of this new philosophy is to wean ourselves from all such associations, and, beginning the acquisition of knowledge by the work of destruction, first pull down, in order that afterwards we may build up.[219] When I, says Descartes, set forth in the pursuit of truth, I found that the best way was to reject every thing I had hitherto received, and

[217] 'Et si j'écris en français, qui est la langue de mon pays, plutôt qu'en latin, qui est celle de mes précepteurs, c'est à cause que j'espère que ceux qui ne se servent que de leur raison naturelle toute pure, jugeront mieux de mes opinions que ceux qui ne croient qu'aux livres anciens.' *Discours de la Méthode, in Œuvres de Descartes*, vol. i. pp. 210, 211.

[218] *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 127.

[219] 'Er fing also vom Zweifel an, und ging durch denselben zur Gewissheit über.' *Tennemann Gesch. der Philos.* vol. x. p. 218. Compare *Second Discours en Sorbonne*, in *Œuvres de Turgot*, vol. ii. p. 89.

pluck out all my old opinions, in order that I might lay the foundation of them afresh: believing that, by this means, I should more easily accomplish the great scheme of life, than by building on an old basis, and supporting myself by principles which I had learned in my youth, without examining if they were really true.[220] 'I, therefore, will occupy myself freely and earnestly in effecting a general destruction of all my old opinions.'[221] For, if we would know all the truths that can be known, we must, in the first place, free ourselves from our prejudices, and make a point of rejecting those things which we have received, until we have subjected them to a new examination.[222] We, therefore, must derive our opinions, not from tradition but from ourselves. We must not pass judgment upon any subject which we do not clearly and distinctly understand; for, even if such a judgment is correct, it can only be so by accident, not having solid ground on which to support itself.[223] But, so far are we from this state of indifference, that our memory is full of prejudices:[224] we pay attention to words rather than to things;[225] and being thus slaves to form, there are too many of us who 'believe themselves religious, when, in fact, they are bigoted and superstitious; who think themselves perfect because they go much to church, because they often repeat prayers, because they wear short hair, because they fast, because they give alms. These are the men who imagine themselves such friends of God, that nothing they do displeases Him; men who, under pretence of zeal, gratify their passions by committing the greatest crimes, such as betraying towns, killing princes, extermi-

[220] *Disc. de la Méthode*, in *Œuvres de Descartes*, vol. i. p. 136.

[221] 'Je m'appliquerai sérieusement et avec liberté à détruire généralement toutes mes anciennes opinions.' *Méditations* in *Œuvres de Descartes*, vol. i. p. 236.

[222] *Principes de la Philosophie*, part i. sec. 75, in *Œuvres de Descartes*, vol. iii. pp. 117, 118; and compare vol. ii. p. 417, where he gives a striking illustration of this view.

[223] *Méditations*, in *Œuvres de Descartes*, vol. i. pp. 303, 304.

[224] 'Nous avons rempli notre mémoire de beaucoup de préjugés.' *Principes de la Philos.* part. i. sec. 47, in *Œuvres*, vol. iii. p. 91.

[225] *Œuvres*, vol. iii. p. 117.

nating nations: and all this they do to those who will not change their opinions.'[226]

These were the words of wisdom which this great teacher addressed to his countrymen only a few years after they had brought to a close the last religious war that has ever been waged in France. The similarity of these views to those which, about the same time, were put forth by Chillingworth, must strike every reader, but ought not to excite surprise; for they were but the natural products of a state of society in which the right of private judgment, and the independence of the human reason, were first solidly established. If we examine this matter a little closer, we shall find still further proof of the analogy between France and England. So identical are the steps of the progress, that the relation which Montaigne bears to Descartes is just the same as that which Hooker bears to Chillingworth; the same in reference to the difference of time, and also in reference to the difference of opinions. The mind of Hooker was essentially sceptical; but his genius was so restrained by the prejudices of his age, that, unable to discern the supreme authority of private judgment, he hampered it by appeals to councils and to the general voice of ecclesiastical antiquity: impediments which Chillingworth, thirty years later, effectually removed. In precisely the same way, Montaigne, like Hooker, was sceptical; but, like him, he lived at a period when the spirit of doubt was yet young, and when the mind still trembled before the authority of the church. It is, therefore, no wonder that even Montaigne, who did so much for his age, should have hesitated respecting the capacity of men to work out for

[226] 'Ce qu'on peut particulièrement remarquer en ceux qui, croyant être dévots, sont seulement bigots et superstitieux, c'est à dire qui, sous ombre qu'ils vont souvent à l'église, qu'ils récitent force prières, qu'ils portent les cheveux courts, qu'ils jeûnent, qu'ils donnent l'aumône, pensent être entièrement parfaits, et s'imaginent qu'ils sont si grands amis de Dieu, qu'ils ne sauroient rien faire qui lui déplaise, et que tout ce que leur dicte leur passion est un bon zèle, bien qu'elle leur dicte quelquefois les plus grands crimes qui puissent être commis par des hommes, comme de trahir des villes, de tuer des princes, d'exterminer des peuples entiers, pour cela seul qu'ils ne suivent pas leurs opinions.' *Les Passions de l'Ame,* in *Œuvres de Descartes,* vol. iv. pp. 194, 195.

themselves great truths; and that, pausing in the course that lay before him, his scepticism should often have assumed the form of a distrust of the human faculties.[227] Such shortcomings, and such imperfections, are merely an evidence of the slow growth of society, and of the impossibility for even the greatest thinkers to outstrip their contemporaries beyond a certain point. But, with the advance of knowledge, this deficiency was at length supplied; and, as the generation after Hooker brought forth Chillingworth, just so did the generation after Montaigne bring forth Descartes. Both Chillingworth and Descartes were eminently sceptical; but their scepticism was directed, not against the human intellect, but against those appeals to authority and tradition without which it had hitherto been supposed that the intellect could not safely proceed. That this was the case with Chillingworth, we have already seen. That it was likewise the case with Descartes, is, if possible, still more apparent; for that profound thinker believed, not only that the mind, by its own efforts, could root out its most ancient opinions, but that it could, without fresh aid, build up a new and solid system in place of the one which it had thrown down.[228]

It is this extraordinary confidence in the power of the human intellect, which eminently characterizes Descartes, and has given to his philosophy that peculiar sublimity which distinguishes it from all other systems. So far from thinking that a knowledge of the external world is essential to the discovery of truth, he laid it down as a fundamental principle, that we must begin by ignoring such knowledge;[229] that the first step is to separate our-

[227] As is particularly evident in his long chapter, headed 'Apologie de Raimond Sebond.' *Essais de Montaigne*, livre ii. chap. xii. Paris, 1843, pp. 270-382; and see *Tennemann, Gesch. der Philos.* vol. ix. p. 455.

[228] He very clearly separates himself from men like Montaigne: 'Non que j'imitasse pour cela les sceptiques, qui ne doutent que pour douter, et affectent d'être toujours irrésolus; car, au contraire, tout mon dessein ne tendoit qu'à m'assurer, et à rejeter la terre mouvante et le sable pour trouver le roc ou l'argile.' *Discours de la Méthode*, in *Œuvres de Descartes*, vol. i. pp. 153, 154.

[229] According to the view of Descartes, it was to be ignored, not denied. There is no instance to be found in his works of a denial of the existence of

selves from the delusions of nature, and reject the evidence presented to our senses.[230] For, says Descartes, nothing is certain but thought; nor are there any truths except those which necessarily follow from the operation of our own consciousness. We have no knowledge of our soul except as a thinking substance;[231] and it were easier for us to believe that the soul should cease to exist, than that it should cease to think.[232] And, as to man himself, what is he but the incarnation of thought? For that which constitutes the man, is not his bones, nor his flesh, nor his blood. These are the accidents, the incumbrances, the impediments of his nature. But the man himself is the thought. The invisible me, the ultimate fact of existence, the mystery of life, is this: 'I am a thing that thinks.' This, therefore, is the beginning and the basis of our knowledge. The thought of each man is the last element

the external world; nor does the passage quoted from him by Mr. Jobert (*New System of Philos.* vol. ii. pp. 161, 162, Lond. 1849) at all justify the interpretation of that ingenious writer, who confuses certainty in the ordinary sense of the word with certainty in the Cartesian sense. A similar error is made by those who suppose that his 'Je pense, donc je suis' is an enthymeme; and having taken this for granted, they turn on the great philosopher, and accuse him of begging the question! Such critics overlook the difference between a logical process and a psychological one; and therefore they do not see that this famous sentence was the description of a mental fact, and not the statement of a mutilated syllogism. The student of the philosophy of Descartes must always distinguish between these two processes, and remember that each process has an order of proof peculiar to itself; or at all events he must remember that such was the opinion of Descartes. Compare, on the Cartesian enthymeme, *Cousin, Hist. de la Philos.* I. série, vol. iv. pp. 512, 513, with a note in *Kritik der reinen Vernunft, Kant's Werke*, vol. ii. pp. 323, 324.

230 *Méditations*, in *Œuvres de Descartes*, vol. i. pp. 220, 226; and again in the *Objections et Réponses*, *Œuvres*, vol. ii. pp. 245, 246.

231 'Au lieu que, lorsque nous tâchons à connoître plus distinctement notre nature, nous pouvons voir que notre âme, en tant qu'elle est une substance distincte du corps, ne nous est connue que par cela seul qu'elle pense.' *Œuvres de Descartes*, vol. iv. p. 432. Compare vol. iii. p. 96, *Principes de la Philosophie*, part i. sec. 53.

232 'En sorte qu'il me seroit bien plus aisé de croire que l'âme cesseroit d'être quand on dit qu'elle cesse de penser, que non pas de concevoir qu'elle soit sans pensée.' *Œuvres de Descartes*, vol. viii. p. 574. That 'the soul always thinks,' is a conclusion also arrived at by Berkeley by a different process. See his subtle argument, *Principles of Human Knowledge*, part i. sec. 98, in *Berkeley's Works*, vol. i. p. 123; and for a curious application of this to the theory of dreaming, see *Burdach, Physiologie comme Science d'Observation*, vol. v. pp. 205, 230.

to which analysis can carry us; it is the supreme judge of every doubt; it is the starting-point for all wisdom.[233]

Taking our stand on this ground, we rise, says Descartes, to the perception of the existence of the Deity. For, our belief in His existence is an irrefragable proof that He exists. Otherwise, whence does the belief arise? Since nothing can come out of nothing, and since no effect can be without a cause, it follows that the idea we have of God must have an origin; and this origin, whatever name we give it, is no other than God.[234] Thus, the ultimate proof of His existence is our idea of it. Instead, therefore, of saying that we know ourselves because we believe in God, we should rather say that we believe in God because we know ourselves.[235] This is the order and precedence of things. The thought of each man is sufficient to prove His existence, and it is the only proof we can ever possess. Such, therefore, is the dignity and supremacy of the human intellect, that even this, the highest of all matters, flows from it, as from its sole source.[236] Hence, our religion should not be acquired by the teaching of others, but should be worked out by ourselves; it is not to be borrowed from antiquity, but it is to be discovered by each man's mind; it is not traditional, but personal. It is because this great truth has been neglected, that impiety has arisen. If each man were to content himself with that idea of God which is suggested by his own mind, he would attain to a true knowledge of the Divine Nature. But when, instead of confining himself to this,

[233] *Œuvres de Descartes*, vol. i. pp. 251, 252, 279, 293, vol. ii. pp. 252, 283.

[234] *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 419; and at p. 420: 'Or de tout cela on conclut très manifestement que Dieu existe.' See also pp. 159-162, 280, 290, 291. But the simplest statement is in a letter to Mersenne (vol. viii. p. 529): 'J'ai tiré la preuve de l'existence de Dieu de l'idée que je trouve en moi d'un être souverainement parfait.'

[235] 'Ainsi, quoique, de ce que je suis, je conclue avec certitude que Dieu est, je ne puis réciproquement affirmer, de ce que Dieu est, que j'existe.' *Règles pour la Direction de l'Esprit*, in *Œuvres*, vol. xi. p. 274. See also *Principes de la Philosophie*, part i. sec. 7, vol. iii. p. 66.

[236] On this famous argument, which it is said was also broached by Anselm, see *King's Life of Locke*, vol. ii. p. 133; the Benedictine *Hist. Lit. de la France*, vol. ix. pp. 417, 418; *Mosheim's Eccles. Hist.* vol. i. p. 239; and *Cudworth's Intellect. Syst.* vol. iii. p. 383.

he mixes up with it the notions of others, his ideas become perplexed; they contradict themselves; and, the composition being thus confused, he often ends by denying the existence, not, indeed, of God, but of such a God as that in whom he has been taught to believe.[237]

The mischief which these principles must have done to the old theology is very obvious.[238] Not only were they fatal, in the minds of those who received them, to many of the common dogmas—such, for instance, as that of transubstantiation,[239]—but they were likewise directly opposed to other opinions, equally indefensible, and far more dangerous. For Descartes, by founding a philosophy which rejected all authority except that of the human reason,[240] was, of course, led to abandon the study of final causes,[241]— an old and natural superstition, by which, as we shall hereafter see, the German philosophers were long impeded, and which still hangs, though somewhat loosely,

237 'Et certes jamais les hommes ne pourroient s'éloigner de la vraie connoissance de cette nature divine, s'ils vouloient seulement porter leur attention sur l'idée qu'ils ont de l'être souverainement parfait. Mais ceux qui mêlent quelques autres idées avec celle-là composent par ce moyen un dieu chimérique, en la nature duquel il y a des choses qui se contrarient; et, après l'avoir ainsi composé, ce n'est pas merveille s'ils nient qu'un tel dieu, qui leur est représenté par une fausse idée, existe.' *Œuvres de Descartes*, vol. i. pp. 123, 124.

238 This is delicately but clearly indicated in an able letter from Arnaud, printed in *Œuvres de Descartes*, vol. ii. pp. 1-36: see in particular pp. 31, 34. And Duclos bluntly says: 'Si depuis la révolution que Descartes a commencée, les théologiens se sont éloignés des philosophes, c'est que ceux-ci ont paru ne pas respecter infiniment les théologiens. Une philosophie qui prenoit pour base le doute et l'examen devoit les effaroucher.' *Duclos, Mémoires*, vol. i. p. 109.

239 On the relation of the Cartesian philosophy to the doctrine of transubstantiation, compare *Palmer's Treatise on the Church*, vol. ii. pp. 169, 170, with *Hallam's Lit. of Europe*, vol. ii. p. 453; and the remark ascribed to Hobbes, in *Aubrey's Letters and Lives*, vol. ii. p. 626. But Hobbes, if he really made this observation, had no right to expect Descartes to become a martyr.

240 'Le caractère de la philosophie du moyen âge est la soumission à une autorité autre que le raison. La philosophie moderne ne reconnait que l'autorité de la raison. C'est le cartésianisme qui a opéré cette révolution décisive.' *Cousin, Hist. de la Philos.* II. série, vol. i. pp. 258, 259.

241 'Nous rejetterons entièrement de notre philosophie la recherche des causes finales.' *Principes de la Philos.* part i sec. 28, in *Œuvres de Descartes*, vol. iii. p. 81. See also part iii. sec. 3, p. 182; and his reply to Gassendi, in *Œuvres*, vol. ii. pp. 280, 281. Compare *Cousin, Hist. de la Philosophie*, II. série, vol. ii. p. 71, with *Sprengel, Hist. de la Médecine*, vol. v. p. 203.

about the minds of men.[242] At the same time, by superseding the geometry of the ancients, he aided in weakening that inordinate respect with which antiquity was then regarded. In another matter, still more important, he displayed the same spirit, and met with the same success. With such energy did he attack the influence, or rather the tyranny of Aristotle, that although the opinions of that philosopher were intimately interwoven with the Christian theology,[243] his authority were entirely overthrown by Descartes; and with it there perished those scholastic prejudices, for which Aristotle, indeed, was not responsible, but which, under the shelter of his mighty name, had, during several centuries, perplexed the understandings of men, and retarded the progress of their knowledge.[244]

242 Dr. Whewell, for instance, says, that we must reject final causes in the inorganic sciences, but must recognize them in the organic ones; which, in other words, simply means, that we know less of the organic world than of the inorganic, and that because we know less, we are to believe more; for here, as everywhere else, the smaller the science the greater the superstition. *Whewell's Philos. of the Inductive Sciences*, 8vo, 1847, vol. i. pp. 620, 627, 628; and his *Hist. of the Induc. Sciences*, vol. iii. pp. 430, 431. If the question were to be decided by authority, it would be enough to appeal to Bacon and Descartes, the two greatest writers on the philosophy of method in the seventeenth century, and to Auguste Comte, who is admitted by the few persons who have mastered his *Philosophie Positive*, to be the greatest in our own time. These profound and comprehensive thinkers have all rejected the study of final causes, which, as they have clearly seen, is a theological invasion of scientific rights. On the injury which this study has wrought, and on the check it has given to the advance of our knowledge, see *Robin et Verdeil, Chimie Anat.* Paris, 1853, vol. i. pp. 489, 493, 494, vol. ii. p. 555; *Renouard, Hist. de la Médecine*, vol. i. pp. 232, 237; *Sprengel, Hist. de la Médecine*, vol. ii. pp. 220; *Geoffroy Saint Hilaire, Hist. des Anomalies de l'Organisation*, vol. iii. pp. 435, 436; *Herder, Ideen zur Gesch. der Menschheit*, vol. iii. p. 270; *Lawrence's Lectures on Man*, p. 36; and *Burdach, Traité de Physiologie*, vol. i. p. 190.

243 'Auf das innigste verbunden mit der Theologie, nicht allein in den katholischen, sondern selbst auch in den protestantischen Ländern.' *Tennemann, Gesch. der Philos.* vol. ix. p. 516. Descartes, in a letter to Mersenne (*Œuvres*, vol. vi. p. 73), writes, in 1629, 'La théologie, laquelle on a tellement assujettie à Aristote, qu'il est impossible d'expliquer une autre philosophie qu'il ne semble d'abord qu'elle soit contre la foi.' Compare vol. vii. p. 344, vol. viii. pp. 281, 497.

244 Dr. Brown (*Philosophy of the Mind*, Edinburgh, 1838, p. 172) calls Descartes 'that illustrious rebel, who, in overthrowing the authority of Aristotle,' &c. See also *Duvernet, Hist. de la Sorbonne*, vol. ii. p. 192; *Cuvier, Hist. des Sciences*, part ii. p. 532; and *Locke's Works*, vol. iii. p. 48. This, I need hardly say, refers to the habit of appealing to Aristotle as if he were infallible, and is very different from that respect which is naturally felt for

These were the principal services rendered to civilization by one of the greatest men Europe has ever produced. The analogy between him and Richelieu is very striking, and is as complete as their relative positions would allow. The same disregard of ancient notions, the same contempt for theological interests, the same indifference to tradition, the same determination to prefer the present to the past: in a word, the same essentially modern spirit, is seen alike in the writings of Descartes, and in the actions of Richelieu. What the first was to philosophy, that was the other to politics. But, while acknowledging the merits of these eminent men, it behoves us to remember that their success was the result, not only of their own abilities, but likewise of the general temper of their time. The nature of their labours depended on themselves; the way in which their labours were received, depended on their contemporaries. Had they lived in a more superstitious age, their views would have been disregarded, or, if noticed, would have been execrated as impious novelties. In the fifteenth, or early in the sixteenth century, the genius of Descartes and of Richelieu would have lacked the materials necessary to their work; their comprehensive minds would, in that state of society, have found no play; they would have awakened no sympathies; their bread would have been cast upon those waters which return it not again. And it would have been well for them if, in such a case, indifference were the only penalty with which they would be visited. It would have been well if they had not paid the forfeit incurred by many of those illustrious thinkers who have vainly attempted to stem the torrent of human credulity. It would have been well if the church had not risen in her wrath—if Richelieu had not been executed as a traitor, and Descartes burned as a heretic.

Indeed, the mere fact that two such men, occupying so conspicuous a place before the public eye, and enforcing views so obnoxious to the interests of superstition, should

a man who was probably the greatest of all the ancient thinkers. The difference between the Aristotelian and Cartesian systems is touched on rather hastily in *Cudworth's Intellect. Syst.* vol. i. pp. 170, 171.

have lived without serious danger, and then have died peaceably in their beds—the mere fact that this should have happened, is a decisive proof of the progress which, during fifty years, had been made by the French nation. With such rapidity were the prejudices of that great people dying away, that opinions utterly subversive of theological traditions, and fatal to the whole scheme of ecclesiastical power, were with impunity advocated by Descartes, and put in practice by Richelieu. It was now clearly seen, that the two foremost men of their time could, with little or no risk, openly propagate ideas which, half a century before, it would have been accounted dangerous even for the most obscure man to whisper in the privacy of his own chamber.

Nor are the causes of this impunity difficult to understand. They are to be found in the diffusion of that sceptical spirit, by which, in France as well as in England, toleration was preceded. For, without entering into details which would be too long for the limits of this Introduction, it is enough to say, that French literature generally was, at this period, distinguished by a freedom and a boldness of inquiry, of which, England alone excepted, no example had then been seen in Europe. The generation which had listened to the teachings of Montaigne and of Charron, was now succeeded by another generation, the disciples, indeed, of those eminent men, but disciples who far outstripped their masters. The result was, that, during the thirty or forty years which preceded the power of Louis XIV.,[245] there was not to be found a single Frenchman of note who did not share in the general feeling — not one who did not attack some ancient dogma, or sap the foundation of some old opinion. This fearless temper was the characteristic of the ablest writers of that time;[246]

[245] That is, in 1661, when Louis XIV. first assumed the government.

[246] M. Barante (*Tableau de la Littérature Française*, pp. 26, 27) notices 'cette indépendance dans les idées, ce jugement audacieux de toutes choses, qu'on remarque dans Corneille, dans Mézéray, dans Balzac, dans Saint-Réal, dans Lamothe-Levayer.' To these may be added Naudé, Patin, and probably Gassendi. Compare *Hallam's Literat. of Europe*, vol. ii. pp. 364, 365, with *Mackintosh's Ethical Philos.* p. 116, and *Lettres de Patin*, vol. i. p. 297, vol. ii. pp. 33, 186, 191, 242, 342, 490, 508, vol. iii. p. 87.

but what is still more observable is, that the movement spread with such rapidity as to include in its action even those parts of society which are invariably the last to be affected by it. That spirit of doubt, which is the necessary precursor of all inquiry, and therefore of all solid improvement, owes its origin to the most thinking and intellectual parts of society, and is naturally opposed by the other parts: opposed by the nobles, because it is dangerous to their interests; opposed by the uneducated, because it attacks their prejudices. This is one of the reasons why neither the highest nor the lowest ranks are fit to conduct the government of a civilized country; since both of them, notwithstanding individual exceptions, are, in the aggregate, averse to those reforms which the exigencies of an advancing nation constantly require. But in France, before the middle of the seventeenth century, even these classes began to participate in the great progress; so that, not only among thoughtful men, but likewise among the ignorant and the frivolous, there was seen that inquisitive and incredulous disposition, which, whatever may be said against it, has at least this peculiarity, that, in its absence, there is no instance to be found of the establishment of those principles of toleration and of liberty, which have only been recognized with infinite difficulty, and after many a hard-fought battle against prejudices whose inveterate tenacity might almost cause them to be deemed a part of the original constitution of the human mind.[247]

It is no wonder if, under these circumstances, the speculations of Descartes and the actions of Richelieu should

[247] The increase of incredulity was so remarkable, as to give rise to a ridiculous assertion, 'qu'il y avoit plus de 50,000 Athées dans Paris vers l'an 1623.' *Baillet, Jugemens des Savans*, Paris, 1722, 4to, vol. i. p. 185. Baillet has no difficulty in rejecting this preposterous statement (which is also noticed in *Coleridge's Literary Remains*, vol. i. p. 305; where, however, there is apparently a confusion between two different periods); but the spread of scepticism among the upper ranks and courtiers, during the reign of Louis XIII. and the minority of Louis XIV., is attested by a great variety of evidence. See *Mém. de Madame de Motteville*, vol. iii. p. 52; *Mém. de Retz*, vol. i. p. 266; *Conrart, Mém.* p. 235 note; *Des Réaux, Historiettes*, vol. vii. p. 143; *Mém. de Brienne*, vol. ii. p. 107 note.

have met with great success. The system of Descartes exercised immense influence, and soon pervaded nearly every branch of knowledge.[248] The policy of Richelieu was so firmly established, that it was continued without the slightest difficulty by his immediate successor: nor was any attempt made to reverse it until that forcible and artificial reaction which, under Louis XIV., was fatal, for a time, to every sort of civil and religious liberty. The history of that reaction, and the way in which, by a counter-reaction, the French Revolution was prepared, will be related in the subsequent chapters of this volume; at present we will resume the thread of those events which took place in France before Louis XIV. assumed the government.

A few months after the death of Richelieu, Louis XIII. also died, and the crown was inherited by Louis XIV., who was then a child, and who for many years had no influence in public affairs. During his minority, the government was administered, avowedly by his mother, but in reality by Mazarin; a man who, though in every point inferior to Richelieu, had imbibed something of his spirit, and who, so far as he was able, adopted the policy of that great statesman, to whom he owed his promotion.[249] He, influenced partly by the example of his predecessor, partly by his own character, and partly by the spirit of his age, showed no desire to persecute the Protestants, or to dis-

[248] Volumes might be written on the influence of Descartes, which was seen, not only in subjects immediately connected with his philosophy, but even in those apparently remote from it. Compare *Broussais, Examen des Doctrines Médicales*, vol. ii. pp. 55 seq.; *Lettres de Patin*, vol. iii. p. 153; *Sprengel, Hist. de la Médecine*, vol. iv. p. 238; *Cuvier, Hist. des Sciences*, part ii. pp. 327, 332, 352, 363; *Stäudlin, Geschichte der theologischen Wissenschaften*, vol. i. p. 263; *Tennemann, Gesch. der Philos.* vol. x. pp. 285 seq.; *Huetius de Rebus ad eum pertinentibus*, pp. 35, 295, 296, 385-389; *Mosheim's Eccles. Hist.* vol. ii. p 258; *Dacier, Rapport Historique*, p. 334; *Leslie's Nat. Philos.* p. 121; *Eloges*, in *Œuvres de Fontenelle*, Paris, 1766, vol. v. pp. 94, 106, 137, 197, 234, 392, vol. vi. pp. 157, 318, 449; *Thomson's Hist. of Chemistry*, vol. i. p. 195; *Quérard, France Lit.* vol. iii. p. 273.

[249] On the connexion between Richelieu and Mazarin, see *Sismondi, Hist. des Français*, vol. xxiii. pp. 400, 530; and a curious, though, perhaps, apocryphal anecdote in *Tallemant des Réaux, Historiettes*, vol. ii. pp. 231, 232. In 1636 there was noticed 'l'étroite union' between Richelieu and Mazarin. *Le Vassor, Hist. de Louis XIII*, vol. viii. part ii. p. 187.

turb them in any of the rights they then exercised.[250] His first act was to confirm the Edict of Nantes;[251] and, towards the close of his life, he even allowed the Protestants again to hold those synods which their own violence had been the means of interrupting.[252] Between the death of Richelieu and the accession to power of Louis XIV., there elapsed a period of nearly twenty years, during which Mazarin, with the exception of a few intervals, was at the head of the state; and in the whole of that time, I have found no instance of any Frenchman being punished for his religion. Indeed, the new government, so far from protecting the church by repressing heresy, displayed that indifference to ecclesiastical interests which was now becoming a settled maxim of French policy. Richelieu, as we have already seen, had taken the bold step of placing Protestants at the head of the royal armies; and this he had done upon the simple principle, that one of the first duties of a statesman is to employ for the benefit of the country the ablest men he can find, without regard to their theological opinions, with which, as he well knew, no government has any concern. But Louis XIII., whose personal feelings were always opposed to the enlightened measures of his great minister, was offended by this magnanimous disregard of ancient prejudices; his piety was shocked at the idea of Catholic soldiers being commanded by heretics; and, as we are assured by a well-informed contemporary, he determined to put an end to this scandal to the church, and, for the future, allow no Protestant to receive the staff of marshal of France.[253] Whether the king, if he had lived, would have carried his

[250] 'Mazarin n'avoit ni fanatisme ni esprit persécuteur.' *Sismondi, Hist. des Français*, vol. xxiv. p. 531. That he did not persecute the Protestants is grudgingly confessed in *Felice's Hist. of the Protestants of France*, p. 292. See also *Smedley's Reformed Religion in France*, vol. iii. p. 222.

[251] He confirmed it in July 1643. See *Benoist, Hist. de l'Edit de Nantes*, vol. iii. appendix, p. 3; and *Quick's Synodicon in Gallia*, vol. i. p. ciii.

[252] In 1659, there was assembled the Synod of Loudun, the moderator of which said, 'It is now fifteen years since we had a national synod.' *Quick's Synodicon in Gallia*, vol. ii. p. 517.

[253] Brienne records the determination of the king, 'que cette dignité ne seroit plus accordée à des protestans.' *Sismondi, Histoire des Français*, vol. xxiv. p. 65.

point, is doubtful;[254] but what is certain is, that, only four months after his death, this appointment of marshal was bestowed upon Turenne, the most able of all the Protestant generals.[255] And in the very next year, Gassion, another Protestant, was raised to the same dignity; thus affording the strange spectacle of the highest military power in a great Catholic country wielded by two men against whose religion the church was never weary of directing her anathemas.[256] In a similar spirit, Mazarin, on mere grounds of political expediency, concluded an intimate alliance with Cromwell; an usurper who, in the opinion of the theologians, was doomed to perdition, since he was soiled by the triple crime of rebellion, of heresy, and of regicide.[257] Finally, one of the last acts of this pupil of Richelieu's[258] was to sign the celebrated treaty of the Pyrenees, by which ecclesiastical interests were seriously weakened, and great injury inflicted on him who was still considered to be the head of the church.[259]

[254] He was so uneasy about the sin he had committed, that just before his death he entreated the Protestant marshals to change their creed: 'Il ne voulut pas mourir sans avoir exhorté de sa propre bouche les maréchaux de la Force et de Chatillon à se faire Catholiques.' *Benoist, Hist. de l'Edit de Nantes*, vol. ii. p. 612. The same circumstance is mentioned by Le Vassor, *Hist. de Louis XIII*, vol. x. part ii. p. 785.

[255] Louis XIII. died in May 1643, and Turenne was made marshal in the September following. *Lavallée, Hist. des Français*, vol. iii. pp. 148, 151.

[256] Sismondi (*Hist. des Français*, vol. xxiv. p. 65) makes the appointment of Gassion in 1644; according to Montglat (*Mémoires*, vol. i. p. 437) it was at the end of 1643. There are some singular anecdotes of Gassion in *Les Historiettes de Tallemant des Réaux*, vol. v. pp. 167-180; and an account of his death in *Mém. de Motteville*, vol. ii. p. 290, from which it appears that he remained a Protestant to the last.

[257] The Pope especially was offended by this alliance (*Ranke, die Päpste*, vol. iii. p. 158, compared with *Vaughan's Cromwell*, vol. i. p. 343, vol. ii. p. 124); and, judging from the language of Clarendon, the orthodox party in England was irritated by it. *Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion*, pp. 699, 700. Contemporary notices of this union between the cardinal and the regicide, will be found in *Mém. de Retz*, vol. i. p. 349; *Mém de Montglat*, vol. ii. p. 478, vol. iii. p. 23; *Lettres de Patin*, vol. ii. pp. 183, 302, 426; *Marchand, Dict. Historique*, vol. ii. p. 56; *Mem. of Sir Philip Warwick*, p. 377; *Harris's Lives of the Stuarts*, vol. iii. p. 393.

[258] De Retz (*Mémoires*, vol. i. p. 59), who knew Richelieu, calls Mazarin 'son disciple.' And at p. 65 he adds, 'comme il marchoit sur les pas du cardinal de Richelieu, qui avoit achevé de détruire toutes les anciennes maximes de l'état.' Compare *Mém. de Motteville*, vol. ii. p. 18; and *Mém. de la Rochefoucauld*, vol. i. p. 444.

[259] On the open affront to the Pope by this treaty, see *Ranke, die Päpste*,

But, the circumstance for which the administration of Mazarin is most remarkable, is the breaking out of that great civil war called the Fronde, in which the people attempted to carry into politics the insubordinate spirit which had already displayed itself in literature and in religion. Here we cannot fail to note the similarity between this struggle and that which, at the same time, was taking place in England. It would, indeed, be far from accurate to say that the two events were the counterpart of each other; but there can be no doubt that the analogy between them is very striking. In both countries, the civil war was the first popular expression of what had hitherto been rather a speculative, and, so to say, a literary scepticism. In both countries, incredulity was followed by rebellion, and the abasement of the clergy preceded the humiliation of the crown; for Richelieu was to the French church what Elizabeth had been to the English church. In both countries there now first arose that great product of civilization, a free press, which showed its liberty by pouring forth those fearless and innumerable works which mark the activity of the age.[260] In both countries, the struggle

vol. iii. p. 159: 'An dem pyrenäischen Frieden nahm er auch nicht einmal mehr einen scheinbaren Antheil: man vermied es seine Abgeordneten zuzulassen: kaum wurde seiner noch darin gedacht.' The consequences and the meaning of all this are well noticed by M. Ranke.

[260] 'La presse jouissait d'une entière liberté pendant les troubles de la Fronde, et le public prenait un tel intérêt aux débats politiques, que les pamphlets se débitaient quelquefois au nombre de huit et dix mille exemplaires.' *Sainte-Aulaire, Hist. de la Fronde*, vol. i. p. 299. Tallemant des Réaux, who wrote immediately after the Fronde, says (*Historiettes*, vol. iv. p. 74), 'Durant la Fronde, qu'on imprimoit tout.' And Omer Talon, with the indignation natural to a magistrate, mentions, that in 1649, 'toutes sortes de libelles et de diffamations se publioient hautement par la ville sans permission du magistrat.' *Mém. d'Omer Talon*, vol. ii. p. 466. For further evidence of the great importance of the press in France in the middle of the seventeenth century, see *Mém. de Lenet*, vol. i. p. 162; *Mém. de Motteville*, vol. iii. pp. 288, 289; *Lettres de Patin*, vol. i. p. 432, vol. ii. p. 517; *Monteil. Hist. des divers Etats*, vol. vii. p. 175.

In England, the Long Parliament succeeded to the licensing authority of the Star-chamber (*Blackstone's Commentaries*, vol. iv. p. 152); but it is evident from the literature of that time, that for a considerable period the power was in reality in abeyance. Both parties attacked each other freely through the press; and it is said, that between the breaking out of the civil war and the restoration, there were published from 30,000 to 50,000 pamphlets. *Morgan's Phœnix Britannicus*, 1731, 4to, pp. iii. 557; *Carlyle's Cromwell*,

was between retrogression and progress; between those who clung to tradition, and those who longed for innovation; while, in both, the contest assumed the external form of a war between king and parliament, the king being the organ of the past, the parliament the representative of the present. And, not to mention inferior similarities, there was one other point of vast importance in which these two great events coincide. This is, that both of them were eminently secular, and arose from the desire, not of propagating religious opinions, but of securing civil liberty. The temporal character of the English rebellion I have already noticed, and, indeed, it must be obvious to whoever has studied the evidence in its original sources. In France, not only do we find the same result, but we can even mark the stages of the progress. In the middle of the sixteenth century, and immediately after the death of Henry III., the French civil wars were caused by religious disputes, and were carried on with the fervour of a crusade. Early in the seventeenth century, hostilities again broke out; but though the efforts of the government were directed against the Protestants, this was not because they were heretics, but because they were rebels: the object being, not to punish an opinion, but to control a faction. This was the first great stage in the history of toleration; and it was accomplished, as we have already seen, during the reign of Louis XIII. That generation passing away, there arose, in the next age, the wars of the Fronde; and in this, which may be called the second stage of the French intellect, the alteration was still more remarkable. For, in the mean time, the principles of the great sceptical thinkers, from Montaigne to Descartes, had produced their natural fruit, and, becoming diffused among the educated classes, had influenced, as they always will do, not only those by whom they were received, but also those by

vol. i. p. 4; *Southey's Commonplace Book*, third series, p. 449. See also, on this great movement of the press, *Bates's Account of the late Troubles*, part i. p. 78; *Bulstrode's Memoirs*, p. 4; *Howell's Letters*, p. 354; *Hunt's Hist. of Newspapers*, vol. i. p. 45; *Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion*, p. 81; *Nichols's Lit. Anec.* vol. iv. pp. 86, 102.

whom they were rejected. Indeed, a mere knowledge of the fact, that the most eminent men have thrown doubt on the popular opinions of an age, can never fail, in some degree, to disturb the convictions even of those by whom the doubts are ridiculed.[261] In such cases, none are entirely safe: the firmest belief is apt to become slightly unsettled; those who outwardly preserve the appearance of orthodoxy, often unconsciously waver; they cannot entirely resist the influence of superior minds, nor can they always avoid an unwelcome suspicion, that when ability is on one side, and ignorance on the other, it is barely possible that the ability may be right, and the ignorance may be wrong.

Thus it fell out in France. In that country, as in every other, when theological convictions diminished, theological animosities subsided. Formerly religion had been the cause of war, and had also been the pretext under which it was conducted. Then there came a time when it ceased to be the cause; but so slow is the progress of society, that it was still found necessary to set it up as the pretext.[262] Finally, there came the great days of the Fronde, in which it was neither cause nor pretext;[263] and in which there was seen, for the first time in France, an arduous struggle by human beings avowedly for human

[261] Dugald Stewart (*Philos. of the Mind*, vol. i. p. 357) says, 'Nothing can be more just than the observation of Fontenelle, that "the number of those who believe in a system already established in the world, does not, in the least, add to its credibility; but that the number of those who doubt of it, has a tendency to diminish it."' Compare with this *Newman on Development*, Lond. 1845, p. 31; and the remark of Hylas in *Berkeley's Works*, edit. 1843, vol. i. pp. 151, 152, first dialogue.

[262] Compare *Capefigue's Richelieu*, vol. i. p. 293, with a remarkable passage in *Mém. de Rohan*, vol. i. p. 317; where Rohan contrasts the religious wars he was engaged in during the administration of Richelieu, with those very different wars which had been waged in France a little earlier.

[263] 'L'esprit religieux ne s'était mêlé en aucune manière aux querelles de la Fronde.' *Capefigue*, vol. ii. p. 434. Lenet, who had great influence with what was called the party of the princes, says that he always avoided any attempt 'à faire aboutir notre parti à une guerre de religion.' *Mém. de Lenet*, vol. i. p. 319. 'Even the people said that it was unimportant whether or not a man died a Protestant; but that if he were a partizan of Mazarin, he was sure to be damned: 'Ils disoient qu'étant mazarin, il falloit qu'il fût damné.' *Lenet*, vol. i. p. 434.

purposes; a war waged by men who sought, not to enforce their opinions, but to increase their liberty. And, as if to make this change still more striking, the most eminent leader of the insurgents was the Cardinal de Retz; a man of vast ability, but whose contempt for his profession was notorious,[264] and of whom a great historian has said, 'he is the first bishop in France who carried on a civil war without making religion the pretence.'[265]

We have thus seen that, during the seventy years which succeeded the accession of Henry IV., the French intellect developed itself in a manner remarkably similar to that which took place in England. We have seen that, in both countries, the mind, according to the natural conditions of its growth, first doubted what it had long believed, and then tolerated what it had long hated. That this was by no means an accidental or capricious combination, is evident, not only from general arguments, and from the analogy of the two countries, but also from another circumstance of great interest. This is, that the order of events, and as it were their relative proportions, were the same, not only in reference to the increase of toleration, but also in reference to the increase of literature and science. In both countries, the progress of knowledge bore the same ratio to the decline of ecclesiastical influence, although they manifested that ratio at different periods. We had begun to throw off our superstitions somewhat

264 Indeed he does not conceal this even in his memoirs. He says (*Mém.* vol. i. p. 3), he had 'l'âme peut-être la moins ecclésiastique qui fût dans l'univers.' At p. 13, 'le chagrin que ma profession ne laissoit pas de nourrir toujours dans le fonds de mon âme.' At p. 21, 'je haïssois ma profession plus que jamais.' At p. 48, 'le clergé, qui donne toujours l'exemple de la servitude, la prêchoit aux autres sous le titre d'obéissance.' See also the remark of his great friend Joly (*Mém. de Joly*, p. 209, edit. Petitot, 1825); and the account given by Tallemant des Réaux, who knew De Retz well, and had travelled with him, *Historiettes*, vol. vii. pp. 18-30. The same tendency is illustrated, though in a much smaller degree, by a conversation which Charles II., when in exile, held with De Retz, and which is preserved in *Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion*, p. 806, and is worth consulting merely as an instance of the purely secular view that De Retz always took of political affairs.

265 'Cet homme singulier est le premier évêque en France qui ait fait une guerre civile sans avoir la religion pour prétexte.' *Siècle de Louis XIV*, in *Œuvres de Voltaire*, vol. xix. p. 261.

earlier than the French were able to do; and thus, being the first in the field, we anticipated that great people in producing a secular literature. Whoever will take the pains to compare the growth of the French and English minds, will see that, in all the most important departments, we were the first, I do not say in merit, but in the order of time. In prose, in poetry, and in every branch of intellectual excellence, it will be found, on comparison, that we were before the French nearly a whole generation; and that, chronologically, the same proportion was preserved as that between Bacon and Descartes, Hooker and Pascal,[266] Shakespeare and Corneille, Massinger and Racine, Ben Jonson and Molière, Harvey and Pecquet. These eminent men were all justly celebrated in their respective countries; and it would perhaps be invidious to institute a comparison between them. But what we have here to observe is, that among those who cultivated the same department, the greatest Englishman, in every instance, preceded the greatest Frenchman by many years. The difference, running as it does through all the leading topics, is far too regular to be considered accidental. And as few Englishmen of the present day will be so presumptuous as to suppose that we possess any native and inherent superiority over the French, it is evident that there must be some marked peculiarity in which the two countries differed, and which has produced this difference, not in their knowledge, but in the time at which their knowledge appeared. Nor does the discovery of this peculiarity require much penetration. For, notwithstanding that the French were more tardy than the English, still, when the development had fairly begun, the antecedents of its success were among both people precisely the same. It is, therefore, clear, according to the commonest principles of inductive reasoning, that the lateness of the development must be owing to the lateness of the antecedent. It is clear that

266 Hooker and Pascal may properly be classed together, as the two most sublime theological writers either country has produced; for Bossuet is as inferior to Pascal as Jeremy Taylor is inferior to Hooker.

the French knew less because they believed more.[267] It is clear that their progress was checked by the prevalence of those feelings which are fatal to all knowledge, because, looking on antiquity as the sole receptacle of wisdom, they degrade the present in order that they may exaggerate the past: feelings which destroy the prospects of man, stifle his hopes, damp his curiosity, chill his energies, impair his judgment, and, under pretence of humbling the pride of his reason, seek to throw him back into that more than midnight darkness from which his reason alone has enabled him to emerge.

The analogy thus existing between France and England, is, indeed, very striking, and, so far as we have yet considered it, seems complete in all its parts. To sum up the similarities in a few words, it may be said, that both countries followed the same order of development in their scepticism, in their knowledge, in their literature, and in their toleration. In both countries, there broke out a civil war at the same time, for the same object, and, in many respects, under the same circumstances. In both, the insurgents, at first triumphant, were afterwards defeated; and the rebellion being put down, the governments of the two nations were fully restored almost at the same moment: in 1660 by Charles II.; in 1661, by Louis XIV.[268] But there the similarity stopped. At this point there began a marked divergence between the two countries;[269] which continued to increase for more than a century, until

[267] One of the most remarkable men they have ever possessed notices this connexion, which he expresses conversely, but with equal truth: 'moins on sait, moins on doute; moins on a découvert, moins on voit ce qui reste à découvrir. . . . . Quand les hommes sont ignorans, il est aisé de tout savoir.' *Discours en Sorbonne*, in *Œuvres de Turgot*, vol. ii. pp. 65, 70.

[268] Mazarin, until his death in 1661, exercised complete authority over Louis. See *Siècle de Louis XIV*, in *Œuvres de Voltaire*, vol. xix. pp. 318, 319; and *Lavallée, Hist. des Français*, vol. iii. p. 195: so that, as Montglat says (*Mém.* vol. iii. p. 111), 'On doit appeler ce temps-là le commencement du règne de Louis XIV.' The pompous manner in which, directly after the death of Mazarin, the king assumed the government, is related by Brienne, who was present. *Mém. de Brienne*, vol. ii. pp. 154-158.

[269] By this I mean, that the divergence now first became clear to every observer; but the origin of the divergence dates from a much earlier period, as we shall see in the next chapter.

it ended in England by the consolidation of the national prosperity, in France by a revolution more sanguinary, more complete, and more destructive, than any the world has ever seen. This difference between the fortunes of such great and civilized nations is so remarkable, that a knowledge of its causes becomes essential to a right understanding of European history, and will be found to throw considerable light on other events not immediately connected with it. Besides this, such an inquiry, independently of its scientific interest, will have a high practical value. It will show, what men seem only recently to have begun to understand, that, in politics, no certain principles having yet been discovered, the first conditions of success are compromise, barter, expediency, and concession. It will show the utter helplessness even of the ablest rulers, when they try to meet new emergencies by old maxims. It will show the intimate connexion between knowledge and liberty; between an increasing civilization and an advancing democracy. It will show that, for a progressive nation, there is required a progressive polity; that, within certain limits, innovation is the sole ground of security; that no institution can withstand the flux and movements of society, unless it not only repairs its structure, but also widens its entrance; and that, even in a material point of view, no country can long remain either prosperous or safe, in which the people are not gradually extending their power, enlarging their privileges, and, so to say, incorporating themselves with the functions of the state.

The tranquillity of England, and her freedom from civil war, are to be ascribed to the recognition of these great truths;[270] while the neglect of them has entailed upon other countries the most woeful calamities. On this account, therefore, if on no other, it becomes interesting to ascertain how it was that the two nations we have been

[270] That is to say, their practical recognition; theoretically, they are still denied by innumerable politicians, who, nevertheless, assist in carrying them into effect, fondly hoping that each innovation will be the last, and enticing men into reform under the pretext that by each change they are returning to the spirit of the ancient British constitution.

comparing should, in regard to these truths, have adopted views diametrically opposite, although, in other matters, their opinions, as we have already seen, were very similar. Or, to state the question in other words, we have to inquire how it was that the French, after pursuing precisely the same course as the English, in their knowledge, in their scepticism, and in their toleration, should have stopped short in their politics; how it was that their minds, which had effected such great things, should, nevertheless, have been so unprepared for liberty, that, in spite of the heroic efforts of the Fronde, they not only fell under the despotism of Louis XIV., but never even cared to resist it; and, at length, becoming slaves in their souls as well as in their bodies, they grew proud of a condition which the meanest Englishman would have spurned as an intolerable bondage.

The cause of this difference is to be sought in the existence of that spirit of protection which is so dangerous and yet so plausible, that it forms the most serious obstacle with which advancing civilization has to contend. This, which may truly be called an evil spirit, has always been far stronger in France than in England. Indeed, among the French, it continues, even to the present day, to produce the most mischievous results. It is, as I shall hereafter point out, intimately connected with that love of centralization which appears in the machinery of their government, and in the spirit of their literature. It is this which induces them to retain restrictions by which their trade has long been troubled, and to preserve monopolies which, in our country, a freer system has effectually destroyed. It is this which causes them to interfere with the natural relation between producers and consumers; to force into existence manufactures which otherwise would never arise, and which, for that very reason, are not required; to disturb the ordinary march of industry, and, under pretence of protecting their native labourers, diminish the produce of labour by diverting it from those profitable channels into which its own instincts always compel it to flow.

When the protective principle is carried into trade, these are its inevitable results. When it is carried into politics, there is formed what is called a paternal government, in which supreme power is vested in the sovereign, or in a few privileged classes. When it is carried into theology, it produces a powerful church, and a numerous clergy, who are supposed to be the necessary guardians of religion, and every opposition to whom is resented as an insult to the public morals. These are the marks by which protection may be recognized; and, from a very early period, they have displayed themselves in France much more clearly than in England. Without pretending to discover their precise origin, I will, in the next chapter, endeavour to trace them back to a time sufficiently remote to explain some of the discrepancies which, in this respect, existed between the two countries.

Note to p. 544. Descartes died in Sweden on a visit to Christina; so that, strictly speaking, there is an error in the text. But this does not affect the argument; because the works of Descartes, being eagerly read in France, and not being prohibited, we must suppose that his person would have been safe, had he remained in his own country. To burn a heretic is a more decisive step than to suppress a book; and as the French clergy were not strong enough to effect the latter, it is hardly likely that they could have accomplished the former.

CHAPTER IX.

HISTORY OF THE PROTECTIVE SPIRIT, AND COMPARISON OF IT IN FRANCE AND ENGLAND.

When, towards the end of the fifth century, the Roman empire was broken up, there followed, as is well known, a long period of ignorance and of crime, in which even the ablest minds were immersed in the grossest superstitions. During these, which are rightly called the Dark Ages, the clergy were supreme: they ruled the consciences of the most despotic sovereigns, and they were respected as men of vast learning, because they alone were able to read and write; because they were the sole depositaries of those idle conceits of which European science then consisted; and because they preserved the legends of the saints and the lives of the fathers, from which, as it was believed, the teachings of divine wisdom might easily be gathered.

Such was the degradation of the European intellect for about five hundred years, during which the credulity of men reached a height unparalleled in the annals of ignorance. But at length the human reason, that divine spark which even the most corrupt society is unable to extinguish, began to display its power, and disperse the mists by which it was surrounded. Various circumstances, which it would be tedious here to discuss, caused this dispersion to take place at different times in different countries. However, speaking generally, we may say that it occurred in the tenth and eleventh centuries, and that by the twelfth century there was no nation now called civilized, upon whom the light had not begun to dawn.

It is from this point that the first great divergence between the European nations took its rise. Before this time

their superstition was so great and universal, that it would avail little to measure the degree of their relative darkness. Indeed, so low had they fallen, that, during the earlier period, the authority of the clergy was in many respects an advantage, as forming a barrier between the people and their rulers, and as supplying the sole instance of a class that even made an approach to intellectual pursuits. But, when the great movement took place, when the human reason began to rebel, the position of the clergy was suddenly changed. They had been friendly to reasoning as long as the reasoning was on their side.[1] While they were the only guardians of knowledge, they were eager to promote its interests. Now, however, it was falling from their hands: it was becoming possessed by laymen: it was growing dangerous: it must be reduced to its proper dimensions. Then it was that there first became general the inquisitions, the imprisonments, the torturings, the burnings, and all the other contrivances by which the church vainly attempted to stem the tide that had turned against her.[2] From that moment there has been an unceasing struggle between these two great parties,—the advocates of inquiry, and the advocates of

[1] 'Toute influence qu'on accordait à la science ne pouvait, dans les premiers temps, qu'être favorable au clergé.' *Meyer, Institut. Judic.* vol. i. p. 498.

[2] Early in the eleventh century the clergy first began systematically to repress independent inquiries by punishing men who attempted to think for themselves. Compare *Sismondi, Hist. des Français,* vol. iv. pp. 145, 146; *Neander's Hist. of the Church,* vol. vi. pp. 365, 366; *Prescott's Hist. of Ferdinand and Isabella,* vol. i. p. 261 note. Before this, such a policy, as Sismondi justly observes, was not required: 'Pendant plusieurs siècles, l'église n'avoit été troublée par aucune hérésie; l'ignorance étoit trop complète, la soumission trop servile, la foi trop aveugle, pour que les questions qui avoient si long-temps exercé la subtilité des Grecs fussent seulement comprises par les Latins.' As knowledge advanced, the opposition between inquiry and belief became more marked: the church redoubled her efforts, and at the end of the twelfth century the popes first formally called on the secular power to punish heretics; and the earliest constitution addressed 'inquisitoribus hæreticæ pravitatis' is one by Alexander IV. *Meyer, Inst. Jud.* vol. ii. pp. 554, 556. See also, on this movement, *Llorente, Hist. de l'Inquisition,* vol. i. p. 125, vol. iv. p. 284. In 1222 a synod assembled at Oxford caused an apostate to be burned; and this, says Lingard (*Hist. of England,* vol. ii. p. 148), 'is, I believe, the first instance of capital punishment in England on the ground of religion.' Compare *Wright's Biog. Brit. Lit.* vol. ii. p. 444.

belief; a struggle which, however it may be disguised, and under whatever forms it may appear, is at bottom always the same, and represents the opposite interests of reason and faith, of scepticism and credulity, of progress and reaction, of those who hope for the future, and of those who cling to the past.

This, then, is the great starting point of modern civilization. From the moment that reason began, however faintly, to assert its supremacy, the improvement of every people has depended upon their obedience to his dictates, and upon the success with which they have reduced to its standard the whole of their actions. To understand, therefore, the original divergence of France and England, we must seek it in the circumstances that took place when this, which may be called the great rebellion of the intellect, was first clearly seen.

If now, with a view to such inquiry, we examine the history of Europe, we shall find that just at this period there sprung up the feudal system; a vast scheme of polity, which, clumsy and imperfect as it was, supplied many of the wants of the rude people among whom it arose.[3] The connexion between it and the decline of the ecclesiastical spirit is very obvious. For, the feudal system was the first great secular plan that had been seen in Europe since the formation of the civil law: it was the first comprehensive attempt which had been made, during more than four hundred years, to organize society according to temporal, not according to spiritual circumstances, the basis of the whole arrangement being merely the pos-

[3] Sir F. Palgrave (*English Commonwealth*, vol. ii. p. ccvi.) says, 'It is generally admitted, by the best authorities, that from about the eleventh century benefices acquired the name of fiefs or feuds;' and Robertson (*State of Europe*, note viii. in *Works*, p. 393) supposes that the word *feudum* does not occur before 1008. But according to M. Guizot (*Civilisation en France*, vol. iii. p. 238), 'il apparaît, pour la première fois, dans une charte de Charles le Gros en 884.' This is a question more curious than important; since whatever the origin of the word may be, it is certain that the thing did not, and could not, exist before the tenth century at the earliest: inasmuch as the extreme disorganization of society rendered so coercive an institution impossible. M. Guizot, in another work (*Essais sur l'Hist. de France*, p. 239, rightly says, 'Au X[e] siècle seulement, les rapports et les pouvoirs sociaux acquirent quelque fixité.' See also his *Civilisation en Europe*, p. 90.

session of land, and the performance of certain military and pecuniary services.[4]

This was, no doubt, a great step in European civilization, because it set the first example of a large public polity in which the spiritual classes as such had no recognized place;[5] and hence there followed that struggle between feudality and the church, which has been observed by several writers, but the origin of which has been strangely overlooked. What, however, we have now to notice is, that by the establishment of the feudal system, the spirit of protection, far from being destroyed, was probably not even weakened, but only assumed a new form. Instead of being spiritual, it became temporal. Instead of men looking up to the church, they looked up to the nobles. For, as a necessary consequence of this vast movement, or rather as a part of it, the great possessors of land were now being organized into an hereditary aristocracy.[6] In the tenth century, we find the first surnames:[7] by the

[4] 'La terre est tout dans ce système. . . . . Le système féodal est comme une religion de la terre.' *Origines du Droit*, in *Œuvres de Michelet*, vol. ii. p. 302. 'Le caractère de la féodalité, c'était la prédominance de la *réalité* sur la *personnalité*, de la terre sur l'homme.' *Eschbach, Etude du Droit*, p. 256.

[5] According to the social and political arrangements from the fourth to the tenth century, the clergy were so eminently a class apart, that they were freed from 'burdens of the state,' and were not obliged to engage in military services unless they thought proper to do so. See *Neander's Hist. of the Church*, vol. iii. p. 195, vol. v. pp. 133, 140; and *Petrie's Ecclesiast. Archit.* p. 382. But under the feudal system this immunity was lost; and in regard to performing services no separation of classes was admitted. 'After the feudal polity became established, we do not find that there was any dispensation for ecclesiastical fiefs.' *Hallam's Supplemental Notes*, p. 120; and for further proof of the loss of the old privileges, compare *Grose's Military Antiquities*, vol. i. pp. 5, 64; *Meyer, Instit. Judic.* vol. i. p. 257; *Turner's Hist. of England*, vol. iv. p. 462; and *Mably's Observations*, vol. i. pp. 434, 435: so that, as this writer says, p. 215, 'Chaque seigneur laïc avait gagné personnellement à la révolution qui forma le gouvernement féodal; mais les évêques et les abbés, en devenant souverains dans leurs terres, perdirent au contraire beaucoup de leur pouvoir et de leur dignité.'

[6] The great change of turning life-possessions of land into hereditary possessions, began late in the ninth century, being initiated in France by a capitulary of Charles the Bald, in 877. See *Allen on the Prerogative*, p. 210; *Spence's Origin of the Laws of Europe*, pp. 282, 301; *Meyer, Instit. Judiciaires*, vol. i. p. 206.

[7] That surnames first arose in the tenth century, is stated by the most competent authorities. See *Sismondi, Hist. des Français*, vol. iii. pp. 452-455; *Hallam's Middle Ages*, vol. i. p. 138; *Monteil, Hist. des divers Etats*

eleventh century most of the great offices had become hereditary in the leading families:[8] and in the twelfth century armorial bearings were invented, as well as other heraldic devices, which long nourished the conceit of the nobles, and were valued by their descendants as marks of that superiority of birth to which, during many ages, all other superiority was considered subordinate.[9]

Such was the beginning of the European aristocracy, in the sense in which that word is commonly used. With the consolidation of its power, feudality was made, in reference to the organization of society, the successor of the church;[10] and the nobles, becoming hereditary, gradually displaced in government, and in the general functions of authority, the clergy, among whom the opposite principle of celibacy was now firmly established.[11] It is, therefore, evident, that an inquiry into the origin of the modern protective spirit does, in a great measure, resolve itself into an inquiry into the origin of the aristocratic power;

vol. iii. p. 268; *Petrie's Ecclesiast. Archit.* pp. 277, 342. Koch (*Tableau des Révolutions*, vol. i. p. 138) erroneously says, 'c'est pareillement aux croisades que l'Europe doit l'usage des surnoms de famille;' a double mistake, both as to the date and the cause, since the introduction of surnames, being part of a large social movement, can under no circumstances be ascribed to a single event.

[8] On this process from the end of the ninth to the twelfth century, compare *Hallam's Supplemental Notes*, pp. 97, 98; *Dalrymple's Hist. of Feudal Property*, p. 21; *Klimrath, Hist. du Droit*, vol. i. p. 74.

[9] As to the origin of armorial bearings, which cannot be traced higher than the twelfth century, see *Hallam's Middle Ages*, vol. i. pp. 138, 139; *Ledwich, Antiquities of Ireland*, pp. 231, 232; *Origines du Droit*, in *Œuvres de Michelet*, vol. ii. p. 382.

[10] For, as Lerminier says (*Philos. du Droit*, vol. i. p. 17), 'la loi féodale n'est autre chose que la terre élevée à la souveraineté.' On the decline of the church in consequence of the increased feudal and secular spirit, see *Sismondi, Hist. des Français*, vol. iii. p. 440, vol. iv. p. 88. In our country, one fact may be mentioned illustrative of the earliest encroachments of laymen: namely, that, before the twelfth century, we find no instance in England of the great seal being intrusted 'to the keeping of a layman.' *Campbell's Chancellors*, vol. i. p. 61.

[11] Celibacy, on account of its supposed ascetic tendency, was advocated, and in some countries was enforced, at an early period; but the first general and decisive movement in its favour was in the middle of the eleventh century, before which time it was a speculative doctrine, constantly disobeyed. See *Neander's Hist. of the Church*, vol. vi. pp. 52, 61, 62, 72, 93, 94 note, vol. vii. pp. 127-131; *Mosheim's Eccles. Hist.* vol. i. pp. 248, 249; *Eccleston's English Antiq.* p. 95.

since that power was the exponent, and, as it were, the cover, under which the spirit displayed itself. This, as we shall hereafter see, is likewise connected with the great religious rebellion of the sixteenth century; the success of which mainly depended on the weakness of the protective principle that opposed it. But, reserving this for future consideration, I will now endeavour to trace a few of the circumstances which gave the aristocracy more power in France than in England, and thus accustomed the French to a closer and more constant obedience, and infused into them a more reverential spirit than that which was usual in our country.

Soon after the middle of the eleventh century, and therefore while the aristocracy was in the process of formation, England was conquered by the Duke of Normandy, who naturally introduced the polity existing in his own country.[12] But, in his hands, it underwent a modification suitable to the new circumstances in which he was placed. He, being in a foreign country, the general of a successful army composed partly of mercenaries,[13] was able to dispense with some of those feudal usages which were customary in France. The great Norman lords, thrown as strangers into the midst of a hostile population, were glad to accept estates from the crown on almost any terms that would guarantee their own security. Of this, William naturally availed himself. For, by granting baronies on conditions favourable to the crown, he prevented the barons[14] from possessing that power which

[12] Where it was particularly flourishing: 'la féodalité fut organisée en Normandie plus fortement et plus systématiquement que partout ailleurs en France.' *Klimrath, Travaux sur l'Hist. du Droit*, vol. i. p. 130. The 'coutume de Normandie' was, at a much later period, only to be found in the old 'grand coutumier.' *Klimrath*, vol. ii. p. 160. On the peculiar tenacity with which the Normans clung to it, see *Lettres d'Aguesseau*, vol. ii. pp. 225, 226: 'accoutumés à respecter leur coutume comme l'évangile.'

[13] *Mills's Hist. of Chivalry*, vol. i. p. 387; *Turner's Hist. of England*, vol. ii. p. 390, vol. iv. p. 76. Mercenary troops were also employed by his immediate successors. *Grose's Military Antiq.* vol. i. p. 55.

[14] On the different meanings attached to the word 'baron,' compare *Klimrath, Hist. du Droit*, vol. ii. p. 40, with *Meyer, Instit. Judiciaires*, vol. i. p. 105. But M. Guizot says, what seems most likely, 'il est probable que ce nom fut commun originairement à tous les vassaux immédiats de la

they exercised in France, and which, but for this, they would have exercised in England. The result was, that the most powerful of our nobles became amenable to the law, or, at all events, to the authority of the king.[15] Indeed, to such an extent was this carried, that William, shortly before his death, obliged all the landowners to render their fealty to him; thus entirely neglecting that peculiarity of feudalism, according to which each vassal was separately dependent on his own lord.[16]

But in France, the course of affairs was very different. In that country, the great nobles held their lands, not so much by grant, as by prescription.[17] A character of antiquity was thus thrown over their rights; which, when added to the weakness of the crown, enabled them to exercise on their own estates all the functions of independent sovereigns.[18] Even when they received their first great check, under Philip Augustus,[19] they, in his reign, and indeed long after, wielded a power quite unknown in England. Thus, to give only two instances: the right of coining money, which has always been regarded as an attribute of sovereignty, was never allowed in England, even to the greatest nobles.[20] But in France it was ex-

couronne, liés au roi *per servitium militare*, par le service de chevalier.' *Essais*, p. 265.

[15] *Meyer, Instit. Judic.* vol. i. p. 242; *Turner's Hist. of England*, vol. iii. p. 220. The same policy of reducing the nobles was followed up by Henry II., who destroyed the baronial castles. *Turner*, vol. iv. p. 223. Compare *Lingard*, vol. i. pp. 315, 371.

[16] 'Deinde cœpit homagia hominum totius Angliæ, et juramentum fidelitatis cujuscumque essent feodi vel tenementi.' *Matthæi Westmonast. Flores Historiarum*, vol. ii. p. 9.

[17] See some good remarks on this difference between the French and English nobles, in *Hallam's Middle Ages*, vol. ii. pp. 99, 100. Mably (*Observations*, vol. i. p. 60) says: 'en effet, on négligea, sur la fin de la première race, de conserver les titres primordiaux de ses possessions.' As to the old customary French law of prescription, see *Giraud, Précis de l'Ancien Droit*, pp. 79, 80.

[18] *Mably, Observations sur l'Hist. de France*, vol. i. pp. 70, 162, 178.

[19] On the policy of Philip Augustus in regard to the nobles, see *Mably, Observations*, vol. i. p. 246; *Lerminier, Philos. du Droit*, vol. i. p. 265; *Boulainvilliers, Hist. de l'Ancien Gouvernement*, vol. iii. pp. 147-150; *Guizot, Civilisation en France*, vol. iv. pp. 134, 135; *Courson, Hist. des Peuples Brétons*, Paris, 1846, vol. ii. p. 350.

[20] 'No subjects ever enjoyed the right of coining silver in England without the royal stamp and superintendence; a remarkable proof of the restraint

ercised by many persons independently of the crown, and was not abrogated until the sixteenth century.[21] A similar remark holds good of what was called the right of private war; by virtue of which, the nobles were allowed to attack each other, and disturb the peace of the country with the prosecution of their private feuds. In England, the aristocracy were never strong enough to have this admitted as a right,[22] though they too often exercised it as a practice. But in France it became a part of the established law; it was incorporated into the text-books of feudalism, and it is distinctly recognized by Louis IX. and Philip the Fair,—two kings of considerable energy, who did every thing in their power to curtail the enormous authority of the nobles.[23]

Out of this difference between the aristocratic power of France and England, there followed many consequences of great importance. In our country the nobles, being too feeble to contend with the crown, were compelled, in self-defence, to ally themselves with the people.[24] About a hundred years after the Conquest, the Normans and Saxons amalgamated; and both parties united against the king, in order to uphold their common rights.[25] The Magna Charta, which John was forced to yield, contained

in which the feudal aristocracy was always held in this country.' *Hallam's Middle Ages*, vol. i. p. 154.

[21] *Brougham's Polit. Philos.* 1849, vol. i. p. 446. In addition to the evidence there given on the right of coinage, see *Mably's Observations*, vol. i. p. 424, vol. ii. pp. 296, 297; and *Turner's Normandy*, vol. ii. p. 261.

[22] *Hallam's Supplemental Notes*, pp. 304, 305.

[23] 'Saint-Louis consacra le droit de guerre. . . . Philippe le Bel, qui voulut l'abolir, finit par le rétablir.' *Montlosier, Monarchie Française*, vol. i. pp. 127, 202: see also pp. 434, 435, and vol. ii. pp. 435, 436. Mably (*Observations*, vol. ii. p. 338) mentions 'lettres-patentes de Philippe-de-Valois du 8 février 1330, pour permettre dans le duché d'Aquitaine les guerres privées,' &c.; and he adds, 'le 9 avril 1353 le roi Jean renouvelle l'ordonnance de S. Louis, nommée la quarantaine du roi, touchant les guerres privées.'

[24] Sir Francis Palgrave (in his *Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth*, vol. i. pp. 51-55) has attempted to estimate the results produced by the Norman Conquest; but he omits to notice this, which was the most important consequence of all.

[25] On this political union between Norman barons and Saxon citizens, of which the first clear indication is at the end of the twelfth century, compare

concessions to the aristocracy; but its most important stipulations were those in favour of 'all classes of freemen.'[26] Within half a century, fresh contests broke out; the barons were again associated with the people, and again there followed the same results,—the extension of popular privileges being each time the condition and the consequence of this singular alliance. In the same way, when the Earl of Leicester raised a rebellion against Henry III., he found his own party too weak to make head against the crown. He, therefore, applied to the people:[27] and it is to him that our House of Commons owes its origin; since he, in 1264, set the first example of issuing writs to cities and boroughs; thus calling upon citizens and burgesses to take their place in what had hitherto been a parliament composed entirely of priests and nobles.[28]

Campbell's Chancellors, vol. i. p. 113, with *Brougham's Polit. Philos.* vol. i. p. 339, vol. iii. p. 222.

In regard to the general question of the amalgamation of races, we have three distinct kinds of evidence:

1st. Towards the end of the twelfth century, a new language began to be formed by blending Norman with Saxon; and English literature, properly so called, dates from the commencement of the thirteenth century. Compare *Madden's Preface to Layamon*, 1847, vol. i. pp. xx. xxi., with *Turner's Hist. of England*, vol. viii. pp. 214, 217, 436, 437.

2nd. We have the specific statement of a writer in the reign of Henry II., that 'sic permixtæ sunt nationes ut vix discerni possit hodie, de liberis loquor, quis Anglicus, quis Normannus sit genere.' *Note in Hallam's Middle Ages*, vol. ii. p. 106.

3rd. Before the thirteenth century had passed away, the difference of dress, which in that state of society would survive many other differences, was no longer observed, and the distinctive peculiarities of Norman and Saxon attire had disappeared. See *Strutt's View of the Dress and Habits of the People of England*, vol. ii. p. 67, edit. Planché, 1842, 4to.

[26] An equal distribution of civil rights to all classes of freemen forms the peculiar beauty of the charter.' *Hallam's Middle Ages*, vol. ii. p. 108. This is very finely noticed in one of Lord Chatham's great speeches. *Parl. Hist.* vol. xvi. p. 662.

[27] Compare *Meyer, Instit. Judic.* vol. ii. p. 39, with *Lingard's England*, vol. ii. p. 127, and *Somers Tracts*, vol. vi. p. 92.

[28] 'He is to be honoured as the founder of a representative system of government in this country.' *Campbell's Chief-Justices*, vol. i. p. 61. Some writers (see, for instance, *Dalrymple's Hist. of Feudal Property*, p. 332) suppose that burgesses were summoned before the reign of Henry III.: but this assertion is not only unsupported by evidence, but is in itself improbable; because at an earlier period the citizens, though rapidly increasing in power, were hardly important enough to warrant such a step being

The English aristocracy being thus forced, by their own weakness, to rely on the people,[29] it naturally followed, that the people imbibed that tone of independence, and that lofty bearing, of which our civil and political institutions are the consequence, rather than the cause. It is to this, and not to any fanciful peculiarity of race, that we owe the sturdy and enterprising spirit for which the inhabitants of this island have long been remarkable. It is this which has enabled us to baffle all the arts of oppression, and to maintain for centuries liberties which no other nation has ever possessed. And it is this which has fostered and upheld those great municipal privileges, which, whatever be their faults, have, at least, the invaluable merit of accustoming free men to the exercise of power, giving to citizens the management of their own city, and perpetuating the idea of independence, by preserving it in a living type, and by enlisting in its support the interests and affections of individual men.

But the habits of self-government which, under these circumstances, were cultivated in England, were, under opposite circumstances, neglected in France. The great French lords being too powerful to need the people, were

taken. The best authorities are now agreed to refer the origin of the House of Commons to the period mentioned in the text. See *Hallam's Supplement, Notes*, pp. 335-339; *Spence's Origin of the Laws of Europe*, p. 512; *Campbell's Chancellors*, vol. i. p. 155; *Lingard's England*, vol. ii. p. 138; *Guizot's Essais*, p. 319. The notion of tracing this to the wittenagemot is as absurd as finding the origin of juries in the system of compurgators; both of which were favourite errors in the seventeenth, and even in the eighteenth century. In regard to the wittenagemot, this idea still lingers among antiquaries: but, in regard to compurgators, even they have abandoned their old ground, and it is now well understood that trial by jury did not exist till long after the Conquest. Compare *Palgrave's English Commonwealth*, part i. pp. 243 seq., with *Meyer, Instit. Judic.* vol. ii. pp. 152-173. There are few things in our history so irrational as the admiration expressed by a certain class of writers for the institutions of our barbarous Anglo-Saxon ancestors.

[29] Montlosier, with the fine spirit of a French noble, taunts the English aristocracy with this: 'En France la noblesse, attaquée sans cesse, s'est défendue sans cesse. Elle a subi l'oppression; elle ne l'a point acceptée. En Angleterre, elle a couru dès la première commotion, se réfugier dans les rangs des bourgeois, et sous leur protection. Elle a abdiqué ainsi son existence.' *Montlosier, Monarchie Française*, vol. iii. p. 162. Compare an instructive passage in *De Staël, Consid. sur la Révolution*, vol. i. p. 421.

unwilling to seek their alliance.[30] The result was, that, amid a great variety of forms and names, society was, in reality, only divided into two classes—the upper and the lower, the protectors and the protected. And, looking at the ferocity of the prevailing manners, it is not too much to say, that in France, under the feudal system, every man was either a tyrant or a slave. Indeed, in most instances, the two characters were combined in the same person. For, the practice of subinfeudation, which in our country was actively checked, became in France almost universal.[31] By this, the great lords having granted lands on condition of fealty and other services to certain persons, these last subgranted them; that is, made them over on similar conditions to other persons, who had likewise the power of bestowing them on a fourth party, and so on in an endless series;[32] thus forming a long chain of dependence, and, as it were, organizing submission into a system.[33] In England, on the other hand, such arrangements were so unsuited to the general state of affairs, that it is doubtful if they were ever carried on to any extent; and, at all events, it is certain that, in the reign of Edward I., they were finally stopped by the statute known to lawyers as *Quia emptores*.[34]

Thus early was there a great social divergence between France and England. The consequences of this were still more obvious when, in the fourteenth century, the feudal system rapidly decayed in both countries. For in England, the principle of protection being feeble, men were in some degree accustomed to self-government; and they were able to hold fast by those great institutions

[30] See some good remarks in *Mably, Observations sur l'Hist. de France*, vol. iii. pp. 114, 115.

[31] *Hallam's Middle Ages*, vol. i. p. 111.

[32] 'Originally there was no limit to subinfeudation.' *Brougham's Polit. Philos.* vol. i. p. 279.

[33] A living French historian boasts that, in his own country, 'toute la société féodale formait ainsi une échelle de clientelle et de patronage.' *Cassagnac, Révolution Française*, vol. i. p. 459.

[34] This is 18 Edw. I. c. 1; respecting which, see *Blackstone's Comment.* vol. ii. p. 91, vol. iv. p. 425; *Reeve's Hist. of English Law*, vol. ii. p. 223; *Dalrymple's Hist. of Feudal Property*, pp. 102, 243, 340.

which would have been ill adapted to the more obedient habits of the French people. Our municipal privileges, the rights of our yeomanry, and the security of our copyholders, were, from the fourteenth to the seventeenth centuries, the three most important guarantees for the liberties of England.[35] In France such guarantees were impossible. The real division being between those who were noble, and those who were not noble, no room was left for the establishment of intervening classes; but all were compelled to fall into one of these two great ranks.[36] The French have never had any thing answering to our yeomanry; nor were copyholders recognized by their laws. And, although they attempted to introduce into their country municipal institutions, all such efforts were futile; for, while they copied the forms of liberty, they lacked

[35] The history of the decay of that once most important class, the English yeomanry, is an interesting subject, and one for which I have collected considerable materials; at present, I will only say, that its decline was first distinctly perceptible in the latter half of the seventeenth century, and was consummated by the rapidly-increasing power of the commercial and manufacturing classes early in the eighteenth century. After losing their influence, their numbers naturally diminished, and they made way for other bodies of men, whose habits of mind were less prejudiced, and therefore better suited to that new state which society assumed in the last age. I mention this, because some writers regret the almost total destruction of the yeoman freeholders; overlooking the fact, that they are disappearing, not in consequence of any violent revolution or stretch of arbitrary power, but simply by the general march of affairs; society doing away with what it no longer requires. Compare *Kay's Social Condition of the People*, vol. i. pp. 43, 602, with a letter from Wordsworth in *Bunbury's Correspond. of Hanmer*, p. 440; a note in *Mill's Polit. Econ.* vol. i. pp. 311, 312; another in *Nichols's Lit. Anec.* vol. v. p. 323; and *Sinclair's Correspond.* vol. i. p. 229.

[36] This is stated as an admitted fact by French writers living in different periods and holding different opinions; but all agreed as to there being only two divisions: 'comme en France on est toujours ou noble, ou roturier, et qu'il n'y a pas de milieu.' *Mém. de Rivarol*, p. 7. 'La grande distinction des nobles et des roturiers.' *Giraud, Précis de l'Ancien Droit*, p. 10. Indeed, according to the Coutumes, the nobles and roturiers attained their majority at different ages. *Klimrath, Hist. du Droit*, vol. ii. p. 249 (erroneously stated in *Story's Conflict of Laws*, pp. 56, 79, 114). See further respecting this capital distinction, *Mém. de Duplessis Mornay*, vol. ii. p. 230 ('agréable à la noblesse et au peuple'); *Œuvres de Turgot*, vol. viii. pp. 222, 232, 237; *Bunbury's Correspond. of Hanmer*, p. 256; *Mably, Observations*, vol. iii. p. 263; and *Mercier sur Rousseau*, vol. i. p. 38: 'On étoit roturier, vilain, homme de néant, canaille, dès qu'on ne s'appelloit plus marquis, baron, comte, chevalier, etc.'

that bold and sturdy spirit by which alone liberty can be secured. They had, indeed, its image and superscription; but they wanted the sacred fire that warms the image into life. Every thing else they possessed. The show and appliances of freedom were there. Charters were granted to their towns, and privileges conceded to their magistrates. All, however, was useless. For it is not by the wax and parchment of lawyers that the independence of men can be preserved. Such things are the mere externals; they set off liberty to advantage; they are as its dress and paraphernalia, its holiday-suit in times of peace and quiet. But, when the evil days set in, when the invasions of despotism have begun, liberty will be retained, not by those who can show the oldest deeds and the largest charters, but by those who have been most inured to habits of independence, most accustomed to think and act for themselves, and most regardless of that insidious protection which the upper classes have always been so ready to bestow, that, in many countries, they have now left nothing worth the trouble to protect.

And so it was in France. The towns, with few exceptions, fell at the first shock; and the citizens lost those municipal privileges which, not being grafted on the national character, it was found impossible to preserve. In the same way, in our country, power naturally, and by the mere force of the democratic movement, fell into the hands of the House of Commons; whose authority has ever since, notwithstanding occasional checks, continued to increase at the expense of the more aristocratic parts of the legislature. The only institution answering to this in France was the States-General; which, however, had so little influence, that, in the opinion of native historians, it was hardly to be called an institution at all.[37] Indeed,

[37] Les états-généraux sont portés dans la liste de nos institutions. Je ne sais cependant s'il est permis de donner ce nom à des rassemblemens aussi irréguliers.' *Montlosier, Monarchie Française*, vol. i. p. 266. 'En France, les états-généraux, au moment même de leur plus grand éclat, c'est à dire dans le cours du xiv[e] siècle, n'ont guère été que des accidents, un pouvoir national et souvent invoqué, mais non un établissement con titutionnel.' *Guizot, Essais*, p. 253. See also *Mably, Observations*, vol. iii. p. 147; and *Sismondi, Hist. des Français*, vol. xiv. p. 612.

the French were, by this time, so accustomed to the idea of protection, and to the subordination which that idea involves, that they were little inclined to uphold an establishment which, in their constitution, was the sole representative of the popular element. The result was, that, by the fourteenth century, the liberties of Englishmen were secured;[38] and, since then, their only concern has been to increase what they have already obtained. But, in that same century, in France, the protective spirit assumed a new form; the power of the aristocracy was, in a great measure, succeeded by the power of the crown; and there began that tendency to centralization which, having been pushed still further, first under Louis XIV., and afterwards under Napoleon, has become the bane of the French people.[39] For by it the feudal ideas of superiority and submission have long survived that barbarous age to which alone they were suited. Indeed, by their transmigration, they seem to have gained fresh strength. In France, every thing is referred to one common centre, in which all civil functions are absorbed. All improvements of any importance, all schemes for bettering even the material condition of the people, must receive the sanction of government; the local authorities not being considered equal to such arduous tasks. In order that inferior magistrates may not abuse their power, no power is conferred upon them. The exercise of independent jurisdiction is almost unknown. Every thing that is done

[38] This is frankly admitted by one of the most candid and enlightened of all the foreign writers on our history, *Guizot, Essais*, p. 297: 'En 1307, les droits qui devaient enfanter en Angleterre un gouvernement libre étaient définitivement reconnus.'

[39] See an account of the policy of Philip the Fair, in *Mably, Observations*, vol. ii. pp. 25-44; in *Boulainvilliers, Ancien Gouvernement*, vol. i. pp. 292, 314, vol. ii. pp. 37, 38; and in *Guizot, Civilisation en France*, vol. iv. pp. 170-192. M. Guizot says, perhaps too strongly, that his reign was 'la métamorphose de la royauté en despotisme.' On the connexion of this with the centralizing movement, see *Tocqueville's Démocratie*, vol. i. p. 307: 'Le goût de la centralisation et la manie réglementaire remontent, en France, à l'époque où les légistes sont entrés dans le gouvernement; ce qui nous reporte au temps de Philippe le Bel.' Tennemann also notices, that in his reign the 'Rechtstheorie' began to exercise influence; but this learned writer takes a purely metaphysical view, and has therefore misunderstood the more general social tendency. *Gesch. der Philos.* vol. viii. p. 823.

must be done at head-quarters.[40] The government is believed to see every thing, know every thing, and provide for every thing. To enforce this monstrous monoply, there has been contrived a machinery well worthy of the design. The entire country is covered by an immense array of officials;[41] who, in the regularity of their hierarchy, and in the order of their descending series, form an admirable emblem of that feudal principle, which, ceasing to be territorial, has now become personal. In fact, the whole business of the state is conducted on the supposition, that no man either knows his own interest, or is fit to take care of himself. So paternal are the feelings of government, so eager for the welfare of its subjects, that it has drawn within its jurisdiction the most rare, as well as the most ordinary, actions of life. In order that the French may not make imprudent wills, it has limited the right of bequest; and, for fear that they should bequeath their property wrongly, it prevents them from bequeathing the greater part of it at all. In order that

[40] As several writers on law notice this system with a lenient eye (*Origines du Droit Français*, in *Œuvres de Michelet*, vol. ii. p. 321; and *Eschbach, Etude du Droit*, p. 129: 'le système énergique de la centralisation'), it may be well to state how it actually works.

Mr. Bulwer, writing twenty years ago, says: 'Not only cannot a commune determine its own expenses without the consent of the minister or one of his deputed functionaries, it cannot even erect a building, the cost of which shall have been sanctioned, without the plan being adopted by a board of public works attached to the central authority, and having the supervision and direction of every public building throughout the kingdom.' *Bulwer's Monarchy of the Middle Classes*, 1836, vol. ii. p. 262.

M. Tocqueville, writing in the present year (1856), says, 'Sous l'ancien régime, *comme de nos jours*, il n'y avait ville, bourg, village, ni si petit hameau en France, hôpital, fabrique, couvent ni collége, qui pût avoir une volonté indépendante dans ses affaires particulières, ni administrer à sa volonté ses propres biens. Alors, *comme aujourd'hui*, l'administration tenait donc tous les Français en tutelle, et si l'insolence du mot ne s'était pas encore produite, on avait du moins déjà la chose.' *Tocqueville, l'Ancien Régime*, 1856, pp. 79, 80.

[41] The number of civil functionaries in France, who are paid by the government to trouble the people, passes all belief, being estimated, at different periods during the present century, at from 138,000 to upwards of 800,000. *Tocqueville, de la Démocratie*, vol. i. p. 220; *Alison's Europe*, vol. xiv. pp. 127, 140; *Kay's Condition of the People*, vol. i. p. 272; *Laing's Notes*, 2d series, p. 185. Mr. Laing, writing in 1850, says: 'In France, at the expulsion of Louis-Philippe, the civil functionaries were stated to amount to 807,030 individuals.'

society may be protected by its police, it has directed that no one shall travel without a passport. And when men are actually travelling, they are met at every turn by the same interfering spirit, which, under pretence of protecting their persons, shackles their liberty. Into another matter, far more serious, the French have carried the same principle. Such is their anxiety to protect society against criminals, that, when an offender is placed at the bar of one of their courts, there is exhibited a spectacle which it is no idle boast to say we, in England, could not tolerate for a single hour. There is seen a great public magistrate, by whom the prisoner is about to be tried, examining him in order to ascertain his supposed guilt, re-examining him, cross-examining him, performing the duties, not of a judge, but of a prosecutor, and bringing to bear against the unhappy man all the authority of his judicial position, all his professional subtlety, all his experience, all the dexterity of his practised understanding. This is, perhaps, the most alarming of the many instances in which the tendencies of the French intellect are shown; because it supplies a machinery ready for the purposes of absolute power; because it brings the administration of justice into disrepute, by associating with it an idea of unfairness; and because it injures that calm and equable temper, which it is impossible fully to maintain under a system that makes a magistrate an advocate, and turns the judge into a partizan. But this, mischievous as it is, only forms part of a far larger scheme. For, to the method by which criminals are discovered, there is added an analogous method, by which crime is prevented. With this view, the people, even in their ordinary amusements, are watched and carefully superintended. Lest they should harm each other by some sudden indiscretion, precautions are taken similar to those with which a father might surround his children. In their fairs, at their theatres, their concerts, and their other places of public resort, there are always present soldiers, who are sent to see that no mischief is done, that there is no unnecessary crowding, that no one uses harsh language, that no one quarrels with his neighbour. Nor

does the vigilance of government stop there. Even the education of children is brought under the control of the state, instead of being regulated by the judgment of masters or parents.[42] And the whole plan is executed with such energy, that, as the French while men are never let alone, just so while children they are never left alone.[43] At the same time, it being reasonably supposed that adults thus kept in pupilage cannot be proper judges of their own food, the government has provided for this also. Its prying eye follows the butcher to the shambles, and the baker to the oven. By its paternal hand, meat is examined lest it should be bad, and bread is weighed lest it should be light. In short, without multiplying instances, with which most readers must be familiar, it is enough to say that, in France, as in every country where the protective principle is active, the government has established a monopoly of the worst kind; a monopoly which comes home to the business and bosoms of men, follows them in their daily avocations, troubles them with its petty, meddling spirit, and, what is worse than all, diminishes their responsibility to themselves; thus depriving them of what is the only real education that most minds receive,—the constant necessity of providing for future contingencies, and the habit of grappling with the difficulties of life.

The consequence of all this has been, that the French, though a great and splendid people,—a people full of mettle, high-spirited, abounding in knowledge, and perhaps less oppressed by superstition than any other in Europe,—

42 'The government in France possesses control over all the education of the country, with the exception of the colleges for the education of the clergy, which are termed seminaries, and their subordinate institutions.' *Report on the State of Superior Education in France in* 1843, in *Journal of Statist. Soc.* vol. vi. p. 304. On the steps taken during the power of Napoleon, see *Alison's Europe*, vol viii. p. 203: 'Nearly the whole education of the empire was brought effectually under the direction and appointment of government.'

43 'Much attention is paid to the *surveillance* of pupils; it being a fundamental principle of French education, that children should never be left alone.' *Report on General Education in France in* 1842, in *Journal of Statist. Soc.* vol. v. p. 20.

have always been found unfit to exercise political power. Even when they have possessed it, they have never been able to combine permanence with liberty. One of these two elements has always been wanting. They have had free governments, which have not been stable. They have had stable governments, which have not been free. Owing to their fearless temper, they have rebelled, and no doubt will continue to rebel, against so evil a condition.[44] But it does not need the tongue of a prophet to tell that, for at least some generations, all such efforts must be unsuccessful. For men can never be free, unless they are educated to freedom. And this is not the education which is to be found in schools, or gained from books; but it is that which consists in self-discipline, in self-reliance, and in self-government. These, in England, are matters of hereditary descent—traditional habits, which we imbibe in our youth, and which regulate us in the conduct of life. The old associations of the French all point in another direction. At the slightest difficulty, they call on the government for support. What with us is competition, with them is monopoly. That which we effect by private companies, they effect by public boards. They cannot cut a canal, or lay down a railroad, without appealing to the government for aid. With them, the people look to the rulers; with us, the rulers look to the people. With them, the executive is the centre from which society radiates;[45] with us, society is the instigator, and the executive the organ. The difference in the result has corresponded with the difference in the process. We have been made fit for

[44] A distinguished French author says: 'La France souffre du mal du siècle; elle en est plus malade qu'aucun autre pays; ce mal c'est la haine de l'autorité.' *Custine, Russie*, vol. ii. p. 136. Compare *Rey, Science Sociale*, vol. ii. p. 86 note.

[45] It is to the activity of this protective and centralizing spirit that we must ascribe, what a very great authority noticed thirty years ago, as 'le défaut de spontanéité, qui caractérise les institutions de la France moderne.' *Meyer, Instit. Judic.* vol. iv. p. 536. It is also this which, in literature and in science, makes them favour the establishment of academies; and it is probably to the same principle that their jurists owe their love of codification. All these are manifestations of an unwillingness to rely on the general march of affairs, and show an undue contempt for the unaided conclusions of private men.

political power, by the long exercise of civil rights; they, neglecting the exercise, think they can at once begin with the power. We have always shown a determination to uphold our liberties, and, when the times are fitting, to increase them; and this we have done with a decency and a gravity natural to men to whom such subjects have long been familiar. But the French, always treated as children, are, in political matters, children still. And as they have handled the most weighty concerns in that gay and volatile spirit which adorns their lighter literature, it is no wonder that they have failed in matters where the first condition of success is, that men should have been long accustomed to rely upon their own energies, and that before they try their skill in a political struggle, their resources should have been sharpened by that preliminary discipline, which a contest with the difficulties of civil life can never fail to impart.

These are among the considerations by which we must be guided, in estimating the probable destinies of the great countries of Europe. But what we are now rather concerned with is, to notice how the opposite tendencies of France and England long continued to be displayed in the condition and treatment of their aristocracy; and how from this there naturally followed some striking differences between the war conducted by the Fronde, and that waged by the Long Parliament.

When, in the fourteenth century, the authority of the French kings began rapidly to increase, the political influence of the nobility was, of course, correspondingly diminished. What, however, proves the extent to which their power had taken root, is the undoubted fact, that, notwithstanding this to them unfavourable circumstance, the people were never able to emancipate themselves from their control.[46] The relation the nobles bore to the throne

[46] Mably (*Observations*, vol. iii. pp. 154, 155, 352-362) has collected some striking evidence of the tyranny of the French nobles in the sixteenth century; and as to the wanton cruelty with which they exercised their power in the seventeenth century, see *Des Réaux*, *Historiettes*, vol. vii. p. 155, vol. viii. p. 79, vol. ix. pp. 40, 61, 62, vol. x. pp. 255-257. In the eighteenth century, matters were somewhat better; but still the subordination was

became entirely changed; that which they bore to the people remained almost the same. In England, slavery, or villenage, as it is mildly termed, quickly diminished, and was extinct by the end of the sixteenth century.[47] In France, it lingered on two hundred years later, and was only destroyed in that great Revolution by which the possessors of ill-gotten power were called to so sharp an account.[48] Thus, too, until the last seventy years, the nobles were in France exempt from those onerous taxes which oppressed the people. The taille and corvée were heavy and grievous exactions, but they fell solely on men of ignoble birth;[49] for the French aristocracy, being a high

excessive, and the people were poor, ill-treated, and miserable. Compare *Œuvres de Turgot*, vol. iv. p. 139; *Letter from the Earl of Cork*, dated Lyons, 1754, in *Burton's Diary*, vol. iv. p. 80; the statement of Fox, in *Parl. Hist.* vol. xxxi. p. 406; *Jefferson's Correspond.* vol. ii. p. 45; and *Smith's Tour on the Continent*, edit. 1793, vol. iii. pp. 201, 202.

[47] Mr. Eccleston (*English Antiq.* p. 138) says, that in 1450 'villenage had almost passed away;' and according to Mr. Thornton (*Over-Population*, p. 182), 'Sir Thomas Smith, who wrote about the year 1550, declares that he had never met with any personal or domestic slaves; and that the villains, or predial slaves, still to be found, were so few, as to be scarcely worth mentioning.' Mr. Hallam can find no 'unequivocal testimony to the existence of villenage' later than 1574. *Middle Ages*, vol. ii. p. 312: see, to the same effect, *Barrington on the Statutes*, pp. 308, 309. If, however, my memory does not deceive me, I have met with evidence of it in the reign of James I., but I cannot recall the passage.

[48] M. Cassagnac (*Causes de la Révolution*, vol. iii. p. 11) says: 'Chose surprenante, il y avait encore, au 4 août 1789, *un million cinq cent mille serfs de corps*;' and M. Giraud (*Précis de l'Ancien Droit*, Paris, 1852, p. 3), 'jusqu'à la révolution une division fondamentale partageait les personnes en personnes libres et personnes sujettes à condition servile.' A few years before the Revolution, this shameful distinction was abolished by Louis XVI. in his own domains. Compare *Eschbach, Etude du Droit*, pp. 271, 272, with *Du Mesnil, Mém. sur le Prince Le Brun*, p. 94. I notice this particularly, because M. Monteil, a learned and generally accurate writer, supposes that the abolition took place earlier than it really did. *Hist. des divers Etats*, vol. vi. p. 101.

[49] *Cassagnac, de la Révolution*, vol. i. pp. 122, 173; *Giraud, Ancien Droit*, p. 11; *Soulavie, Mém. de Louis XVI.* vol. vi. p. 156; *Mém. au Roi sur les Municipalités*, in *Œuvres de Turgot*, vol. vii. p. 423; *Mém. de Genlis*, vol. i. p. 200.

Further information respecting the amount and nature of these vexatious impositions will be found in *De Thou, Hist. Univ.* vol. xiii. p. 24, vol. xiv. p. 118; *Saint Aulaire, Hist. de la Fronde*, vol. i. p. 125; *Tocqueville, Ancien Régime*, pp. 135, 191, 420, 440: *Sully, Œconomies Royales*, vol. ii. p. 412, vol. iii. p. 226, vol. iv. p. 199, vol. v. pp. 339, 410, vol. vi. p. 94; *Relat. des Ambassad. Vénit.* vol. i. p. 96; *Mably, Observations*, vol. iii. pp. 355, 356; *Boulainvilliers, Ancien Gouvernement*, vol. iii. p. 109; *Le Vassor, Hist. de Louis*

and chivalrous race, would have deemed it an insult to their illustrious descent, if they had been taxed to the same amount as those whom they despised as their inferiors.[50] Indeed, every thing tended to nurture this general contempt. Every thing was contrived to humble one class, and exalt the other. For the nobles there were reserved the best appointments in the church, and also the most important military posts.[51] The privilege of entering the army as officers was confined to them;[52] and they alone possessed a prescriptive right to belong to the cavalry.[53] At the same time, and to avoid the least chance of confusion, an equal vigilance was displayed in the most trifling matters, and care was taken to prevent any similarity, even in the amusements of the two classes. To such a pitch was this brought, that, in many parts of France, the right of having an aviary or a dovecote depended entirely on a man's rank; and no Frenchman, whatever his wealth might be, could keep pigeons, unless he were a noble; it being considered that these recreations were too elevated for persons of plebeian origin.[54]

XIII. vol. ii. p. 29; *Mém. d'Omer Talon,* vol. ii. pp. 103, 369; *Mém. de Montglat,* vol. i. p. 82; *Tocqueville, Règne de Louis XV.* vol. i. pp. 87, 332; *Œuvres de Turgot,* vol. i. p. 372, vol. iv. pp. 58, 59, 74, 75, 242, 278, vol. v. pp. 226, 242, vol. vi. p. 144, vol. viii. pp. 152, 280.

[50] So deeply rooted were these feelings, that, even in 1789, the very year the Revolution broke out, it was deemed a great concession that the nobles 'will consent, indeed, to equal taxation.' See a letter from Jefferson to Jay, dated Paris, May 9th, 1789, in *Jefferson's Corresp.* vol. ii. pp. 462, 463. Compare *Mercier sur Rousseau,* vol. i. p. 136.

[51] 'Les nobles, qui avaient le privilége exclusif des grandes dignités et des gros bénéfices.' *Mém. de Rivarol,* p. 97: see also *Mém. de Bouillé,* vol. i. p. 56; *Lemontey, Etablissement Monarchique,* p. 337; *Daniel, Hist. de la Milice Françoise,* vol. ii. p. 556; *Campan, Mém. sur Marie Antoinette,* vol. i. pp. 238, 239.

[52] 'L'ancien régime n'avait admis que des nobles pour officiers.' *Mém. de Roland,* vol. i. p. 398. Ségur mentions that, early in the reign of Louis XVI., 'les nobles seuls avaient le droit d'entrer au service comme sous-lieutenans.' *Mém. de Ségur,* vol. i. p. 65. Compare pp. 117, 265-271, with *Mém. de Genlis,* vol. iii. p. 74, and *De Staël, Consid. sur la Rév.* vol. i. p. 123.

[53] Thus, De Thou says of Henry III., 'il remet sous l'ancien pied la cavalerie ordinaire, qui n'étoit composée que de la noblesse.' *Hist. Univ.* vol. ix. pp. 202, 203; and see vol. x. pp. 504, 505, vol. xiii. p. 22; and an imperfect statement of the same fact in *Boullier, Hist. des divers Corps de la Maison Militaire des Rois de France,* Paris, 1818, p. 58, a superficial work on an uninteresting subject.

[54] M. Tocqueville (*L'Ancien Régime,* p. 448) mentions, among other re-

Circumstances like these are valuable, as evidence of the state of society to which they belong; and their importance will become peculiarly obvious, when we compare them with the opposite condition of England.

For in England, neither these nor any similar distinctions have ever been known. The spirit of which our yeomanry, copyholders, and free burgesses were the representatives, proved far too strong for those protective and monopolizing principles, of which the aristocracy are the guardians in politics, and the clergy in religion. And it is to the successful opposition made by these feelings of individual independence, that we owe our two greatest national acts—our Reformation in the sixteenth, and our Rebellion in the seventeenth century. Before, however, tracing the steps taken in these matters, there is one other point of view to which I wish to call attention, as a further illustration of the early and radical difference between France and England.

In the eleventh century there arose the celebrated institution of chivalry,[55] which was to manners what feudalism was to politics. This connexion is clear, not only from the testimony of contemporaries, but also from two general considerations. In the first place, chivalry was so highly aristocratic, that no one could even receive knighthood unless he were of noble birth;[56] and the preliminary education which was held to be necessary was carried on either in schools appointed by the nobles, or else in their

gulations still in force late in the eighteenth century, that 'en Dauphiné, en Bretagne, en Normandie, il est prohibé à tout roturier d'avoir des colombiers, fuies et volière; il n'y a que les nobles qui puissent avoir des pigeons.'

[55] 'Dès la fin du onzième siècle, à l'époque même où commencèrent les croisades, on trouve la chevalerie établie.' *Koch, Tab. des Révolutions*, vol. i. p. 143; see also *Sainte-Palaye, Mém. sur la Chevalerie*, vol. i. pp. 42, 68. M. Guizot (*Civilis. en France*, vol. iii. pp. 349-354) has attempted to trace it back to an earlier period; but he appears to have failed, though of course its germs may be easily found. According to some writers it originated in northern Europe; according to others in Arabia! *Mallet's Northern Antiquities*, p. 202; *Journal of Asiat. Soc.* vol. ii. p. 11.

[56] 'L'ordre de chevalerie n'étoit accordé qu'aux hommes d'un sang noble.' *Sismondi, Hist. des Français*, vol. iv. p. 204. Compare *Daniel, Hist. de la Milice*, vol. i. p. 97, and *Mills' Hist. of Chivalry*, vol. i. p. 20.

own baronial castles.[57] In the second place, it was essentially a protective, and not at all a reforming institution. It was contrived with a view to remedy certain oppressions, as they successively arose; opposed in this respect to the reforming spirit, which, being remedial rather than palliative, strikes at the root of an evil by humbling the class from which the evil proceeds, passing over individual cases in order to direct its attention to general causes. But chivalry, so far from doing this, was in fact a fusion of the aristocratic and the ecclesiastical forms of the protective spirit.[58] For, by introducing among the nobles the principle of knighthood, which, being personal, could never be bequeathed, it presented a point at which the ecclesiastical doctrine of celibacy could coalesce with the aristocratic doctrine of hereditary descent.[59] Out of this coalition sprung results of great moment. It is to this that Europe owes those orders, half aristocratic, half religious,[60] the Knights Templars, the Knights of St. James, the Knights of St. John, the Knights of St. Michael: establishments which inflicted the greatest evils on society; and whose members, combining analogous vices,

[57] 'In some places there were schools appointed by the nobles of the country, but most frequently their own castles served.' *Mills' Hist. of Chivalry*, vol. i. p. 31; and see *Sainte-Palaye, Mém. sur l'Anc. Chevalerie*, vol. i. pp. 30, 56, 57, on this education.

[58] This combination of knighthood and religious rites is often ascribed to the crusades; but there is good evidence that it took place a little earlier, and must be referred to the latter half of the eleventh century. Compare *Mills' Hist. of Chivalry*, vol. i. pp. 10, 11; *Daniel, Hist. de la Milice*, vol. i. pp. 101, 102, 108; *Boulainvilliers, Ancien Gouv.* vol. i. p. 326. Sainte-Palaye (*Mém. sur la Chevalerie*, vol. i. pp. 119-123), who has collected some illustrations of the relation between chivalry and the church, says, p. 119, 'enfin la chevalerie étoit regardée comme une ordination, un sacerdoce.' The superior clergy possessed the right of conferring knighthood, and William Rufus was actually knighted by Archbishop Lanfranc: 'Archiepiscopus Lanfrancus, eo quòd eum nutrierat, et militem fecerat.' *Will. Malmes.* lib. iv., in *Scriptores post Bedam*, p. 67. Compare *Fosbroke's British Monachism*, 1843, p. 101, on knighting by abbots.

[59] The influence of this on the nobles is rather exaggerated by Mr. Mills; who, on the other hand, has not noticed how the unhereditary element was favourable to the ecclesiastical spirit. *Mills' Hist. of Chivalry*, vol. i. pp. 15, 389, vol. ii. p. 169; a work interesting as an assemblage of facts, but almost useless as a philosophic estimate.

[60] 'In their origin all the military orders, and most of the religious ones, were entirely aristocratic.' *Mills' Hist. of Chivalry*, vol. i. p. 336.

enlivened the superstition of monks with the debauchery of soldiers. As a natural consequence, an immense number of noble knights were solemnly pledged to 'defend the church;' an ominous expression, the meaning of which is too well known to the readers of ecclesiastical history.[61] Thus it was that chivalry, uniting the hostile principles of celibacy and noble birth, became the incarnation of the spirit of the two classes to which those principles belonged. Whatever benefit, therefore, this institution may have conferred upon manners,[62] there can be no doubt that it actively contributed to keep men in a state of pupilage, and stopped the march of society by prolonging the term of its infancy.[63]

On this account, it is evident that, whether we look at the immediate or at the remote tendency of chivalry, its strength and duration become a measure of the predominance of the protective spirit. If, with this view, we compare France and England, we shall find fresh proof of the early divergence of those countries. Tournaments, the

[61] *Mills' Hist. of Chivalry*, vol. i. pp. 148, 338. About the year 1127, St. Bernard wrote a discourse in favour of the Knights Templars, in which 'he extols this order as a combination of monasticism and knighthood. . . . . He describes the design of it as being to give the military order and knighthood a serious Christian direction, and to convert war into something that God might approve.' *Neander's Hist. of the Church*, vol. vii. p. 358. To this may be added, that, early in the thirteenth century, a chivalric association was formed, and afterwards merged in the Dominican order, called the Militia of Christ: 'un nouvel ordre de chevalerie destiné à poursuivre les hérétiques, sur le modèle de celui des Templiers, et sous le nom de Milice de Christ.' *Llorente, Hist. de l'Inquisition*, vol. i. pp. 52, 133, 203.

[62] Several writers ascribe to chivalry the merit of softening manners, and of increasing the influence of women. *Sainte-Palaye, Mém. sur la Chevalerie*, vol. i. pp. 220-223, 282, 284, vol. iii. pp. vi. vii. 159-161; *Helvétius de l'Esprit*, vol. ii. pp. 50, 51; *Schlegel's Lectures*, vol. i. p. 209. That there was such a tendency is, I think, indisputable; but it has been greatly exaggerated; and an author of considerable reading on these subjects says, 'The rigid treatment shown to prisoners of war in ancient times strongly marks the ferocity and uncultivated manners of our ancestors, and that even to ladies of high rank; notwithstanding the homage said to have been paid to the fair sex in those days of chivalry.' *Grose's Military Antiquities*, vol. ii. p. 114. Compare *Manning on the Law of Nations*, 1839, pp. 145, 146.

[63] Mr. Hallam (*Middle Ages*, vol. ii. p. 464) says, 'A third reproach may be made to the character of knighthood, that it widened the separation between the different classes of society, and confirmed that aristocratical spirit of high birth, by which the large mass of mankind were kept in unjust degradation.'

first open expression of chivalry, are of French origin.[64] The greatest and, indeed, the only two great describers of chivalry are Joinville and Froissart, both of whom were Frenchmen. Bayard, that famous chevalier, who is always considered as the last representative of chivalry, was a Frenchman, and was killed when fighting for Francis I. Nor was it until nearly forty years after his death that tournaments were finally abolished in France, the last one having been held in 1560.[65]

But in England, the protective spirit being much less active than in France, we should expect to find that chivalry, as its offspring, had less influence. And such was really the case. The honours that were paid to knights, and the social distinctions by which they were separated from the other classes, were never so great in our country as in France.[66] As men became more free, the little respect they had for such matters still further diminished. In the thirteenth century, and indeed in the very reign in which burgesses were first returned to parliament, the leading symbol of chivalry fell into such disrepute, that a law was passed obliging certain persons to accept that rank of knighthood which in other nations was one of the highest objects of ambition.[67] In the four-

[64] *Sismondi, Hist. des Français*, vol. iv. pp. 370, 371, 377; *Turner's Hist. of England*, vol. iv. p. 478; *Foncemagne de l'Origine des Armoiries*, in *Mém. de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, vol. xx. p. 580. Koch also says (*Tableau des Révolutions*, vol. i. p. 139), 'c'est de la France que l'usage des tournois se répandit chez les autres nations de l'Europe.' They were first introduced into England in the reign of Stephen. *Lingard's England*, vol. ii. p. 27.

[65] Mr. Hallam (*Middle Ages*, vol. ii. p. 470) says they were 'entirely discontinued in France' in consequence of the death of Henry II.; but according to *Mills' Hist. of Chivalry*, vol. ii. p. 226, they lasted the next year; when another fatal accident occurred, and 'tournaments ceased for ever.' Compare *Sainte-Palaye sur la Chevalerie*, vol. ii. pp. 39, 40.

[66] Mr. Hallam (*Middle Ages*, vol. ii. p. 467) observes, that the knight, as compared with other classes, 'was addressed by titles of more respect. *There was not, however, so much distinction in England as in France.*' The great honour paid to knights in France is noticed by Daniel (*Milice Française*, vol. i. pp. 128, 129); and Herder (*Ideen zur Geschichte*, vol. iv. pp. 266, 267) says, that in France chivalry flourished more than in any other country. The same remark is made by Sismondi (*Hist. des Français*, vol. iv. p. 198).

[67] The *Statutum de Militibus*, in 1307, was perhaps the first recognition of this. Compare *Blackstone's Comment.* vol. ii. p. 69; *Barrington on the Statutes*, pp. 192, 193. But we have positive evidence that compulsory knighthood existed in the reign of Henry III.; or at least that those who refused it

teenth century, this was followed by another blow, which deprived knighthood of its exclusively military character; the custom having grown up in the reign of Edward III. of conferring it on the judges in the courts of law, thus turning a warlike title into a civil honour.[68] Finally, before the end of the fifteenth century, the spirit of chivalry, in France still at its height, was in our country extinct, and this mischievous institution had become a subject for ridicule even among the people themselves.[69] To these circumstances we may add two others, which seem worthy of observation. The first is, that the French, notwithstanding their many admirable qualities, have always been more remarkable for personal vanity than the English;[70]

were obliged to pay a fine. See *Hallam's Const. Hist.* vol. i. p. 421, and *Lyttleton's Hist. of Henry II.* vol. ii. pp. 238, 239, 2nd edit. 4to. 1767. Lord Lyttleton, evidently puzzled, says, 'Indeed it seems a deviation from the original principle of this institution. For one cannot but think it a very great inconsistency, that a dignity, which was deemed an accession of honour to kings themselves, should be forced upon any.'

[68] In *Mills' Hist. of Chivalry,* vol. ii. p. 154, it is said, that 'the judges of the courts of law' were first knighted in the reign of Edward III.

[69] Mr. Mills (*Hist. of Chivalry,* vol. ii. pp. 99, 100) has printed a curious extract from a lamentation over the destruction of chivalry, written in the reign of Edward IV.; but he has overlooked a still more singular instance. This is a popular ballad, written in the middle of the fifteenth century, and called the Turnament of Tottenham, in which the follies of chivalry are admirably ridiculed. See *Warton's Hist. of English Poetry,* edit. 1840, vol. iii. pp. 98-101; and *Percy's Reliques of Ancient Poetry,* edit. 1845, pp. 92-95. According to Turner (*Hist. of England,* vol. vi. p. 363), 'the ancient books of chivalry were laid aside' about the reign of Henry VI.

[70] This is not a mere popular opinion, but rests upon a large amount of evidence, supplied by competent and impartial observers. Addison, who was a lenient as well as an able judge, and who had lived much among the French, calls them 'the vainest nation in the world.' *Letter to Bishop Hough,* in *Aikin's Life of Addison,* vol. i. p. 90. Napoleon says, 'vanity is the ruling principle of the French.' *Alison's Hist. of Europe,* vol. vi. p. 25. Dumont (*Souvenirs sur Mirabeau,* p. 111) declares, that 'le trait le plus dominant dans le caractère français, c'est l'amour propre;' and Ségur (*Souvenirs,* vol. i. pp. 73, 74), 'car en France l'amour propre, ou, si on le veut, la vanité, est de toutes les passions la plus irritable.' It is moreover stated, that phrenological observations prove that the French are vainer than the English. *Combe's Elements of Phrenology,* 6th edit. Edinb. 1845, p. 90; and a partial recognition of the same fact in *Broussais, Cours de Phrénologie,* p. 297. For other instances of writers who have noticed the vanity of the French, see *Tocqueville, l'Ancien Régime,* p. 148; *Barante, Lit. Franç. au XVIII^e Siècle,* p. 80; *Mém. de Brissot,* vol. i. p. 272; *Mézéray, Hist. de France,* vol. ii. p. 933; *Lemontey, Etablissement Monarchique,* p. 418; *Voltaire, Lettres inédites,* vol. ii. p. 282; *Tocqueville, Règne de Louis XV.* vol. ii. p. 358; *De Staël sur la Révolution,* vol. i. p. 260, vol. ii. p. 258.

a peculiarity partly referrible to those chivalric traditions which even their occasional republics have been unable to destroy, and which makes them attach undue importance to external distinctions, by which I mean, not only dress and manners, but also medals, ribbons, stars, crosses, and the like, which we, a prouder people, have never held in such high estimation. The other circumstance is, that duelling has from the beginning been more popular in France than in England; and as this is a custom which we owe to chivalry, the difference in this respect between the two countries supplies another link in that long chain of evidence by which we must estimate their national tendencies.[71]

The old associations, of which these facts are but the external expression, now continued to act with increasing

[71] The relation between chivalry and duelling has been noticed by several writers; and in France, where the chivalric spirit was not completely destroyed until the Revolution, we find occasional traces of this connexion even in the reign of Louis XVI. See, for instance, in *Mém. de Lafayette*, vol. i. p. 86, a curious letter in regard to chivalry and duelling in 1778. In England there is, I believe, no evidence of even a single private duel being fought earlier than the sixteenth century, and there were not many till the latter half of Elizabeth's reign; but in France the custom arose early in the fifteenth century, and in the sixteenth it became usual for the seconds to fight as well as the principals. Compare *Montlosier, Monarc. Franç.* vol. ii. p. 436, with *Monteil, Hist. des divers États*, vol. vi. p. 48. From that time the love of the French for duelling became quite a passion until the end of the eighteenth century, when the Revolution, or rather the circumstances which led to the Revolution, caused its comparative cessation. Some idea may be formed of the enormous extent of this practice formerly in France, by comparing the following passages; which I have the more pleasure in bringing together, as no one has written even a tolerable history of duelling, notwithstanding the great part it once played in European society. *De Thou, Hist. Univ.* vol. ix. pp. 592, 593, vol. xv. p. 57; *Daniel, Milice Françoise*, vol. ii. p. 582; *Sully, Œconomies*, vol. i. p. 301, vol. iii. p. 406, vol. vi. p. 122, vol. viii. p. 41, vol. ix. p. 408; *Carew's State of France under Henry IV.*, in *Birch's Historical Negotiations*, p. 467; *Ben Jonson's Works*, edit. Gifford, vol. vi. p. 69; *Dulaure, Hist. de Paris* (1825, 3rd edit.), vol. iv. p. 567, vol. v. pp. 300, 301; *Le Clerc, Bibliothèque Univ.* vol. xx. p. 242; *Lettres de Patin*, vol. iii. p. 536; *Capefigue, Hist. de la Réforme*, vol. viii. p. 98; *Capefigue's Richelieu*, vol. i. p. 63; *Des Réaux, Historiettes*, vol. x. p. 13; *Mem. de Genlis*, vol. ii. p. 191, vol. vii. p. 215, vol. ix. p. 351; *Mem. of the Baroness d'Oberkirch*, vol. i. p. 71, edit. Lond. 1852; *Lettres inédites d'Aguesseau*, vol. i. p. 211; *Lettres de Dudeffand à Walpole*, vol. iii. p. 249, vol. iv. pp. 27, 28, 152; *Boullier, Maison Militaire des Rois de France*, pp. 87, 88; *Biog. Univ.* vol. v. pp. 402, 403, vol. xxiii. p. 411, vol. xliv. pp. 127, 401, vol. xlviii. p. 522, vol. xlix. p. 130.

vigour. In France, the protective spirit, carried into religion, was strong enough to resist the Reformation, and preserve to the clergy the forms, at least, of their ancient supremacy. In England, the pride of men, and their habits of self-reliance, enabled them to mature into a system what is called the right of private judgment, by which some of the most cherished traditions were eradicated; and this, as we have already seen, being quickly succeeded, first by scepticism, and then by toleration, prepared the way for that subordination of the church to the state, for which we are pre-eminent, and without a rival, among the nations of Europe. The very same tendency, acting in politics, displayed analogous results. Our ancestors found no difficulty in humbling the nobles, and reducing them to comparative insignificance. The wars of the Roses, by breaking up the leading families into two hostile factions, aided this movement;[72] and, after the reign of Edward IV., there is no instance of any Englishman, even of the highest rank, venturing to carry on those private wars, by which, in other countries, the great lords still disturbed the peace of society.[73] When the civil contests subsided, the same spirit displayed itself in the policy of Henry VII. and Henry VIII. For, those princes, despots as they were, mainly oppressed the highest classes; and even Henry VIII., notwithstanding his barbarous cruelties, was loved by the people, to whom his reign was, on the whole, decidedly beneficial. Then there came the Reformation; which, being an uprising of the human mind, was essentially a rebellious movement, and thus increasing the insubordination of men, sowed, in the sixteenth century, the seeds of those great political revolutions which, in the seventeenth century, broke out in nearly every part of Europe. The connexion between these two revolutionary

[72] On the effect of the wars of the Roses upon the nobles, compare *Hallam's Const. Hist.* vol. i. p. 10; *Lingard's Hist. of England*, vol. iii. p. 340; *Eccleston's English Antiq.* pp. 224, 320: and on their immense pecuniary, or rather territorial, losses, *Sinclair's Hist. of the Revenue*, vol. i. p. 155.

[73] 'The last instance of a pitched battle between two powerful noblemen in England occurs in the reign of Edward IV.' *Allen on the Prerogative*, p. 123.

epochs is a subject full of interest; but, for the purpose of the present chapter, it will be sufficient to notice such events, during the latter half of the sixteenth century, as explain the sympathy between the ecclesiastical and aristocratic classes, and prove how the same circumstances that were fatal to the one, also prepared the way for the downfall of the other.

When Elizabeth ascended the throne of England, a large majority of the nobility were opposed to the Protestant religion. This we know from the most decisive evidence; and, even if we had no such evidence, a general acquaintance with human nature would induce us to suspect that such was the case. For, the aristocracy, by the very conditions of their existence, must, as a body, always be averse to innovation. And this, not only because by a change they have much to lose and little to gain, but because some of their most pleasurable emotions are connected with the past rather than with the present. In the collision of actual life, their vanity is sometimes offended by the assumptions of inferior men; it is frequently wounded by the successful competition of able men. These are mortifications to which, in the progress of society, their liability is constantly increasing. But the moment they turn to the past, they see in those good old times which are now gone by, many sources of consolation. There they find a period in which their glory is without a rival. When they look at their pedigrees, their quarterings, their escutcheons; when they think of the purity of their blood, and the antiquity of their ancestors—they experience a comfort which ought amply to atone for any present inconvenience. The tendency of this is very obvious, and has shown itself in the history of every aristocracy the world has yet seen. Men who have worked themselves to so extravagant a pitch, as to believe that it is any honour to have had one ancestor who came over with the Normans, and another ancestor who was present at the first invasion of Ireland—men who have reached this ecstasy of the fancy are not disposed to stop there, but, by a process with which most minds are familiar,

they generalize their view; and, even on matters not immediately connected with their fame, they acquire a habit of associating grandeur with antiquity, and of measuring value by age; thus transferring to the past an admiration which otherwise they might reserve for the present.

The connexion between these feelings and those which animate the clergy is very evident. What the nobles are to politics, that are the priests to religion. Both classes, constantly appealing to the voice of antiquity, rely much on tradition, and make great account of upholding established customs. Both take for granted that what is old is better than what is new; and that in former times there were means of discovering truths respecting government and theology which we, in these degenerate ages, no longer possess. And it may be added, that the similarity of their functions follows from the similarity of their principles. Both are eminently protective, stationary, or, as they are sometimes called, conservative. It is believed that the aristocracy guard the state against revolution, and that the clergy keep the church from error. The first are the enemies of reformers; the others are the scourge of heretics.

It does not enter into the province of this Introduction to examine how far these principles are reasonable, or to inquire into the propriety of notions which suppose that, on certain subjects of immense importance, men are to remain stationary, while on all other subjects they are constantly advancing. But what I now rather wish to point out, is the manner in which, in the reign of Elizabeth, the two great conservative and protective classes were weakened by that vast movement, the Reformation, which, though completed in the sixteenth century, had been prepared by a long chain of intellectual antecedents.

Whatever the prejudices of some may suggest, it will be admitted by all unbiassed judges, that the Protestant Reformation was neither more nor less than an open rebellion. Indeed, the mere mention of private judgment, on which it was avowedly based, is enough to substantiate this fact. To establish the right of private

judgment, was to appeal from the church to individuals; it was to increase the play of each man's intellect; it was to test the opinions of the priesthood by the opinions of laymen; it was, in fact, a rising of the scholars against their teachers, of the ruled against their rulers. And although the Reformed clergy, so soon as they had organised themselves into a hierarchy, did undoubtedly abandon the great principle with which they started, and attempt to impose articles and canons of their own contrivance, still, this ought not to blind us to the merits of the Reformation itself. The tyranny of the church of England, during the reign of Elizabeth, and still more during the reigns of her two successors, was but the natural consequence of that corruption which power always begets in those who wield it, and does not lessen the importance of the movement by which the power was originally obtained. For, men could not forget that, tried by the old theological theory, the church of England was a schismatic establishment, and could only defend itself from the charge of heresy by appealing to that private judgment, to the exercise of which it owed its existence, but of the rights of which its own proceedings were a constant infraction. It was evident, that if, in religious matters, private judgment were supreme, it became a high spiritual crime to issue any articles, or to take any measure, by which that judgment could be tied up; while, on the other hand, if the right of private judgment were not supreme, the church of England was guilty of apostasy, inasmuch as its founders did, by virtue of the interpretation which their own private judgment made of the Bible, abandon tenets which they had hitherto held, stigmatize those tenets as idolatrous, and openly renounce their allegiance to what had for centuries been venerated as the catholic and apostolic church.

This was a simple alternative; which might, indeed, be kept out of sight, but could not be refined away, and most assuredly has never been forgotten. The memory of the great truth it conveys was preserved by the writings and teachings of the Puritans, and by those habits of

thought natural to an inquisitive age. And when the fullness of time had come, it did not fail to bear its fruit. It continued slowly to fructify; and before the middle of the seventeenth century, its seed had quickened into a life, the energy of which nothing could withstand. That same right of private judgment, which the early Reformers had loudly proclaimed, was now pushed to an extent fatal to those who opposed it. This it was which, carried into politics, overturned the government; and, carried into religion, upset the church.[74] For, rebellion and heresy are but different forms of the same disregard of tradition, the same bold and independent spirit. Both are of the nature of a protest made by modern ideas against old associations. They are as a struggle between the feelings of the present and the memory of the past. Without the exercise of private judgment, such a contest could never take place; the mere conception of it could not enter the minds of men, nor would they even dream of controlling, by their individual energy, those abuses to which all great societies are liable. It is, therefore, in the highest degree natural, that the exercise of this judgment should be opposed by those two powerful classes, who, from their position, their interests, and the habits of their mind, are more prone than any other to cherish antiquity, cleave to superannuated customs, and uphold institutions which, to use their favourite language, have been consecrated by the wisdom of their fathers.

From this point of view, we are able to see with great clearness the intimate connexion which, at the accession of Elizabeth, existed between the English nobles and the Catholic clergy. Notwithstanding many exceptions, an immense majority of both classes opposed the

[74] Clarendon (*Hist. of the Rebellion*, p. 80), in a very angry spirit, but with perfect truth, notices (under the year 1640) the connexion between 'a proud and venomous dislike against the discipline of the church of England, and so by degrees (as the progress is very natural) an equal irreverence to the government of the state too.' The Spanish government, perhaps, more than any other in Europe, has understood this relation: and even so late as 1789, an edict of Charles IV. declared, 'qu'il y a crime d'hérésie dans tout ce qui tend, ou contribue, à propager les idées révolutionnaires. *Llorente, Hist. de l'Inquisition*, vol. ii. p. 130.

Reformation, because it was based on that right of private judgment, of which they, as the protectors of old opinions, were the natural antagonists. All this can excite no surprise; it was in the order of things, and strictly accordant with the spirit of those two great sections of society. Fortunately, however, for our country, the throne was now occupied by a sovereign who was equal to the emergency, and who, instead of yielding to the two classes, availed herself of the temper of the age to humble them. The manner in which this was effected by Elizabeth, in respect, first to the Catholic clergy, and afterwards to the Protestant clergy,[75] forms one of the most interesting parts of our history; and in an account of the reign of the great queen, I hope to examine it at considerable length. At present, it will be sufficient to glance at her policy towards the nobles—that other class with which the priesthood, by their interests, opinions, and associations, have always much in common.

Elizabeth, at her accession to the throne, finding that the ancient families adhered to the ancient religion, naturally called to her councils advisers who were more likely to uphold the novelties on which the age was bent. She selected men who, being little burdened by past associations, were more inclined to favour present interests. The two Bacons, the two Cecils, Knollys, Sadler, Smith, Throgmorton, Walsingham, were the most eminent statesmen and diplomatists in her reign; but all of them were commoners; only one did she raise to the peerage; and they were certainly nowise remarkable, either for the rank of their immediate connexions, or for the celebrity of their remote ancestors. They, however, were recommended to Elizabeth by their great abilities, and by their determination to uphold a religion which the ancient aristocracy naturally opposed. And it is observable that, among the accusations which the Catholics brought against the queen,

[75] The general character of her policy towards the Protestant English bishops is summed up very fairly by Collier; though he, as a professional writer, is naturally displeased with her disregard for the heads of the church. *Collier's Eccles. Hist. of Great Britain*, vol. vii. pp. 257, 258, edit. Barham, 1840.

they taunted her, not only with forsaking the old religion, but also with neglecting the old nobility.[76]

Nor does it require much acquaintance with the history of the time to see the justice of this charge. Whatever explanation we may choose to give of the fact, it cannot be denied that, during the reign of Elizabeth, there was an open and constant opposition between the nobles and the executive government. The rebellion of 1569 was essentially an aristocratic movement; it was a rising of the great families of the north against what they considered the upstart and plebeian administration of the queen.[77] The bitterest enemy of Elizabeth was certainly

[76] One of the charges which, in 1588, Sixtus V. publicly brought against Elizabeth, was, that 'she hath rejected and excluded the ancient nobility, and promoted to honour obscure people.' *Butler's Mem. of the Catholics*, vol. ii. p. 4. Persons also reproaches her with her low-born ministers, and says that she was influenced 'by five persons in particular—all of them sprung from the earth—Bacon, Cecil, Dudley, Hatton, and Walsingham.' *Butler*, vol. ii. p. 31. Cardinal Allen taunted her with 'disgracing the ancient nobility, erecting base and unworthy persons to all the civil and ecclesiastical dignities.' *Dodd's Church History*, edit. Tierney, 1840, vol. iii. appendix no. xii. p. xlvi. The same influential writer, in his *Admonition*, said that she had injured England, 'by great contempt and abasing of the ancient nobility, repelling them from due government, offices, and places of honour.' *Allen's Admonition to the Nobility and People of England and Ireland*, 1588 (reprinted London, 1842), p. xv. Compare the account of the Bull of 1588, in *De Thou, Hist. Univ.* vol. x. p. 175: 'On accusoit Elisabeth d'avoir au préjudice de la noblesse angloise élevé aux dignités, tant civiles qu'ecclésiastiques, des hommes nouveaux, sans naissance, et indignes de les posséder.'

[77] To the philosophic historian this rebellion, though not sufficiently appreciated by ordinary writers, is a very important study, because it is the last attempt ever made by the great English families to establish their authority by force of arms. Mr. Wright says, that probably all those who took a leading part in it 'were allied by blood or intermarriage with the two families of the Percies and Neviles.' *Wright's Elizabeth*, 1838, vol. i. p. xxxiv.; a valuable work. See also, in *Parl. Hist.* vol. i. p. 730, a list of some of those who, in 1571, were attainted on account of this rebellion, and who are said to be 'all of the best families in the north of England.'

But the most complete evidence we have respecting this struggle, consists of the collection of original documents published in 1840 by Sir C. Sharpe, under the title of *Memorials of the Rebellion of* 1569. They show very clearly the real nature of the outbreak. On 17th November 1569, Sir George Bowes writes, that the complaint of the insurgents was that 'there was certaine counsellors cropen' (*i. e.* crept) 'in aboute the prince, which had excluded the nobility from the prince,' &c., *Memorials*, p. 42; and the editor's note says that this is one of the charges made in all the proclamations by the earls. Perhaps the most curious proof of how notorious the policy of Elizabeth had become, is contained in a friendly letter from Sussex

Mary of Scotland; and the interests of Mary were publicly defended by the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Northumberland, the Earl of Westmoreland, and the Earl of Arundel; while there is reason to believe that her cause was secretly favoured by the Marquis of Northampton, the Earl of Pembroke, the Earl of Derby, the Earl of Cumberland, the Earl of Shrewsbury, and the Earl of Sussex.[78]

The existence of this antagonism of interests could not escape the sagacity of the English government. Cecil, who was the most powerful of the ministers of Elizabeth, and who was at the head of affairs for forty years, made it part of his business to study the genealogies and material resources of the great families; and this he did, not out of idle curiosity, but in order to increase his control over them, or, as a great historian says, to let them know 'that his eye was upon them.'[79] The queen herself, though too fond of power, was by no means of a cruel disposition; but she seemed to delight in humbling the nobles. On them her hand fell heavily; and there is hardly to be found a single instance of her pardoning their offences, while she punished several of them for acts which would now be considered no offences at all. She was always unwilling to admit them to authority; and it is unquestionably true that, taking them as a class, they were during her long and prosperous reign treated with unusual disrespect. Indeed, so clearly marked was her policy, that when the ducal order became extinct, she refused to renew it; and a whole generation passed away to whom the name of duke was a mere matter of history, a point to be mooted by antiquaries, but with which the business of practical life had no concern.[80] Whatever

to Cecil, dated 5th January 1569 (*Memorials*, p. 137), one paragraph of which begins, 'Of late years few young noblemen have been employed in service.'

[78] *Hallam*, i. p. 130; *Lingard*, v. pp. 97, 102; *Turner*, xii. pp. 245, 247.

[79] *Hallam's Const. Hist.* vol. i. p. 241; an interesting passage. Turner (*Hist. of England*, vol. xii. p. 237) says, that Cecil 'knew the tendency of the great lords to combine against the crown, that they might reinstate the peerage in the power from which the house of Tudor had depressed it.'

[80] In 1572 the order of dukes became extinct; and was not revived till

may be her other faults, she was on this subject always consistent. Although she evinced the greatest anxiety to surround the throne with men of ability, she cared little for those conventional distinctions by which the minds of ordinary sovereigns are greatly moved. She made no account of dignity of rank; she did not even care for purity of blood. She valued men neither for the splendour of their ancestry, nor for the length of their pedigrees, nor for the grandeur of their titles. Such questions she left for her degenerate successors, to the size of whose understandings they were admirably fitted. Our great queen regulated her conduct by another standard. Her large and powerful intellect, cultivated to its highest point by reflection and study, taught her the true measure of affairs, and enabled her to see, that to make a government flourish, its councillors must be men of ability and of virtue; but that if these two conditions are fulfilled, the nobles may be left to repose in the enjoyment of their leisure, unoppressed by those cares of the state for which, with a few brilliant exceptions, they are naturally disqualified by the number of their prejudices and by the frivolity of their pursuits.

After the death of Elizabeth, an attempt was made, first by James, and then by Charles, to revive the power of the two great protective classes, the nobles and the clergy. But so admirably had the policy of Elizabeth been supported by the general temper of the age, that it was found impossible for the Stuarts to execute their mischievous plans. The exercise of private judgment, both in religion and in politics, had become so habitual, that these princes were unable to subjugate it to their will. And as Charles I., with inconceivable blindness, and with an obstinacy even greater than that of his father, persisted in adopting in their worst forms the superannuated theories

fifty years afterwards, when James I. made the miserable Villiers, duke of Buckingham. *Blackstone's Commentaries*, vol. i. p. 397. This evidently attracted attention; for Ben Jonson, in one of his comedies in 1616, mentions 'the received heresy that England bears no dukes.' *Jonson's Works*, edit. Gifford, 1816, vol. v. p. 47, where Gifford, not being aware of the extinction in 1572, has made an unsatisfactory note.

of protection, and attempted to enforce a scheme of government which men from their increasing independence were determined to reject, there inevitably arose that memorable collision which is wèll termed The Great Rebellion of England.[81] The analogy between this and the Protestant Reformation, I have already noticed; but what we have now to consider, and what, in the next chapter, I will endeavour to trace, is the nature of the difference between our Rebellion, and those contemporary wars of the Fronde, to which it was in some respects very similar.

[81] Clarendon (*Hist. of the Rebellion*, p. 216) truly calls it 'the most prodigious and the boldest rebellion, that any age or country ever brought forth.' See also some striking remarks in *Warwick's Memoirs*, p. 207.

CHAPTER X.

THE ENERGY OF THE PROTECTIVE SPIRIT IN FRANCE EXPLAINS THE FAILURE OF THE FRONDE. COMPARISON BETWEEN THE FRONDE AND THE CONTEMPORARY ENGLISH REBELLION.

THE object of the last chapter was, to inquire into the origin of the protective spirit. From the evidence there collected, it appears that this spirit was first organized into a distinct secular form at the close of the dark ages; but that, owing to circumstances which then arose, it was, from the beginning, much less powerful in England than in France. It has likewise appeared that, in our country, it continued to lose ground; while in France, it early in the fourteenth century assumed a new shape, and gave rise to a centralizing movement, manifested not only in the civil and political institutions, but also in the social and literary habits of the French nation. Thus far we seem to have cleared the way for a proper understanding of the history of the two countries; and I now purpose to follow this up a little further, and point out how this difference explains the discrepancy between the civil wars of England, and those which at the same time broke out in France.

Among the obvious circumstances connected with the Great English Rebellion, the most remarkable is, that it was a war of classes as well as of factions. From the beginning of the contest, the yeomanry and traders adhered to the parliament;[1] the nobles and the clergy rallied

[1] 'From the beginning it may be said that the yeomanry and trading classes of towns were generally hostile to the king's side, even in those counties which were in his military occupation; except in a few, such as Cornwall, Worcester, Salop, and most of Wales, where the prevailing senti-

round the throne.[2] And the name given to the two parties, of Roundheads[3] and Cavaliers,[4] proves that the true nature of this opposition was generally known. It proves that men were aware that a question was at issue, upon which England was divided, not so much by the particular interests of individuals, as by the general interests of the classes to which those individuals belonged.

But in the history of the French rebellion, there is no trace of so large a division. The objects of the war were in both countries precisely the same; the machinery by which those objects were attained was very different. The Fronde was like our Rebellion, insomuch that it was a struggle of the parliament against the crown; an attempt to secure liberty, and raise up a barrier against the despotism of government.[5] So far, and so long, as we

ment was chiefly royalist.' *Hallam's Const. Hist.* vol. i. p. 578. See also *Lingard's Hist. of England*, vol. vi. p. 304; and *Alison's Hist. of Europe*, vol. i. p. 49.

[2] On this division of classes, which, notwithstanding a few exceptions, is undoubtedly true as a general fact, compare *Memoirs of Sir P. Warwick*, p. 217; *Carlyle's Cromwell*, vol. iii. p. 307; *Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion*, pp. 294, 297, 345, 346, 401, 476; *May's Hist. of the Long Parliament*, book i. pp. 22, 64, book ii. p. 63, book iii. p. 78; *Hutchinson's Memoirs*, p. 100; *Ludlow's Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 104, vol. iii. p. 258; *Bulstrode's Memoirs*, p. 86.

[3] Lord Clarendon says, in his grand style, 'the rabble contemned and despised under the name of roundheads.' *Hist. of the Rebellion*, p. 136. This was in 1641, when the title appears to have been first bestowed. See *Fairfax Corresp.* vol. ii. pp. 185, 320.

[4] Just before the battle of Edgehill, in 1642, Charles said to his troops, 'You are called cavaliers in a reproachful signification.' See the king's speech, in *Somers Tracts*, vol. iv. p. 478. Directly after the battle, he accused his opponents of 'rendering all persons of honour odious to the common people, under the style of cavaliers.' *May's Hist. of the Long Parliament*, book iii. p. 25.

[5] M. Saint-Aulaire (*Hist. de la Fronde*, vol. i. p. v.) says, that the object of the Frondeurs was, 'limiter l'autorité royale, consacrer les principes de la liberté civile et en confier la garde aux compagnies souveraines;' and at p. vi. he calls the declaration of 1648, 'une véritable charte constitutionnelle.' See also, at vol. i. p. 128, the concluding paragraph of the speech of Omer Talon. Joly, who was much displeased at this tendency, complains that in 1648, 'le peuple tomboit imperceptiblement dans le sentiment dangereux, qu'il est naturel et permis de se défendre et de s'armer contre la violence des supérieurs.' *Mém. de Joly*, p. 15. Of the immediate objects proposed by the Fronde, one was to diminish the taille, and another was to obtain a law that no one should be kept in prison more than twenty-four hours, 'sans être remis entre les mains du parlement pour lui faire son procès s'il se trouvoit criminel, ou l'élargir s'il étoit innocent.' *Mém. de*

merely take a view of political objects, the parallel is complete. But the social and intellectual antecedents of the French being very different from those of the English, it necessarily followed that the shape which the rebellion took should likewise be different, even though the motives were the same. If we examine this divergence a little nearer, we shall find that it is connected with the circumstance I have already noticed—namely, that in England a war for liberty was accompanied by a war of classes, while in France there was no war of classes at all. From this it resulted, that in France the rebellion, being merely political, and not, as with us, also social, took less hold of the public mind: it was unaccompanied by those feelings of insubordination, in the absence of which freedom has always been impossible; and, striking no root into the national character, it could not save the country from that servile state into which, a few years later, it, under the government of Louis XIV., rapidly fell.

That our Great Rebellion was, in its external form, a war of classes, is one of those palpable facts which lie on the surface of history. At first, the parliament[6] did indeed attempt to draw over to their side some of the nobles; and in this they for a time succeeded. But as the struggle advanced, the futility of this policy became evident. In the natural order of the great movement, the nobles grew more loyal;[7] the parliament grew more democratic.[8]

Montglat, vol. ii. p. 135; *Mém. de Motteville*, vol. ii. p. 398; *Mém. de Retz*, vol. i. p. 265; *Mém. d'Omer Talon*, vol. ii. pp. 224, 225, 240, 328.

[6] I use the word 'parliament' in the sense given to it by writers of that time, and not in the legal sense.

[7] In May 1642, there remained at Westminster forty-two peers, *Hallam's Const. Hist.* vol. i. p. 559; but they gradually abandoned the popular cause; and, according to *Parl. Hist.* vol. iii. p. 1282, so dwindled, that eventually 'seldom more than five or six' were present.

[8] These increasing democratic tendencies are most clearly indicated in Walker's curious work, *The History of Independency*. See among other passages, book i. p. 59. And Clarendon, under the year 1644, says (*Hist. of the Rebellion*, p. 514): 'That violent party, which had at first cozened the rest into the war, and afterwards obstructed all the approaches towards peace, found now that they had finished as much of their work as the tools which they had wrought with could be applied to, and what remained to be done must be despatched by new workmen.' What these new workmen were, he afterwards explains, p. 641, to be 'the most inferior people pre-

And when it was clearly seen that both parties were determined either to conquer or to die, this antagonism of classes was too clearly marked to be misunderstood; the perception which each had of its own interests being sharpened by the magnitude of the stake for which they contended.

For, without burdening this Introduction with what may be read in our common histories, it will be sufficient to remind the reader of a few of the conspicuous events of that time. Just before the war began, the Earl of Essex was appointed general of the parliamentary forces, with the Earl of Bedford as his lieutenant. A commission to raise troops was likewise given to the Earl of Manchester,[9] the only man of high rank against whom Charles had displayed open enmity.[10] Notwithstanding these marks of confidence, the nobles, in whom parliament was at first disposed to trust, could not avoid showing the old leaven of their order.[11] The Earl of Essex so conducted himself, as to inspire the popular party with the greatest apprehensions of his treachery;[12] and when the

ferred to all places of trust and profit.' Book xi. under the year 1648. Compare some good remarks by Mr. Bell, in *Fairfax Correspond.* vol. iii. pp. 115, 116.

[9] This was after the appointments of Essex and Bedford, and was in 1643. *Ludlow's Mem.* vol. i. p. 58; *Carlyle's Cromwell,* vol. i. p. 189.

[10] 'When the king attempted to arrest the five members, Manchester, at that time Lord Kymbolton, was the only peer whom he impeached. This circumstance endeared Kymbolton to the party; his own safety bound him more closely to its interests.' *Lingard's England,* vol. vi. p. 337. Compare *Clarendon,* p. 375; *Ludlow,* vol. i. p. 20. It is also said that Lord Essex joined the popular party from personal pique against the king. *Fairfax Corresp.* vol. iii. p. 37.

[11] Mr. Carlyle has made some very characteristic, but very just, observations on the 'high Essexes and Manchesters of limited notions and large estates.' *Carlyle's Cromwell,* vol. i. p. 215.

[12] *Ludlow's Memoirs,* vol. iii. p. 110; *Hutchinson's Memoirs,* pp. 230, 231; *Harris's Lives of the Stuarts,* vol. iii. p. 106; *Bulstrode's Memoirs,* pp. 112, 113, 119; *Clarendon's Rebellion,* pp. 486, 514; or, as Lord North puts it, 'for General Essex began now to appear to the private cabalists somewhat wresty.' *North's Narrative of Passages relating to the Long Parliament,* published in 1670, in *Somers Tracts,* vol. vi. p. 578. At p. 584, the same elegant writer says of Essex, 'being the first person and last of the nobility employed by the parliament in military affairs, which soon brought him to the period of his life. And may he be an example to all future ages, to deter all persons of like dignity from being instrumental in setting up a demo-

defence of London was intrusted to Waller, he so obstinately refused to enter the name of that able officer in the commission, that the Commons were obliged to insert it by virtue of their own authority, and in spite of their own general.[13] The Earl of Bedford, though he had received a military command, did not hesitate to abandon those who conferred it. This apostate noble fled from Westminster to Oxford; but finding that the king, who never forgave his enemies, did not receive him with the favour he expected, he returned to London; where, though he was allowed to remain in safety, it could not be supposed that he should again experience the confidence of parliament.[14]

Such examples as these were not likely to lessen the distrust which both parties felt for each other. It soon became evident that a war of classes was unavoidable, and that the rebellion of the parliament against the king must be reinforced by a rebellion of the people against the nobles.[15] To this the popular party, whatever may have been their first intention, now willingly agreed. In 1645 they enacted a law, by which not only the Earl of Essex

cratical power, whose interest it is to keep down all persons of his condition.' The 'Letter of Admonition' addressed to him by parliament in 1644, is printed in *Parl. Hist.* vol. iii. p. 274.

[13] *Lingard's Hist. of England*, vol. vi. p. 318. See also, on the hostility between Essex and Waller, *Walker's Hist. of Independency*, part i. pp. 28, 29; and *Parl. Hist.* vol. iii. p. 177. Sir Philip Warwick (*Memoirs*, p. 254) contemptuously calls Waller 'favourite-generall of the city of London.'

[14] Compare *Hallam's Const. Hist.* vol. i. pp. 569, 570, with *Bulstrode's Memoirs*, p. 96, and Lord Bedford's letter, in *Parl. Hist.* vol. iii. pp. 189, 190. This shuffling letter confirms the unfavourable account of the writer, which is given in *Clarendon's Rebellion*, p. 422.

[15] Dr. Bates, who had been physician to Cromwell, intimates that this was foreseen from the beginning. He says, that the popular party offered command to some of the nobles, 'not that they had any respect for the lords, whom shortly they intended to turn out and to level with the commoners, but that they might poison them with their own venom, and rise to greater authority by drawing more over to their side.' *Bates's Account of the late Troubles in England*, part i. p. 76. Lord North too supposes, that almost immediately after the war began, it was determined to dissolve the House of Lords. See *Somers Tracts*, vol. vi. p. 582. Beyond this, I am not aware of any direct early evidence; except that, in 1644, Cromwell is alleged to have stated that 'there would never be a good time in England till we had done with lords.' *Carlyle's Cromwell*, vol. i. p. 217; and, what is evidently the same circumstance, in *Holles's Memoirs*, p. 18.

and the Earl of Manchester lost their command, but all members of either house were made incapable of military service.[16] And, only a week after the execution of the king, they formally took away the legislative power of the peers; putting at the same time on record their memorable opinion, that the House of Lords is 'useless, dangerous, and ought to be abolished.'[17]

But we may find proofs still more convincing of the true character of the English rebellion, if we consider who those were by whom it was accomplished. This will show us the democratic nature of a movement which lawyers and antiquaries have vainly attempted to shelter under the form of constitutional precedent. Our great rebellion was the work, not of men who looked behind, but of men who looked before. To attempt to trace it to personal and temporary causes; to ascribe this unparalleled outbreak to a dispute respecting ship-money, or to a quarrel about the privileges of parliament, can only suit the habits of those historians who see no further than the preamble of a statute, or the decision of a judge. Such writers forget that the trial of Hampden, and the impeachment of the five members, could have produced no effect on the country, unless the people had already been prepared, and unless the spirit of inquiry and of insubordination had so increased the discontents of men, as to put them in a state where, the train being laid, the slightest spark sufficed to kindle a conflagration.

The truth is, that the rebellion was an outbreak of the democratic spirit. It was the political form of a movement, of which the Reformation was the religious form. As the Reformation was aided, not by men in high ecclesiastical offices, not by great cardinals or wealthy bishops, but by men filling the lowest and most subordinate posts,

[16] This was the 'Self-denying Ordinance,' which was introduced in December 1644; but, owing to the resistance of the peers, was not carried until the subsequent April. *Parl. Hist.* vol. iii. pp. 326-337, 340-343, 354, 355. See also *Mem. of Lord Holles*, p. 30; *Mem. of Sir P. Warwick*, p. 283.

[17] On this great epoch in the history of England, see *Parl. Hist.* vol. iii. p. 1284; *Hallam's Const. Hist.* vol. i. p. 643; *Campbell's Chief-Justices*, vol. i. p. 424; *Ludlow's Mem.* vol. i. p. 246; *Warwick's Mem.* pp. 182, 336, 352.

just so was the English rebellion a movement from below, an uprising from the foundations, or, as some will have it, the dregs of society. The few persons of high rank who adhered to the popular cause were quickly discarded, and the ease and rapidity with which they fell off was a clear indication of the turn that things were taking. Directly the army was freed from its noble leaders, and supplied with officers drawn from the lower classes, the fortune of war changed, the royalists were every where defeated, and the king made prisoner by his own subjects. Between his capture and execution, the two most important political events were his abduction by Joyce, and the forcible expulsion from the House of Commons of those members who were thought likely to interfere in his favour. Both these decisive steps were taken, and indeed only could have been taken, by men of great personal influence, and of a bold and resolute spirit. Joyce, who carried off the king, and who was highly respected in the army, had, however, been recently a common working tailor;[18] while Colonel Pride, whose name is preserved in history as having purged the House of Commons of the malignants, was about on a level with Joyce, since his original occupation was that of a drayman.[19] The tailor and the drayman were, in that age, strong enough to direct the course of public affairs, and to win for themselves a conspicuous position in the state. After the execution of Charles, the same tendency was displayed. The old monarchy being destroyed, that small but active party known as the fifth-monarchy men increased in importance, and for a time exercised considerable influence. Their three principal

[18] 'Cornet Joyce, who was one of the agitators in the army, a tailor, a fellow who had two or three years before served in a very inferior employment in Mr. Hollis's house.' *Clarendon's Rebellion*, p. 612. 'A shrewd tailor-man.' *D'Israeli's Commentaries on the Reign of Charles I.*, 1851, vol. ii. p. 466.

[19] Ludlow (*Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 139); Noble (*Memoirs of the House of Cromwell*, vol. ii. p. 470); and Winstanley (*Loyal Martyrology*, edit. 1665, p. 108), mention that Pride had been a drayman. It is said that Cromwell, in ridicule of the old distinctions, conferred knighthood on him 'with a faggot.' *Orme's Life of Owen*, p. 164; *Harris's Lives of the Stuarts*, vol. iii. p. 478.

and most distinguished members were Venner, Tuffnel, and Okey. Venner, who was the leader, was a wine-cooper;[20] Tuffnel, who was second in command, was a carpenter;[21] and Okey, though he became a colonel, had filled the menial office of stoker in an Islington brewery.[22]

Nor are these to be regarded as exceptional cases. In that period, promotion depended solely on merit; and if a man had ability, he was sure to rise, no matter what his birth or former avocations might have been. Cromwell himself was a brewer;[23] and Colonel Jones, his brother-in-law, had been servant to a private gentleman.[24] Deane was the servant of a tradesman; but he became an admiral, and was made one of the commissioners of the navy.[25] Colonel Goffe had been apprentice to a drysalter;[26] Major-general Whalley had been apprentice to a draper.[27] Skip-

[20] 'The fifth-monarchy, headed mainly by one Venn a wine-cooper.' *Carlyle's Cromwell*, vol. iii. p. 282. 'Venner, a wine-cooper.' *Lister's Life and Corresp. of Clarendon*, vol. ii. p. 62.

[21] 'The second to Venner was one Tuffnel, a carpenter living in Gray's Inn Lane.' *Winstanley's Martyrology*, p. 163.

[22] 'He was stoaker in a brew-house at Islington, and next a most poor chandler near Lion-Key in Thames Street.' *Parl. Hist.* vol. iii. p. 1605. See also *Winstanley's Martyrology*, p. 122.

[23] Some of the clumsy eulogists of Cromwell wish to suppress the fact of his being a brewer; but that he really practised that useful trade is attested by a variety of evidence, and is distinctly stated by his own physician, Dr. Bates. *Bates's Troubles in England*, vol. ii. p. 238. See also *Walker's Hist. of Independency*, part i. p. 32, part ii. p. 25, part iii. p. 37; *Noble's House of Cromwell*, vol. i. pp. 328-331. Other passages, which I cannot now call to mind, will occur to those who have studied the literature of the time.

[24] 'John Jones, at first a serving-man, then a colonel of the Long Parliament, ... married the Protector's sister.' *Parl. Hist.* vol. iii. p. 1600. 'A serving-man; . . . in process of time married one of Cromwell's sisters.' *Winstanley's Martyrology*, p. 125.

[25] 'Richard Deane, Esq., is said to have been a servant to one Button, a toyman in Ipswich, and to have himself been the son of a person in the same employment; . . . . was appointed one of the commissioners of the navy with Popham and Blake, and in April (1649) he became an admiral and general at sea.' *Noble's Lives of the Regicides*, vol. i. pp. 172, 173. Winstanley (*Martyrol.* p. 121) also says that Deane was 'servant in Ipswich.'

[26] 'Apprentice to one Vaughan a dry-salter.' *Noble's House of Cromwell*, vol. ii. p. 507: and see his *Regicides*, vol. i. p. 255.

[27] 'Bound apprentice to a woollen-draper.' *Winstanley's Martyr.* p. 108. He afterwards set up in the same trade for himself; but with little success, for Dr. Bates (*Troubles in England*, vol. ii. p. 222) calls him 'a broken clothier.'

pon, a common soldier who had received no education,[28] was appointed commander of the London militia; he was raised to the office of sergeant-major-general of the army; he was declared commander-in-chief in Ireland; and he became one of the fourteen members of Cromwell's council.[29] Two of the lieutenants of the Tower were Berkstead and Tichborne. Berkstead was a pedlar, or at all events a hawker of small wares;[30] and Tichborne, who was a linendraper, not only received the lieutenancy of the Tower, but became a colonel, and a member of the committee of state in 1655, and of the council of state in 1659.[31] Other trades were equally successful; the highest prizes being open to all men, provided they displayed the requisite capacity. Colonel Harvey was a silk-mercer;[32] so was Colonel Rowe;[33] so also was Colonel Venn.[34] Salway had been apprentice to a grocer, but, being an able man, he rose to the rank of major in the army; he received the king's remembrancer's office; and in 1659 he was appointed by parliament a member of the council of state.[35] Around that council-board were also gathered Bond the draper,[36] and Cawley the brewer;[37] while by their side

[28] 'Altogether illiterate.' *Clarendon's Rebellion*, p. 152. Two extraordinary speeches by him are preserved in *Burton's Diary*, vol. i. pp. 24, 25, 48-50.

[29] *Holles's Mem.* p. 82; *Ludlow's Mem.* vol. ii. p. 39; and a letter from Fairfax in *Cary's Memorials of the Civil War*, 1842, vol. i. p. 413.

[30] 'Berkstead, who heretofore sold needles, bodkins, and thimbles, and would have run on an errand any where for a little money; but who now by Cromwell was preferred to the honourable charge of lieutenant of the Tower of London.' *Bates's Account of the Troubles*, part ii. p. 222.

[31] *Noble's Regicides*, vol. ii. pp. 272, 273. Lord Holles (*Memoirs*, p. 174) also mentions that he was 'a linen-draper.'

[32] 'Edward Harvy, late a poor silk-man, now colonel, and hath got the Bishop of London's house and mannor of Fulham.' *Walker's Independency*, part i. p. 170. 'One Harvey, a decayed silk-man.' *Clarendon's Rebellion*, p. 418.

[33] Owen Rowe, 'put to the trade of a silk-mercer, ... went into tl parliament army, and became a colonel.' *Noble's Regicides*, vol. ii. p. 150.

[34] 'A silkman in London; . . . . . went into the army, and rose to the rank of colonel.' *Noble's Regicides*, vol. ii. p. 283. A broken silk-man in Cheapside.' *Winstanley's Martyrol.* p. 130.

[35] *Walker's Independency*, part i. p. 143; *Parl. Hist.* vol. iii. p. 1608; *Ludlow's Mem.* vol. ii. pp. 241, 259; *Noble's Regicides*, vol. ii. p. 158, 162.

[36] He was 'a woollen-draper at Dorchester,' and was 'one of the council of state in 1649 and 1651.' *Noble's Regicides*, vol. i. p. 99: see also *Parl. Hist.* vol. iii. p. 1594.

[37] 'A brewer in Chichester; . . in 1650-1 he was appointed one of

we find John Berners, who is said to have been a private servant,[38] and Cornelius Holland, who is known to have been a servant, and who was, indeed, formerly a link-boy.[39] Among others who were now favoured and promoted to offices of trust, were Packe the woollen-draper,[40] Pury the weaver,[41] and Pemble the tailor.[42] The parliament which was summoned in 1653 is still remembered as Barebone's parliament, being so called after one of its most active members, whose name was Barebone, and who was a leather-seller in Fleet Street.[43] Thus too, Downing, though a poor charity-boy,[44] became teller of the exchequer, and representative of England at the Hague.[45] To these we may add, that Colonel Horton had been a gentleman's servant;[46] Colonel Berry had been a woodmonger;[47] Colonel Cooper

the council of state.' *Noble's Regicides*, vol. i. p. 136. 'William Cawley, a brewer of Chichester.' *Winstanley's Martyrol.* p. 138.

[38] John Berners, 'supposed to have been originally a serving-man,' was 'one of the council of state in 1659.' *Noble's Regicides*, vol. i. p. 90.

[39] 'Holland the linke-boy.' *Walker's Independency*, part iii. p. 37. 'He was originally nothing more than a servant to Sir Henry Vane; . . . . upon the establishment of the Commonwealth, he was made one of the council of state in 1649, and again in 1650.' *Noble's Regicides*, vol. i. pp. 357, 358.

[40] *Noble's Mem. of Cromwell*, vol. ii. p. 502.

[41] *Walker's Hist. of Independency*, part. i. p. 167.

[42] *Ellis's Original Letters illustrative of English History*, third series, vol. iv. p. 219, Lond. 1846.

[43] *Parl. Hist.* vol. iii. p. 1407; *Rose's Biog. Dict.* vol. iii. p. 172; *Clarendon's Rebellion*, p. 794.

[44] 'A poor child bred upon charity.' *Harris's Stuarts*, vol. v. p. 281. 'A man of an obscure birth, and more obscure education.' *Clarendon's Life of Himself*, p. 1116.

[45] See *Vaughan's Cromwell*, vol. i. pp. 227, 228, vol. ii. pp. 299, 302, 433; *Lister's Life and Corresp. of Clarendon*, vol. ii. p. 231, vol. iii. p. 134. The common opinion is, that he was the son of a clergyman at Hackney; but if so, he was probably illegitimate, considering the way he was brought up. However, his Hackney origin is very doubtful, and no one appears to know who his father was. See *Notes and Queries*, vol. iii. pp. 69, 213.

[46] *Noble's Regicides*, vol. i. p. 362. Cromwell had a great regard for this remarkable man, who not only distinguished himself as a soldier, but, judging from a letter of his recently published, appears to have repaired the deficiencies of his early education. See *Fairfax Correspond.* vol. iv. pp. 22-25, 108. There never has been a period in the history of England in which so many men of natural ability were employed in the public service as during the Commonwealth.

[47] *Noble's House of Cromwell*, vol. ii. p. 507.

a haberdasher;[48] Major Rolfe a shoemaker;[49] Colonel Fox a tinker;[50] and Colonel Hewson a cobbler.[51]

Such were the leaders of the English rebellion, or, to speak more properly, such were the instruments by which the rebellion was consummated.[52] If we now turn to France, we shall clearly see the difference between the feelings and temper of the two nations. In that country, the old protective spirit still retained its activity; and the people, being kept in a state of pupilage, had not acquired those habits of self-command and self-reliance, by which alone great things can be effected. They had been so long accustomed to look with timid reverence to the upper classes, that, even when they rose in arms, they could not throw off the ideas of submission which were quickly discarded by our ancestors. The influence of the higher ranks was, in England, constantly diminishing; in France, it was scarcely impaired. Hence it happened that, although the English and French rebellions were contemporary, and, in their origin, aimed at precisely the same objects, they were distinguished by one most important difference. This was, that the English rebels were headed

48 *Noble's Cromwell*, vol. ii. p. 518; *Bates's Troubles*, vol. ii. p. 222.

49 *Bates's Late Troubles*, vol. i. p. 87; *Ludlow's Mem.* vol. i. p. 220.

50 *Walker's Hist. of Independency*, part ii. p. 87.

51 Ludlow, who was well acquainted with Colonel Hewson, says that he 'had been a shoemaker.' *Ludlow's Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 139. But this is the amiable partiality of a friend; and there is no doubt that the gallant colonel was neither more nor less than a cobbler. See *Walker's Independency*, part ii. p. 39; *Winstanley's Martyrol.* p. 123; *Bates's Late Troubles*, vol. ii. p. 222; *Noble's Cromwell*, vol. ii. pp. 251, 345, 470.

52 Walker, who relates what he himself witnessed, says, that, about 1649, the army was commanded by 'colonels and superior officers, who lord it in their gilt coaches, rich apparel, costly feastings; though some of them led dray-horses, wore leather-pelts, and were never able to name their own fathers or mothers.' *Hist. of Independ.* part ii. p. 244. The *Mercurius Rusticus*, 1647, says, 'Chelmsford was governed by a tinker, two cobblers, two tailors, two pedlars.' *Southey's Commonplace Book*, third series, 1850, p. 430. And, at p. 434, another work, in 1647, makes a similar statement in regard to Cambridge; while Lord Holles assures us, that 'most of the colonels and officers (were) mean tradesmen, brewers, taylors, goldsmiths, shoemakers, and the like.' *Holles's Memoirs*, p. 149. When Whitelocke was in Sweden, in 1653, the prætor of one of the towns abused the parliament, saying, 'that they had killed their king, and were a company of taylors and cobblers.' *Whitelocke's Swedish Embassy*, vol. i. p. 205. See also a note in *Carwithen's Hist. of the Church of England*, vol. ii. p. 156.

by popular leaders; the French rebels by noble leaders. The bold and sturdy habits which had long been cultivated in England, enabled the middle and lower classes to supply their own chiefs out of their own ranks. In France, such chiefs were not to be found; simply because, owing to the protective spirit, such habits had not been cultivated. While, therefore, in our island, the functions of civil government, and of war, were conducted with conspicuous ability, and complete success, by butchers, by bakers, by brewers, by cobblers, and by tinkers, the struggle which, at the same moment, was going on in France, presented an appearance totally different. In that country, the rebellion was headed by men of a far higher standing; men, indeed, of the longest and most illustrious lineage. There, to be sure, was a display of unexampled splendour; a galaxy of rank, a noble assemblage of aristocratic insurgents and titled demagogues. There was the Prince de Condé, the Prince de Conti, the Prince de Marsillac, the Duke de Bouillon, the Duke de Beaufort, the Duke de Longueville, the Duke de Chevreuse, the Duke de Nemours, the Duke de Luynes, the Duke de Brissac, the Duke d'Elbœuf, the Duke de Candale, the Duke de la Tremouille, the Marquis de la Boulaye, the Marquis de Laigues, the Marquis de Noirmoutier, the Marquis de Vitry, the Marquis de Fosseuse, the Marquis de Sillery, the Marquis d'Estissac, the Marquis d'Hocquincourt, the Count de Rantzau, the Count de Montresor.

These were the leaders of the Fronde;[53] and the mere announcement of their names indicate the difference between the French and English rebellions. And, in consequence of this difference, there followed some results, which are well worth the attention of those writers who, in their ignorance of the progress of human affairs, seek to uphold that aristocratic power, which, fortunately for

[53] Even De Retz, who vainly attempted to organise a popular party, found that it was impossible to take any step without the nobles; and, notwithstanding his democratic tendencies, he, in 1648, thought it advisable 'tâcher d'engager dans les intérêts publics les personnes de qualité.' *Mém. de Joly*, p. 31.

the interests of mankind, has long been waning; and which, during the last seventy years, has, in the most civilized countries, received such severe and repeated shocks, that its ultimate fate is hardly a matter respecting which much doubt can now be entertained.

The English rebellion was headed by men, whose tastes, habits, and associations, being altogether popular, formed a bond of sympathy between them and the people, and preserved the union of the whole party. In France, the sympathy was very weak, and therefore the union was very precarious. What sort of sympathy could there be between the mechanic and the peasant, toiling for their daily bread, and the rich and dissolute noble, whose life was passed in those idle and frivolous pursuits which debased his mind, and made his order a byword and a reproach among the nations? To talk of sympathy existing between the two classes is a manifest absurdity, and most assuredly would have been deemed an insult by those high-born men, who treated their inferiors with habitual and insolent contempt. It is true, that, from causes which have been already stated, the people did, unhappily for themselves, look up to those above them with the greatest veneration;[54] but every page of French history proves how unworthily this feeling was reciprocated, and in how complete a thraldom the lower classes were kept. While, therefore, the French, from their long-established habits of dependence, were become incapable of conducting their own rebellion, and, on that account, were obliged to place themselves under the command of their nobles, this very necessity confirmed the servility which caused it; and thus stunting the growth of freedom, prevented the

[54] Mably (*Observations sur l'Hist. de France*, vol. i. p. 357) frankly says, 'L'exemple d'un grand a toujours été plus contagieux chez les Français que partout ailleurs.' See also vol. ii. p. 267: 'Jamais l'exemple des grands n'a été aussi contagieux ailleurs qu'en France; on dirait qu'ils ont le malheureux privilége de tout justifier.' Rivarol, though his opinions on other points were entirely opposed to those of Mably, says, that, in France, 'la noblesse est aux yeux du peuple une espèce de religion, dont les gentilshommes sont les prêtres.' *Mém. de Rivarol*, p. 94. Happily, the French Revolution, or rather the circumstances which caused the French Revolution, have utterly destroyed this ignominious homage.

nation from effecting, by their civil wars, those great things which we, in England, were able to bring about by ours.

Indeed, it is only necessary to read the French literature of the seventeenth century, to see the incompatibility of the two classes, and the utter hopelessness of fusing into one party the popular and aristocratic spirit. While the object of the people was to free themselves from the yoke, the object of the nobles was merely to find new sources of excitement,[55] and minister to that personal vanity for which, as a body, they have always been notorious. As this is a department of history that has been little studied, it will be interesting to collect a few instances, which will illustrate the temper of the French aristocracy, and will show what sort of honours, and what manner of distinctions, those were, which this powerful class was most anxious to obtain.

That the objects chiefly coveted were of a very trifling description, will be anticipated by whoever has studied the effect which, in an immense majority of minds, hereditary distinctions produce upon personal character. How pernicious such distinctions are, may be clearly seen in the history of all the European aristocracies; and in the notorious fact, that none of them have preserved even a mediocrity of talent, except in countries where they are frequently invigorated by the infusion of plebeian blood, and their order strengthened by the accession of those masculine energies which are natural to men who make their own position, but cannot be looked for in men whose position is made for them. For, when the notion is once firmly implanted in the mind, that the source of honour is from without, rather than from within, it must invariably

[55] The Duke de la Rochefoucauld candidly admits that, in 1649, the nobles raised a civil war, 'avec d'autant plus de chaleur que c'était une nouveauté.' *Mém. de Rochefoucauld*, vol. i. p. 406. Thus too Lemontey (*Etablissement de Louis XIV*, p. 368): 'La vieille noblesse, qui ne savait que combattre, faisait la guerre par goût, par besoin, par vanité, par ennui.' Compare, in *Mém. d'Omer Talon*, vol. ii. pp. 467, 468, a summary of the reasons which, in 1649, induced the nobles to go to war; and on the way in which their frivolity debased the Fronde, see *Lavallée, Hist. des Français*, vol. iii. pp. 169, 170.

happen that the possession of external distinction will be preferred to the sense of internal power. In such cases, the majesty of the human intellect, and the dignity of human knowledge, are considered subordinate to those mock and spurious gradations by which weak men measure the degrees of their own littleness. Hence it is, that the real precedence of things becomes altogether reversed; that which is trifling is valued more than that which is great; and the mind is enervated by conforming to a false standard of merit, which its own prejudices have raised. On this account, they are evidently in the wrong, who reproach the nobles with their pride, as if it were a characteristic of their order. The truth is, that if pride were once established among them, their extinction would rapidly follow. To talk of the pride of hereditary rank, is a contradiction in terms. Pride depends on the consciousness of self-applause; vanity is fed by the applause of others. Pride is a reserved and lofty passion, which disdains those external distinctions that vanity eagerly grasps. The proud man sees, in his own mind, the source of his own dignity; which, as he well knows, can be neither increased nor diminished by any acts except those which proceed solely from himself. The vain man, restless, insatiable, and always craving after the admiration of his contemporaries, must naturally make great account of those external marks, those visible tokens, which, whether they be decorations or titles, strike directly on the senses, and thus captivate the vulgar, to whose understandings they are immediately obvious. This, therefore, being the great distinction, that pride looks within, while vanity looks without, it is clear that when a man values himself for a rank which he inherited by chance, without exertion, and without merit, it is a proof, not of pride, but of vanity, and of vanity of the most despicable kind. It is a proof that such a man has no sense of real dignity, no idea of what that is in which alone all greatness consists. What marvel if, to minds of this sort, the most insignificant trifles should swell into matters of the highest importance? What marvel if such empty understandings

should be busied with ribbons, and stars, and crosses; if this noble should yearn after the Garter, and that noble pine for the Golden Fleece; if one man should long to carry a wand in the precincts of the court, and another man to fill an office in the royal household; while the ambition of a third, is, to make his daughter a maid-of-honour, or to raise his wife to be mistress of the robes?

We, seeing these things, ought not to be surprised that the French nobles, in the seventeenth century, displayed, in their intrigues and disputes, a frivolity, which, though redeemed by occasional exceptions, is the natural characteristic of every hereditary aristocracy. A few examples of this will suffice to give the reader some idea of the tastes and temper of that powerful class which, during several centuries, retarded the progress of French civilization.

Of all the questions on which the French nobles were divided, the most important was that touching the right of sitting in the royal presence. This was considered to be a matter of such gravity, that, in comparison with it, a mere struggle for liberty faded into insignificance. And what made it still more exciting to the minds of the nobles was, the extreme difficulty with which this great social problem was beset. According to the ancient etiquette of the French court, if a man were a duke, his wife might sit in the presence of the queen; but if his rank were inferior, even if he were a marquis, no such liberty could be allowed.[56] So far, the rule was very simple, and, to the duchesses themselves, highly agreeable. But the marquises, the counts, and the other illustrious nobles, were uneasy at this invidious distinction, and exerted all their energies to procure for their own wives the same honour. This the dukes strenuously resisted; but, owing to cir-

[56] Hence the duchesses were called 'femmes assises;' those of lower rank 'non assises.' *Mém. de Fontenay Mareuil*, vol. i. p. 111. The Count de Ségur tells us that 'les duchesses jouissaient de la prérogative d'être assises sur un tabouret chez la reine.' *Mém. de Ségur*, vol. i. p. 79. The importance attached to this is amusingly illustrated in *Mém. de Saint-Simon*, vol. iii. pp. 215-218, Paris, 1842; which should be compared with *De Tocqueville, Règne de Louis XV*, vol. ii. p. 116, and *Mém. de Genlis*, vol. x. p. 383.

cumstances which, unfortunately are not fully understood, an innovation was made in the reign of Louis XIII., and the privilege of sitting in the same room with the queen was conceded to the female members of the Bouillon family.[57] In consequence of this evil precedent, the question became seriously complicated, since other members of the aristocracy considered that the purity of their descent gave them claims nowise inferior to those of the house of Bouillon, whose antiquity, they said, had been grossly exaggerated. The contest which ensued, had the effect of breaking up the nobles into two hostile parties, one of which sought to preserve that exclusive privilege in which the other wished to participate. To reconcile these rival pretensions, various expedients were suggested; but all were in vain, and the court, during the administration of Mazarin, being pressed by the fear of a rebellion, showed symptoms of giving way, and of yielding to the inferior nobles the point they so ardently desired. In 1648 and 1649, the queen-regent, acting under the advice of her council, formally conceded the right of sitting in the royal presence to the three most distinguished members of the lower aristocracy, namely, the Countess de Fleix, Madame de Pons, and the Princess de Marsillac.[58]

[57] 'Survint incontinent une autre difficulté à la cour sur le sujet des tabourets, que doivent avoir les dames dans la chambre de la reine; car encore que cela ne s'accorde régulièrement qu'aux duchesses, néanmoins le feu roi Louis XIII. l'avoit accordé aux filles de la maison de Bouillon,' &c. *Mém. d'Omer Talon*, vol. iii. p. 5. See also, on this encroachment on the rights of the duchesses under Louis XIII., the case of Séguier, in *Duclos, Mémoires Secrets*, vol. i. pp. 360, 361. The consequences of the innovation were very serious; and Tallemant des Réaux (*Historiettes*, vol. viii. pp. 223, 224) mentions a distinguished lady, of whom he says, 'Pour satisfaire son ambition, il lui falloit un tabouret: elle cabale pour épouser le vieux Bouillon La Marck veuf pour la seconde fois.' In this she failed; but, determined not to be baffled, 'elle ne se rebute point, et voulant à toute force avoir un tabouret, elle épouse le fils aîné du duc de Villars; c'est un ridicule de corps et d'esprit, car il est bossu et quasi imbécile, et gueux par-dessus cela.' This melancholy event happened in 1649.

[58] As to the Countess de Fleix and Madame de Pons, see *Mém. de Motteville*, vol. iii. pp. 116, 369. According to the same high authority (vol. iii. p. 367), the inferiority of the Princess de Marsillac consisted in the painful fact, that her husband was merely the son of a duke, and the duke himself was still alive, 'il' n'étoit que gentilhomme, et son père le duc de la Rochefoucauld n'étoit pas mort.'

Scarcely had this decision been promulgated, when the princes of the blood and the peers of the realm were thrown into the greatest agitation.[59] They immediately summoned to the capital those members of their own order who were interested in repelling this daring aggression, and, forming themselves into an assembly, they at once adopted measures to vindicate their ancient rights.[60] On the other hand, the inferior nobles, flushed by their recent success, insisted that the concession just made should be raised into a precedent; and that, as the honour of being seated in the presence of majesty had been conceded to the house of Foix, in the person of the Countess de Fleix, it should likewise be granted to all those who could prove that their ancestry was equally illustrious.[61] The greatest confusion now arose; and both sides urgently insisting on their own claims, there was, for many months, imminent danger lest the question should be decided by an appeal to the sword.[62] But as the higher nobles, though less numerous than their opponents, were more powerful, the dispute was finally settled in their favour. The queen sent to their assembly a formal message, which was conveyed by four of the marshals of France, and in which she promised to revoke those privileges, the concession of which had given such offence to the most illustrious members of the French aristocracy. At the same time, the

[59] The long account of these proceedings in *Mém. de Motteville*, vol. iii. pp. 367-393, shows the importance attached to them by contemporary opinion.

[60] In October 1649, 'la noblesse s'assembla à Paris sur le fait des tabourets.' *Mém. de Lenet*, vol. i. p. 184.

[61] 'Tous ceux donc qui par leurs aïeux avoient dans leurs maisons de la grandeur, par des alliances des femmes descendues de ceux qui étoient autrefois maîtres et souverains des provinces de France, demandèrent la même prérogative que celle qui venoit d'être accordée au sang de Foix.' *Mém. de Motteville*, vol. iii. p. 117. Another contemporary says: 'Cette prétention émut toutes les maisons de la cour sur cette différence et inégalité.' *Mém. d'Omer Talon*, vol. iii. p. 6.; and vol. ii. p. 437: 'le marquis de Noirmoutier et celui de Vitry demandoient le tabouret pour leurs femmes.'

[62] Indeed, at one moment, it was determined that a counter-demonstration should be made on the part of the inferior nobles; a proceeding which, if adopted, must have caused civil war: 'Nous résolûmes une contre-assemblée de noblesse pour soutenir le tabouret de la maison de Rohan.' *De Retz, Mémoires*, vol. i. p. 284.

marshals not only pledged themselves as responsible for the promise of the queen, but undertook to sign an agreement that they would personally superintend its execution.[63] The nobles, however, who felt that they had been aggrieved in their most tender point, were not yet satisfied, and, to appease them, it was necessary that the atonement should be as public as the injury. It was found necessary, before they would peaceably disperse, that government should issue a document, signed by the queen-regent, and by the four secretaries of state,[64] in which the favours granted to the unprivileged nobility were withdrawn, and the much-cherished honour of sitting in the royal presence was taken away from the Princess de Marsillac, from Madame de Pons, and from the Countess de Fleix.[65]

These were the subjects which occupied the minds, and wasted the energies, of the French nobles, while their country was distracted by civil war, and while questions were at issue of the greatest importance—questions concerning the liberty of the nation, and the reconstruction of the government.[66] It is hardly necessary to point out how unfit such men must have been to head the people in their arduous struggle, and how immense was the difference between them and the leaders of the great English Rebellion. The causes of the failure of the Fronde are, indeed, obvious, when we consider that its chiefs were drawn from that very class respecting whose tastes and feelings some evidence has just been given.[67] How that

[63] *Mém. de Motteville*, vol. iii. p. 389.

[64] 'Signé d'elle, et des quatre secrétaires d'état.' *Ibid.* vol. iii. p. 391.

[65] The best accounts of this great struggle will be found in the *Memoirs of Madame de Motteville*, and in those of Omer Talon; two writers of very different minds, but both of them deeply impressed with the magnitude of the contest.

[66] Saint Aulaire (*Hist. de la Fronde*, vol. i. p. 317) says, that in this same year (1649), 'l'esprit de discussion fermentait dans toutes les têtes, et chacun à cette époque soumettait les actes de l'autorité à un examen raisonné.' Thus, too, in *Mém. de Montglat*, under 1649, 'on ne parlait publiquement dans Paris que de république et de liberté,' vol. ii. p. 186. In 1648, 'effusa est contemptio super principes.' *Mém. d'Omer Talon*, vol. ii. p. 271.

[67] That the failure of the Fronde is not to be ascribed to the inconstancy of the people, is admitted by De Retz, by far the ablest observer of his time:

evidence might be almost indefinitely extended, is well known to readers of the French memoirs of the seventeenth century—a class of works which, being mostly written either by the nobles or their adherents, supplies the best materials from which an opinion may be formed. In looking into these authorities, where such matters are related with a becoming sense of their importance, we find the greatest difficulties and disputes arising as to who was to have an arm-chair at court;[68] who was to be invited to the royal dinners, and who was to be excluded from them;[69] who was to be kissed by the queen, and who was not to be kissed by her;[70] who should have the first seat in church;[71] what the proper proportion was between the rank of different persons, and the length of the cloth on which they were allowed to stand;[72] what was the dignity a noble must have attained, in order to justify his enter-

'Vous vous étonnerez peut-être de ce que je dis plus sûr, à cause de l'instabilité du peuple : mais il faut avouer que celui de Paris se fixe plus aisément qu'aucun autre ; et M. de Villeroi, qui a été le plus habile homme de son siècle, et qui en a parfaitement connu le naturel dans tout le cours de la ligue, où il le gouverna sous M. du Maine, a été de ce sentiment. Ce que j'en éprouvois moi-même me le persuadoit.' *Mém. de Retz*, vol. i. p. 348 ; a remarkable passage, and forming a striking contrast to the declamation of those ignorant writers who are always reproaching the people with their fickleness.

68 This knotty point was decided in favour of the Duke of York, to whom, in 1649, 'la reine fit de grands honneurs, et lui donna une chaise à bras.' *Mém. de Motteville*, vol. iii. p. 275. In the chamber of the king, the matter seems to have been differently arranged ; for Omer Talon (*Mém.* vol. ii p. 332) tells us that 'le duc d'Orleans n'avoit point de fauteuil, mais un simple siège pliant, à cause que nous étions dans la chambre du roi.' In the subsequent year, the scene not being in the king's room, the same writer describes 'M. le duc d'Orleans assis dans un fauteuil.' *Ibid.* vol. iii. p. 95. Compare *Le Vassor*, *Hist. de Louis XIII*, vol. viii. p. 310. Voltaire (*Dict. Philos.* art. *Cérémonies*) says : 'Le fauteuil à bras, la chaise à dos, le tabouret, la main droite et la main gauche, ont été pendant plusieurs siècles d'importants objets de politique, et d'illustres sujets de querelles.' *Œuvres de Voltaire*, vol. xxxvii. p. 486. The etiquette of the 'fauteuil' and 'chaise' is explained in *Mém. de Genlis*, vol. x. p. 287.

69 See *Mém. de Motteville*, vol. iii. pp. 309, 310.

70 See a list of those it was proper for the queen to kiss, in *Mém. de Motteville*, vol. iii. p. 318.

71 *Mém. d'Omer Talon*, vol. i. pp. 217-219. The Prince de Condé hotly asserted, that at a *Te Deum* 'il ne pouvait être assis en autre place que dans la première chaire.' This was in 1642.

72 For a quarrel respecting the 'drap de pied,' see *Mém. de Motteville*, vol. ii. p. 249.

ing the Louvre in a coach;[73] who was to have precedence at coronations;[74] whether all dukes were equal, or whether, as some thought, the Duke de Bouillon, having once possessed the sovereignty of Sedan, was superior to the Duke de la Rochefoucauld, who had never possessed any sovereignty at all;[75] whether the Duke de Beaufort ought or ought not to enter the council-chamber before the Duke de Nemours, and whether, being there, he ought to sit above him.[76] These were the great questions of the day: while, as if to exhaust every form of absurdity, the most serious misunderstandings arose as to who should have the honour of giving the king his napkin as he ate his meals,[77] and who was to enjoy the inestimable privilege of helping on the queen with her shift.[78]

[73] A very serious dispute was caused by the claim of the Prince de Marsillac, for 'permission d'entrer dans le Louvre en carrosse.' *Mém. de Motteville*, vol. iii. pp. 367, 389.

[74] *Mém. de Pontchartrain*, vol. i. pp. 422, 423, at the coronation of Louis XIII. Other instances of difficulties caused by questions of precedence, will be found in *Mém. d'Omer Talon*, vol. iii. pp. 23, 24, 437; and even in the grave work of Sully, *Œconomies Royales*, vol. vii. p. 126, vol. viii. p. 395; which should be compared with *De Thou, Hist. Univ.* vol. ix. pp. 86, 87.

[75] *Mém. de Lenet*, vol. i. pp. 378, 379. Lenet, who was a great admirer of the nobles, relates all this without the faintest perception of its absurdity. I ought not to omit a terrible dispute, in 1652, respecting the recognition of the claims of the Duke de Rohan (*Mém de Conrart*, pp. 151, 152); nor another dispute, in the reign of Henry IV., as to whether a duke ought to sign his name before a marshal, or whether the marshal should sign first. *De Thou, Hist. Univ.* vol xi. p. 11.

[76] This difficulty, in 1652, caused a violent quarrel between the two dukes, and ended in a duel, in which the Duke de Nemours was killed, as is mentioned by most of the contemporary writers. See *Mém. de Montglat*, vol. ii. p. 357; *Mém. de la Rochefoucauld*, vol ii. p. 172; *Mém. de Conrart*, pp. 172-175; *Mém. de Retz*, vol. ii. p. 203; *Mém. d'Omer Talon*, vol. iii. p. 437.

[77] Pontchartrain, one of the ministers of state, writes, under the year 1620: 'En ce même temps s'étoit mû un très grand différend entre M. le prince de Condé et M. le comte de Soissons, sur le sujet de la serviette que chacun d'eux prétendoit devoir présenter au roi quand ils se rencontreroient tous deux près sa majesté.' *Mém. de Pontchartrain*, vol. ii. p. 295. Le Vassor, who gives a fuller account (*Règne de Louis XIII*, vol. iii. pp. 536, 537), says, 'Chacun des deux princes du sang fort échauffez à qui feroit une fonction de maître d'hôtel, tiroit la serviette de son côté, et la contestation augmentoit d'une manière dont les suites pouvoient devenir facheuses.' But the king interposing, 'ils furent donc obligez de céder: mais ce ne fut pas sans se dire l'un à l'autre des paroles hautes et menaçantes.'

[78] According to some authorities, a man ought to be a duke before his wife could be allowed to meddle with the queen's shift; according to other

It may, perhaps, be thought that I owe some apology to the reader for obtruding upon his notice these miserable disputes respecting matters which, however despicable they now appear, were once valued by men not wholly devoid of understanding. But, it should be remembered that their occurrence, and above all, the importance formerly attached to them, is part of the history of the French mind; and they are therefore to be estimated, not according to their intrinsic dignity, but according to the information they supply respecting a state of things which has now passed away. Events of this sort, though neglected by ordinary historians, are among the staff and staple of history. Not only do they assist in bringing before our minds the age to which they refer, but in a philosophic point of view they are highly important. They are part of the materials from which we may generalize the laws of that great protective spirit, which in different periods assumes different shapes; but which, whatever its form may be, always owes its power to the feeling of veneration as opposed to the feeling of independence. How natural this power is, in certain stages of society, becomes evident if we examine the basis on which veneration is itself supported. The origin of veneration is wonder and fear. These two passions, either alone or combined, are the ordinary source of veneration; and the way in which they arise is obvious. We wonder because we are ignorant, and we fear because we are weak. It is therefore natural, that in former times, when men were more ignorant and more weak than they now are, they should likewise have been more given to veneration, more inclined to those habits of reverence, which if carried into religion, cause superstition, and if carried into politics, cause despotism. In the ordinary march of society, these evils are remedied by that progress of knowledge, which at once lessens our ignorance and increases our resources: in other words,

authorities, the lady-in-waiting, whoever she might be, had the right, unless a princess happened to be present. On these alternatives, and on the difficulties caused by them, compare *Mém. de Saint-Simon*, 1842, vol. vii. p. 125, with *Mém. de Motteville*, vol. ii. pp. 28, 276, 277.

which diminishes our proneness to wonder and to fear, and thus weakening our feelings of veneration, strengthens, in the same proportion, our feelings of independence. But in France, this natural tendency was, as we have already seen, counteracted by an opposite tendency; so that while, on the one hand, the protective spirit was enfeebled by the advance of knowledge, it was, on the other hand, invigorated by those social and political circumstances which I have attempted to trace; and by virtue of which, each class exercising great power over the one below it, the subordination and subserviency of the whole were completely maintained. Hence the mind became accustomed to look upwards, and to rely, not on its own resources, but on the resources of others. Hence that pliant and submissive disposition, for which the French, until the eighteenth century, were always remarkable. Hence, too, that inordinate respect for the opinions of others, on which vanity, as one of their national characteristics, is founded.[79] For, the feelings of vanity and of veneration have evidently this in common, that they induce each man to measure his actions by a standard external to himself; while the opposite feelings of pride and of independence would make him prefer that internal standard which his own mind alone can supply. The result of all this was, that when, in the middle of the seventeenth century, the intellectual movement stimulated the French to rebellion, its effect was neutralized by that social tendency which, even in the midst of the struggle, kept alive the habits of their old subservience. Thus it was that, while the war went on, there still remained a constant inclination on the part of the people to look up to the nobles, on the part of the nobles to look up to the crown. Both classes relied upon what they saw immediately above them. The people believed that without the nobles there was no safety; the nobles believed that without the crown there was no honour. In the case of the nobles, this opinion can hardly be blamed; for as their distinctions proceed from

[79] Also connected with the institution of chivalry, both being cognate symptoms of the same spirit.

the crown, they have a direct interest in upholding the ancient notion that the sovereign is the fountain of honour. They have a direct interest in that preposterous doctrine, according to which, the true source of honour being overlooked, our attention is directed to an imaginary source, by whose operation it is believed, that in a moment, and at the mere will of a prince, the highest honours may be conferred upon the meanest men. This, indeed, is but part of the old scheme to create distinctions for which nature has given no warrant; to substitute a superiority which is conventional for that which is real; and thus try to raise little minds above the level of great ones. The utter failure, and, as society advances, the eventual cessation of all such attempts, is certain; but it is evident, that as long as the attempts are made, they who profit by them must be inclined to value those from whom they proceed. Unless counteracting circumstances interpose, there must be between the two parties that sympathy which is caused by the memory of past favours, and the hope of future ones. In France, this natural feeling being strengthened by that protective spirit which induced men to cling to those above them, it is not strange that the nobles, even in the midst of their turbulence, should seek the slightest favours of the crown with an eagerness of which some examples have just been given. They had been so long accustomed to look up to the sovereign as the source of their own dignity, that they believed there was some hidden dignity even in his commonest actions; so that, to their minds, it was a matter of the greatest importance which of them should hand him his napkin, which of them should hold his basin, and which of them should put on his shirt.[80] It is not, however, for the sake of casting ridicule upon these idle and frivolous men, that I have collected evidence respecting the disputes with which they were engrossed. So far from this, they are rather to be pitied

[80] Even just before the French Revolution, these feelings still existed. See, for instance, the extraordinary details in *Campan, Mém. sur Marie Antoinette*, vol. i. pp. 98, 99; which should be compared with an extract from *Prudhomme's Miroir de Paris*, in *Southey's Commonplace Book*, third series, 1850, p. 251, no. 165.

than blamed: they acted according to their instincts; they even exerted such slender abilities as nature had given to them. But we may well feel for that great country whose interests depended on their care. And it is solely in reference to the fate of the French people that the historian need trouble himself with the history of the French nobles. At the same time, evidence of this sort, by disclosing the tendencies of the old nobility, displays in one of its most active forms that protective and aristocratic spirit, of which they know little who only know it in its present reduced and waning condition. Such facts are to be regarded as the symptoms of a cruel disease, by which Europe is indeed still afflicted, but which we now see only in a very mitigated form, and of whose native virulence no one can have an idea, unless he has studied it in those early stages, when, raging uncontrolled, it obtained such a mastery as to check the growth of liberty, stop the progress of nations, and dwarf the energies of the human mind.

It is hardly necessary to trace at greater length the way in which France and England diverged from each other, or to point out, what I hope will henceforth be considered the obvious difference between the civil wars in the two countries. It is evident that the low-born and plebeian leaders of our rebellion could have no sympathy with those matters which perplexed the understanding of the great French nobles. Men like Cromwell and his coadjutors, were not much versed in the mysteries of genealogy, or in the subtleties of heraldic lore. They had paid small attention to the etiquette of courts; they had not even studied the rules of precedence. All this was foreign to their design. On the other hand, what they did was done thoroughly. They knew that they had a great work to perform; and they performed it well.[81] They had risen

[81] Ludlow thus expresses the sentiments which induced him to make war upon the crown: 'The question in dispute between the king's party and us being, as I apprehended, whether the king should govern as a god by his will, and the nation be governed by force like beasts? or whether the people should be governed by laws made by themselves, and live under a government derived from their own consent? being fully persuaded, that an accommodation with the king was unsafe to the people of England, and unjust and

in arms against a corrupt and despotic government, and they would not stay their hands until they had pulled down those who were in high places; until they had not only removed the evil, but had likewise chastized those bad men by whom the evil was committed. And although in this, their glorious undertaking, they did undoubtedly display some of the infirmities to which even the highest minds are subject; we, at least, ought never to speak of them but with that unfeigned respect which is due to those who taught the first great lesson to the kings of Europe, and who, in language not to be mistaken, proclaimed to them that the impunity which they had long enjoyed was now come to an end, and that against their transgressions the people possessed a remedy, sharper, and more decisive, than any they had hitherto ventured to use.

wicked in the nature of it.' *Ludlow's Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 230. Compare Whitelocke's spirited speech to Christina, in *Journal of the Swedish Embassy*, vol. i. p. 238; and see pp. 390, 391.

CHAPTER XI.

THE PROTECTIVE SPIRIT CARRIED BY LOUIS XIV. INTO LITERATURE. EXAMINATION OF THE CONSEQUENCES OF THIS ALLIANCE BETWEEN THE INTELLECTUAL CLASSES AND THE GOVERNING CLASSES.

THE reader will now be able to understand how it was that the protective system, and the notions of subordination connected with it, gained in France a strength unknown in England, and caused an essential divergence between the two countries. To complete the comparison, it seems necessary to examine how this same spirit influenced the purely intellectual history of France, as well as its social and political history. For the ideas of dependence upon which the protective scheme is based, encouraged a belief that the subordination which existed in politics and in society ought also to exist in literature; and that the paternal, inquisitive, and centralizing system which regulated the material interests of the country, should likewise regulate the interests of its knowledge. When, therefore, the Fronde was finally overthrown, every thing was prepared for that singular intellectual polity, which during fifty years characterized the reign of Louis XIV., and which was to French literature what feudalism was to French politics. In both cases, homage was paid by one party, and protection and favour accorded by the other. Every man of letters became a vassal of the French crown. Every book was written with a view to the royal favour; and to obtain the patronage of the king was considered the most decisive proof of intellectual eminence. The effects produced by this system will be examined in the present chapter. The apparent cause of the system was

the personal character of Louis XIV.; but the real and overruling causes were those circumstances which I have already pointed out, and which established in the French mind associations that remained undisturbed until the eighteenth century. To invigorate those associations, and to carry them into every department of life, was the great aim of Louis XIV.; and in that he was completely successful. It is on this account that the history of his reign becomes highly instructive, because we see in it the most remarkable instance of despotism which has ever occurred; a despotism of the largest and most comprehensive kind; a despotism of fifty years over one of the most civilized people in Europe, who not only bore the yoke without repining, but submitted with cheerfulness, and even with gratitude, to him by whom it was imposed.[1]

What makes this the more strange is, that the reign of Louis XIV. must be utterly condemned if it is tried even by the lowest standard of morals, of honour, or of interest. A coarse and unbridled profligacy, followed by the meanest and most grovelling superstition, characterized his private life; while in his public career, he displayed an arrogance and a systematic perfidy which eventually roused the anger of all Europe, and brought upon France sharp and signal retribution. As to his domestic policy, he formed a strict alliance with the church; and although he resisted the authority of the Pope, he willingly left his subjects to be

[1] On the disgraceful subserviency of the most eminent men of letters, see *Capefigue's Louis XIV*, vol. i. pp. 41, 42, 116; and on the feeling of the people, Le Vassor, who wrote late in the reign of Louis XIV., bitterly says, 'mais les Français, accoutumés à l'esclavage, ne sentent plus la pesanteur de leurs chaînes.' *Le Vassor, Hist. de Louis XIII*, vol. vi. p. 670. Foreigners were equally amazed at the general, and still more, at the willing servility. Lord Shaftesbury, in a letter dated February 1704-5, passes a glowing eulogy upon liberty; but he adds, that in France 'you will hardly find this argument understood; for whatever flashes may now and then appear, I never yet knew one single Frenchman a free man.' *Forster's Original Letters of Locke, Sidney, and Shaftesbury*, 1830, p. 205. In the same year, De Foe makes a similar remark in regard to the French nobles, *Wilson's Life of De Foe*, vol. ii. p. 209; and, in 1699, Addison writes from Blois a letter which strikingly illustrates the degradation of the French. *Aikin's Life of Addison*, vol. i. p. 80. Compare *Burnet's Own Time*, vol. iv. p. 365, on 'the gross excess of flattery to which the French have run, beyond the examples of former ages, in honour of their king.'

oppressed by the tyranny of the clergy.[2] To them he abandoned everything except the exercise of his own prerogative.[3] Led on by them, he, from the moment he assumed the government, began to encroach upon those religious liberties, of which Henry IV. had laid the foundation, and which down to this period had been preserved intact.[4] It was at the instigation of the clergy that he revoked the Edict of Nantes, by which the principle of toleration had for nearly a century been incorporated with the law of the land.[5] It was at their instigation that, just before this outrage upon the most sacred rights of his subjects, he, in order to terrify the Protestants into conversion, suddenly let loose upon them whole troops of dissolute soldiers, who were allowed to practise the most revolting cruelties. The frightful barbarities which followed are related by authentic writers;[6] and of the effect pro-

[2] The terms of this compact between the crown and the church are fairly stated by M. Ranke: 'Wir sehen, die beiden Gewalten unterstützten einander. Der König ward von den Einwirkungen der weltlichen, der Clerus von der unbedingten Autorität der geistlichen Gewalt des Papstthums freigesprochen.' *Die Päpste*, vol. iii. p. 168.

[3] This part of his character is skilfully drawn by Sismondi, *Hist. des Français*, vol. xxv. p. 43.

[4] Flassan supposes that the first persecuting laws were in 1679: 'Dès l'année 1679 les concessions faites aux protestans avaient été graduellement restreintes.' *Diplomatie Française*, vol. iv. p. 92. But the fact is, that these laws began in 1662, the year after the death of Mazarin. See *Sismondi, Hist. des Français*, vol. xxv. p. 167; *Benoist, Edit de Nantes*, vol. iii. pp. 460-462, 481. In 1667, a letter from Thynne to Lord Clarendon (*Lister's Life of Clarendon*, vol. iii. p. 446) mentions 'the horrid persecutions the reformed religion undergoes in France;' and Locke, who travelled in France in 1675 and 1676, states in his Journal (*King's Life of Locke*, vol. i. p. 110) that the Protestants were losing 'every day some privilege or other.'

[5] An account of the revocation will be found in all the French historians; but I do not remember that any of them have noticed that there was a rumour of it in Paris twenty years before it occurred. In March 1665 Patin writes, 'On dit que, pour miner les huguenots, le roi veut supprimer les chambres de l'édit, et abolir l'édit de Nantes.' *Lettres de Patin*, vol. iii. p. 516.

[6] Compare *Burnet's Own Time*, vol. iii. pp. 73-76, with *Siècle de Louis XIV*, in *Œuvres de Voltaire*, vol. xx. pp. 377, 378. Voltaire says that the Protestants who persisted in their religion 'étaient livrés aux soldats, qui eurent toute licence, excepté celle de tuer. Il y eut pourtant plusieurs personnes si cruellement maltraitées qu'elles en moururent.' And Burnet, who was in France in 1685, says, 'all men set their thoughts on work to invent new methods of cruelty.' What some of those methods were, I shall now relate; because the evidence, however painful it may be, is necessary to en-

duced on the material interests of the nation, some idea may be formed from the fact, that these religious persecutions cost France half a million of her most industrious inhabitants, who fled to different parts, taking with them

able us to understand the reign of Louis XIV. It is necessary that the veil should be rent; and that the squeamish delicacy which would hide such facts, should give way before the obligation which the historian is under of holding up to public opprobrium, and branding with public infamy, the church by which the measures were instigated, the sovereign by whom they were enforced, and the age in which they were permitted.

The two original sources for our knowledge of these events are, *Quick's Synodicon in Gallia*, 1692, folio; and *Benoist*, *Histoire de l'Edit de Nantes*, 1695, 4to. From these works I extract the following accounts of what happened in France in 1685. 'Afterwards they fall upon the persons of the Protestants; and there was no wickedness, though never so horrid, which they did not put in practice, that they might enforce them to change their religion. . . . . They bound them as criminals are when they be put to the rack; and in that posture, putting a funnel into their mouths, they poured wine down their throats till its fumes had deprived them of their reason, and they had in that condition made them consent to become Catholics. Some they stripped stark naked, and after they had offered them a thousand indignities, they stuck them with pins from head to foot; they cut them with pen-knives, tear them by the noses with red-hot pincers, and dragged them about the rooms till they promised to become Roman Catholics, or that the doleful outcries of these poor tormented creatures, calling upon God for mercy, constrained them to let them go. . . . . . In some places they tied fathers and husbands to the bed-posts, and ravished their wives and daughters before their eyes. . . . . From others they pluck off the nails of their hands and toes, which must needs cause an intolerable pain. They burnt the feet of others. They blew up men and women with bellows, till they were ready to burst in pieces. If these horrid usages could not prevail upon them to violate their consciences, and abandon their religion, they did then imprison them in close and noisome dungeons, in which they exercised all kinds of inhumanities upon them.' *Quick's Synodicon*, vol. i. pp. cxxx. cxxxi. 'Cependant les troupes exerçoient partout des cruautez inouies. Tout leur étoit permis, pourveu qu'ils ne fissent pas mourir. Ils faisoient danser quelquefois leurs hôtes, jusqu'à ce qu'ils tombassent en défaillance. Ils bernoient les autres jusqu'à ce qu'ils n'en pouvoient plus. . . . . Il y en eut quelques-uns à qui on versa de l'eau bouillante dans la bouche. . . . Il y en eut plusieurs à qui on donna des coups de bâton sous les pieds, pour éprouver si ce supplice est aussi cruel que les relations le publient. On arrachoit à d'autres le poil de la barbe. . . . . D'autres brûloient à la chandelle le poil des bras et des jambes de leurs hôtes. D'autres faisoient brûler de la poudre, si près du visage de ceux qui leur resistoient, qu'elle leur grilloit toute la peau. Ils mettoient à d'autres des charbons allumez dans les mains, et les contraignoient de les tenir fermées, jusqu'à ce que les charbons fussent éteints. . . . . On brûla les pieds à plusieurs, tenant les uns long-tems devant un grand feu; appliquant aux autres une pelle ardente sous les pieds; liant les pieds des autres dans des bottines pleines de graisse, qu'on faisoit fondre et chauffer peu à peu devant un brasier ardent.' *Benoist*, *Hist. de l'Edit de Nantes*, vol. v. pp. 887-889. One of the Protestants, named Ryau, they 'lièrent fort étroitement; lui sevrèrent les doigts des mains; lui fichèrent des épingles sous les ongles; lui firent brûler de la poudre dans les oreilles;

those habits of labour, and that knowledge and experience in their respective trades, which had hitherto been employed in enriching their own country.[7] These things are notorious, they are incontestable, and they lie on the surface of history. Yet, in the face of them, there are still found men who hold up for admiration the age of Louis XIV. Although it is well known, that in his reign every vestige of liberty was destroyed; that the people were weighed down by an insufferable taxation; that their children were torn from them by tens of thousands to swell the royal armies; that the resources of the country were squandered to an unprecedented extent; that a despotism of the worst kind was firmly established;—although all this is universally admitted, yet there are writers, even in our own day, who are so infatuated with the glories of literature, as to balance them against the most enormous crimes, and who will forgive every injury inflicted by a prince

lui percèrent les cuisses en plusieurs lieux, et versèrent du vinaigre et du sel dans ses blessures. *Par ce tourment ils épuisèrent sa patience en deux jours; et le forcèrent à changer de religion.*' p. 890. 'Les dragons étoient les mêmes en tous lieux. Ils battoient, ils étourdissoient, ils brûloient en Bourgogne comme en Poitou, en Champagne comme en Guyenne, en Normandie comme en Languedoc. Mais ils n'avoient pour les femmes ni plus de respect, ni plus de pitié que pour les hommes. Au contraire, ils abusoient de la tendre pudeur qui est une des propriétez de leur sexe; et ils s'en prevaloient pour leur faire de plus sensibles outrages. On leur levoit quelquefois leurs juppes par dessus la tête, et on leur jettoit des seaux d'eau sur le corps. Il y en eut plusieurs que les soldats mirent en chemise, et qu'ils forcèrent de danser avec eux dans cet état. . . . . Deux filles de Calais, nommées le Noble, furent mises toutes nuës sur le pavé, et furent ainsi exposées à la mocquerie et aux outrages des passans. . . . . Des dragons ayant lié la dame de Vezençai à la quenoüille de son lit, lui crachoient dans la bouche quand elle l'ouvroit pour parler ou pour soupirer.' pp. 891, 892. At p. 917 are other details, far more horrible, respecting the treatment of women, and which indignation rather than shame prevents me from transcribing. Indeed, the shame can only light on the church and the government under whose united authority such scandalous outrages could be openly perpetrated, merely for the sake of compelling men to change their religious opinions.

[7] M. Blanqui (*Hist. de l'Economie Politique*, vol. ii. p. 10) says, that the revocation of the Edict of Nantes cost France 'cinq cent mille de ses enfants les plus industrieux,' who carried into other countries 'les habitudes d'ordre et de travail dont ils étaient imbus.' See also *Siècle de Louis XIV*, chap. xxxvi., in *Œuvres de Voltaire*, vol. xx. pp. 380, 381. Several of them emigrated to North America. Compare *Godwin on Population*, pp. 388, 389, with *Benoist, l'Edit de Nantes*, vol. v. pp. 973, 974, and *Lyell's Second Visit to the United States*, edit. 1849, vol. ii. p. 159. See also, on the effects of the Revocation, *Lettres inédites de Voltaire*, vol. ii. p. 473.

during whose life there were produced the Letters of Pascal, the Orations of Bossuet, the Comedies of Molière, and the Tragedies of Racine.

This method of estimating the merits of a sovereign is, indeed, so rapidly dying away, that I shall not spend any words in refuting it. But it is connected with a more widely diffused error respecting the influence of royal patronage upon national literature. This is a delusion which men of letters have themselves been the first to propagate. From the language too many of them are in the habit of employing, we might be led to believe that there is some magical power in the smiles of a king, which stimulates the intellect of the fortunate individual whose heart they are permitted to gladden. Nor must this be despised, as one of those harmless prejudices that still linger round the person of the sovereign. It is not only founded on a misconception of the nature of things, but it is in its practical consequences very injurious. It is injurious to the independent spirit which literature should always possess; and it is injurious to princes themselves, because it strengthens that vanity of which they generally have too large a share. Indeed, if we consider the position they now occupy in the most civilized countries, we shall at once see the absurdity of an opinion which, in the present state of knowledge, is unfit to be held by educated men.

From the moment that there was finally abandoned the theological fiction of the divine right of kings, it necessarily followed that the respect felt for them should suffer a corresponding diminution.[8] The superstitious reverence with which they were formerly regarded is extinct, and at the present day we are no longer awed by that divinity with which their persons were once supposed to be hedged.[9]

[8] On the diminished respect for kings, caused by the abandonment of divine right, see *Spencer's Social Statics*, pp. 423, 424; and on the influence of the clergy in propagating the old doctrine, see Allen's learned work on the *Royal Prerogative*, edit. 1849, p. 156. See also some striking remarks by Locke, in *King's Life of Locke*, vol. ii. p. 90.

[9] 'Qu'est devenu, en effet, le droit divin, cette pensée, autrefois acceptée par les masses, que les rois étaient les représentants de Dieu sur la terre, que la racine de leur pouvoir était dans le ciel? Elle s'est évanouie devant cette autre pensée, qu'aucun nuage, aucun mysticisme n'obscurcit; devant cette

The standard, therefore, by which we should measure them is obvious. We should applaud their conduct in proportion as they contribute towards the happiness of the nation over which they are intrusted with power; but we ought to remember that, from the manner in which they are educated, and from the childish homage always paid to them, their information must be very inaccurate, and their prejudices very numerous.[10] On this account, so far from expecting that they should be judicious patrons of literature, or should in any way head their age, we ought to be satisfied if they do not obstinately oppose the spirit of their time, and if they do not attempt to stop the march of society. For, unless the sovereign, in spite of the intellectual disadvantages of his position, is a man of very enlarged mind, it must usually happen that he will reward, not those who are most able, but those who are most compliant; and that while he refuses his patronage to a profound and independent thinker, he will grant it to an author who cherishes ancient prejudices and defends ancient abuses. In this way, the practice of conferring on men of letters either honorary or pecuniary rewards, is agreeable, no doubt, to those who receive them; but has a manifest tendency to weaken the boldness and energy of their sentiments, and therefore to impair the value of their works. This might be made evident by publishing a list of those literary pensions which have been granted by European princes. If this were done, the mischief produced by these

pensée si naturelle et brillant d'une clarté si nette et si vive, que la souveraine puissance, sur la terre, appartient au peuple entier, et non à une fraction, et moins encore à un seul homme.' *Rey, Science Sociale*, vol. iii. p. 308. Compare *Manning on the Law of Nations*, p. 101; *Laing's Sweden*, p. 408; *Laing's Denmark*, p. 196; *Burke's Works*, vol. i. p. 391.

[10] In this, as in all instances, the language of respect long survives the feeling to which the language owed its origin. Lord Brougham (*Political Philosophy*, vol. i. p. 42, Lond. 1849) observes, that 'all their titles are derived from a divine original—all refer to them as representing the Deity on earth. They are called "*Grace*," "*Majesty*." They are termed "*The Lord's anointed*," "*The Vicegerent of God upon earth*;" with many other names which are either nonsensical or blasphemous, but which are outdone in absurdity by the kings of the East.' True enough: but if Lord Brougham had written thus three centuries ago, he would have had his ears cut off for his pains.

and similar rewards, would be clearly seen. After a careful study of the history of literature, I think myself authorized to say, that for one instance in which a sovereign has recompensed a man who is before his age, there are at least twenty instances of his recompensing one who is behind his age. The result is, that in every country where royal patronage has been long and generally bestowed, the spirit of literature, instead of being progressive, has become reactionary. An alliance has been struck up between those who give and those who receive. By a system of bounties, there has been artificially engendered a greedy and necessitous class; who, eager for pensions, and offices, and titles, have made the pursuit of truth subordinate to the desire of gain, and have infused into their writings the prejudices of the court to which they cling. Hence it is, that the marks of favour have become the badge of servitude. Hence it is, that the acquisition of knowledge, by far the noblest of all occupations, an occupation which of all others raises the dignity of man, has been debased to the level of a common profession, where the chances of success are measured by the number of rewards, and where the highest honours are in the gift of whoever happens to be the minister or sovereign of the day.

This tendency forms of itself a decisive objection to the views of those who wish to intrust the executive government with the means of rewarding literary men. But there is also another objection, in some respects still more serious. Every nation which is allowed to pursue its course uncontrolled, will easily satisfy the wants of its own intellect, and will produce such a literature as is best suited to its actual condition. And it is evidently for the interest of all classes that the production shall not be greater than the want; that the supply shall not exceed the demand. It is, moreover, necessary to the well-being of society that a healthy proportion should be kept up between the intellectual classes and the practical classes. It is necessary that there should be a certain ratio between those who are most inclined to think, and those who are

most inclined to act. If we were all authors, our material interests would suffer; if we were all men of business, our mental pleasures would be abridged. In the first case, we should be famished philosophers; in the other case, we should be wealthy fools. Now, it is obvious that, according to the commonest principles of human action the relative numbers of these two classes will be adjusted, without effort, by the natural, or, as we call it, the spontaneous movement of society. But if a government takes upon itself to pension literary men, it disturbs this movement; it troubles the harmony of things. This is the unavoidable result of that spirit of interference, or, as it is termed, protection, by which every country has been greatly injured. If, for instance, a fund were set apart by the state for rewarding butchers and tailors, it is certain that the number of those useful men would be needlessly augmented. If another fund is appropriated for the literary classes, it is as certain that men of letters will increase more rapidly than the exigencies of the country require. In both cases, an artificial stimulus will produce an unhealthy action. Surely, food and clothes are as necessary for the body as literature is for the mind. Why, then, should we call upon government to encourage those who write our books, any more than to encourage those who kill our mutton and mend our garments? The truth is, that the intellectual march of society is, in this respect, exactly analogous to its physical march. In some instances a forced supply may, indeed, create an unnatural want. But this is an artificial state of things, which indicates a diseased action. In a healthy condition, it is not the supply which causes the want, but it is the want which gives rise to the supply. To suppose, therefore, that an increase of authors would necessarily be followed by a diffusion of knowledge, is as if we were to suppose that an increase of butchers must be followed by a diffusion of food. This is not the way in which things are ordered. Men must have appetite before they will eat; they must have money before they can buy; they must be inquisitive before they will read. The two great principles which

move the world are, the love of wealth and the love of knowledge. These two principles respectively represent and govern the two most important classes into which every civilized country is divided. What a government gives to one of these classes, it must take from the other. What it gives to literature, it must take from wealth. This can never be done to any great extent, without entailing the most ruinous consequences. For, the natural proportions of society being destroyed, society itself will be thrown into confusion. While men of letters are protected, men of industry will be depressed. The lower classes can count for little in the eyes of those to whom literature is the first consideration. The idea of the liberty of the people will be discouraged; their persons will be oppressed; their labour will be taxed. The arts necessary to life will be despised, in order that those which embellish life may be favoured. The many will be ruined, that the few may be pleased. While every thing is splendid above, all will be rotten below. Fine pictures, noble palaces, touching dramas—these may for a time be produced in profusion, but it will be at the cost of the heart and strength of the nation. Even the class for whom the sacrifice has been made, will soon decay. Poets may continue to sing the praises of the prince who has bought them with his gold. It is, however, certain that men who begin by losing their independence, will end by losing their energy. Their intellect must be robust indeed, if it does not wither in the sickly atmosphere of a court. Their attention being concentrated on their master, they insensibly contract those habits of servility which are suited to their position; and, as the range of their sympathies is diminished, the use and action of their genius become impaired. To them submission is a custom, and servitude a pleasure. In their hands, literature soon loses its boldness, tradition is appealed to as the ground of truth, and the spirit of inquiry is extinguished. Then it is, that there comes one of those sad moments in which, no outlet being left for public opinion, the minds of men are unable to find a vent; their discontents, having no voice, slowly

rankle into a deadly hatred; their passions accumulate in silence, until at length, losing all patience, they are goaded into one of those terrible revolutions, by which they humble the pride of their rulers, and carry retribution even into the heart of the palace.

The truth of this picture is well known to those who have studied the history of Louis XIV., and the connection between it and the French Revolution. That prince adopted, during his long reign, the mischievous practice of rewarding literary men with large sums of money, and of conferring on them numerous marks of personal favour. As this was done for more than half a century; and as the wealth which he thus unscrupulously employed was of course taken from his other subjects, we can find no better illustration of the results which such patronage is likely to produce. He, indeed, has the merit of organizing into a system that protection of literature which some are so anxious to restore. What the effect of this was upon the general interests of knowledge, we shall presently see. But its effect upon authors themselves should be particularly attended to by those men of letters who, with little regard to their own dignity, are constantly reproaching the English government for neglecting the profession of which they themselves are members. In no age have literary men been rewarded with such profuseness as in the reign of Louis XIV.; and in no age have they been so mean-spirited, so servile, so utterly unfit to fulfil their great vocation as the apostles of knowledge and the missionaries of truth. The history of the most celebrated authors of that time proves that, notwithstanding their acquirements, and the power of their minds, they were unable to resist the surrounding corruption. To gain the favour of the king, they sacrificed that independent spirit which should have been dearer to them than life. They gave away the inheritance of genius; they sold their birthright for a mess of pottage. What happened then, would under the same circumstances happen now. A few eminent thinkers may be able for a certain time to resist the pressure of their age. But, looking at mankind

generally, society can have no hold on any class except through the medium of their interests. It behoves, therefore, every people to take heed, that the interests of literary men are on their side rather than on the side of their rulers. For, literature is the representative of intellect, which is progressive; government is the representative of order, which is stationary. As long as these two great powers are separate, they will correct and react upon each other, and the people may hold the balance. If, however, these powers coalesce, if the government can corrupt the intellect, and if the intellect will yield to the government, the inevitable result must be, despotism in politics, and servility in literature. This was the history of France under Louis XIV.; and this, we may rest assured, will be the history of every country that shall be tempted to follow so attractive but so fatal an example.

The reputation of Louis XIV. originated in the gratitude of men of letters; but it is now supported by a popular notion that the celebrated literature of his age is mainly to be ascribed to his fostering care. If, however, we examine this opinion, we shall find that, like many of the traditions of which history is full, it is entirely devoid of truth. We shall find two leading circumstances, which will prove that the literary splendour of his reign was not the result of his efforts, but was the work of that great generation which preceded him; and that the intellect of France, so far from being benefited by his munificence, was hampered by his protection.

I. The first circumstance is, that the immense impulse which, during the administrations of Richelieu and of Mazarin, had been given to the highest branches of knowledge, was suddenly stopped. In 1661 Louis XIV. assumed the government;[11] and from that moment until his death, in 1715, the history of France, so far as great discoveries are concerned, is a blank in the annals of Europe. If, putting aside all preconceived notions respecting the supposed glory of that age, we examine the matter fairly,

[11] 'La première période du gouvernement de Louis XIV. commence donc en 1661.' *Capefigue's Louis XIV*, vol. i. p. 4.

it will be seen that in every department there was a manifest dearth of original thinkers. There was much that was elegant, much that was attractive. The senses of men were soothed and flattered by the creations of art, by paintings, by palaces, by poems; but scarcely any thing of moment was added to the sum of human knowledge. If we take the mathematics, and those mixed sciences to which they are applicable, it will be universally admitted that their most successful cultivators in France during the seventeenth century were Descartes, Pascal, Fermat, Gassendi, and Mersenne. But, so far from Louis XIV. having any share in the honour due to them, these eminent men were engaged in their investigations while the king was still in his cradle, and completed them before he assumed the government, and therefore before his system of protection came into play. Descartes died in 1650,[12] when the king was twelve years old. Pascal, whose name, like that of Descartes, is commonly associated with the age of Louis XIV., had gained an European reputation while Louis, occupied in the nursery with his toys, was not aware that any such man existed. His treatise on conic sections was written in 1639;[13] his decisive experiments on the weight of air were made in 1648;[14] and his researches on the cycloid, the last great inquiry he ever undertook, were in 1658,[15] when Louis, still under the tutelage of Mazarin, had no sort of authority. Fermat was one of the most profound thinkers of the seventeenth century, particularly as a geometrician, in which respect

[12] *Biog. Univ.* vol. xi. p. 157.

[13] In *Biog. Univ.* vol. xxxiii. p. 50, he is said to have composed it 'à l'âge de seize ans;' and at p. 46, to have been born in 1623.

[14] *Leslie's Natural Philosophy*, p. 201; *Bordas Demoulin, Le Cartésianisme*, vol. i. p. 310. Sir John Herschel (*Disc. on Nat. Philos.* pp. 229, 230) calls this 'one of the first, if not the very first,' crucial instance recorded in physics; and he thinks that it 'tended, more powerfully than any thing which had previously been done in science, to confirm in the minds of men that disposition to experimental verification which had scarcely yet taken full and secure root.' In this point of view, the addition it actually made to knowledge is the smallest part of its merit.

[15] Montucla (*Hist. des Mathématiques*, vol. ii. p. 61) says, 'vers 1658;' and at p. 65, 'il se mit, vers le commencement de 1658, à considérer plus profondément les propriétés de cette courbe.'

he was second only to Descartes.[16] The most important steps he took are those concerning the geometry of infinites, applied to the ordinates and tangents of curves; which, however, he completed in or before 1636.[17] As to Gassendi and Mersenne, it is enough to say that Gassendi died in 1655,[18] six years before Louis was at the head of affairs; while Mersenne died in 1648,[19] when the great king was ten years old.

These were the men who flourished in France just before the system of Louis XIV. came into operation. Shortly after their death the patronage of the king began to tell upon the national intellect; and during the next fifty years no addition of importance was made to either branch of the mathematics, or, with the single exception of acoustics,[20] to any of the sciences to which the mathematics are applied.[21] The further the seventeenth century advanced, the more evident did the decline become, and the more clearly can we trace the connexion between the

16 Montucla (*Hist. des Mathémat.* vol. ii. p. 136) enthusiastically declares that, 'si Descartes eût manqué à l'esprit humain, Fermat l'eût remplacé en géométrie.' Simson, the celebrated restorer of Greek geometry, said that Fermat was the only modern who understood porisms. See *Trail's Account of Simson*, 1812, 4to, pp. 18, 41. On the connexion between his views and the subsequent discovery of the differential calculus, see *Brewster's Life of Newton*, vol. ii. pp. 7, 8; and compare *Comte, Philosophie Positive*, vol. i. pp. 228, 229, 726, 727.

17 See extracts from two letters written by Fermat to Roberval, in 1636, in *Montucla, Hist. des Mathématiques*, vol. ii. pp. 136, 137; respecting which there is no notice in the meagre article on Fermat, in *Hutton's Mathematical Dictionary*, vol. i. p. 510, 4to, 1815. It is a disgrace to English mathematicians that this unsatisfactory work of Hutton's should still remain the best they have produced on the history of their own science. The same disregard of dates is shown in the hasty remarks on Fermat by Playfair. See *Playfair's Dissertation on the Progress of Mathematical Science, Encyclop. Brit.* vol. i. p. 440, 7th edition.

18 *Hutton's Mathemat. Dict.* vol. i. p. 572.

19 *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 40.

20 Of which Sauveur may be considered the creator. Compare *Eloge de Sauveur*, in *Œuvres de Fontenelle*, Paris, 1766, vol. v. p. 435, with *Whewell's Hist. of the Induc. Sciences*, vol. ii, p. 334; *Comte, Philos. Pos.* vol. ii. pp. 627, 628.

21 In the report presented to Napoleon by the French Institute, it is said of the reign of Louis XIV., 'les sciences exactes et les sciences physiques peu cultivées en France dans un siècle qui paroissoit ne trouver de charmes que dans la littérature.' *Dacier, Rapport Historique*, p. 24. Or, as Lacretelle expresses it (*Dix-huitième Siècle*, vol. ii. p. 10), 'La France, après avoir fourni Descartes et Pascal, eut pendant quelque temps à envier aux nations étrangères la gloire de produire des génies créateurs dans les sciences.'

waning powers of the French, and that protective spirit which enfeebled the energies it wished to strengthen. Louis had heard that astronomy is a noble study; he was therefore anxious, by encouraging its cultivation in France, to add to the glories of his own name.[22] With this view, he rewarded its professors with unexampled profusion; he built the splendid Observatory of Paris; he invited to his court the most eminent foreign astronomers, Cassini from Italy, Römer from Denmark, Huygens from Holland. But, as to native ability, France did not produce a single man who made even one of those various discoveries which mark the epochs of astronomical science. In other countries vast progress was made; and Newton in particular, by his immense generalizations, reformed nearly every branch of physics, and remodelled astronomy by carrying the laws of gravitation to the extremity of the solar system. On the other hand, France had fallen into such a torpor, that these wonderful discoveries, which changed the face of knowledge, were entirely neglected, there being no instance of any French astronomer adopting them until 1732, that is, forty-five years after they had been published by their immortal author.[23] Even in matters of detail, the most valuable improvement made by French astronomers during the power of Louis XIV. was not original. They laid claim to the invention of the microme-

[22] A writer late in the seventeenth century says, with some simplicity, 'the present king of France is reputed an encourager of choice and able men, in all faculties, who can attribute to his greatness.' *Aubrey's Letters*, vol. ii. p. 624.

[23] The *Principia* of Newton appeared in 1687; and Maupertuis, in 1732, 'was the first astronomer of France who undertook a critical defence of the theory of gravitation.' *Grant's Hist. of Physical Astronomy*, pp. 31, 43. In 1738, Voltaire writes, 'La France est jusqu'à présent le seul pays où les théories de Newton en physique, et de Boërhaave en médecine soient combattues. Nous n'avons pas encore de bons éléments de physique; nous avons pour toute astronomie le livre de Bion, qui n'est qu'un ramas informe de quelques mémoires de l'académie.' *Correspond.* in *Œuvres de Voltaire*, vol. lvii. p. 340. On the tardy reception of Newton's discoveries in France, compare *Eloge de Lacaille*, in *Œuvres de Bailly*, Paris, 1790, vol. i. pp. 175, 176. All this is the more remarkable, because several of the conclusions at which Newton had arrived were divulged before they were embodied in the *Principia*; and it appears from *Brewster's Life of Newton* (vol. i. pp. 25, 26, 290), that his speculations concerning gravity began in 1666, or perhaps in the autumn of 1665.

ter; an admirable resource, which, as they supposed, was first contrived by Picard and Auzout.[24] The truth, however, is, that here again they were anticipated by the activity of a freer and less protected people; since the micrometer was invented by Gascoigne in or just before 1639, when the English monarch, so far from having leisure to patronize science, was about to embark in that struggle which, ten years later, cost him his crown and his life.[25]

The absence in France, during this period, not only of great discoveries, but also of mere practical ingenuity, is certainly very striking. In investigations requiring minute accuracy, the necessary tools, if at all complicated, were made by foreigners, the native workmen being too unskilled to construct them; and Dr. Lister, who was a very competent judge,[26] and who was in Paris at the end of the seventeenth century, supplies evidence that the best mathematical instruments sold in that city were made, not by a Frenchman, but by Butterfield, an Englishman residing there.[27] Nor did they succeed better in matters of immediate and obvious utility. The improvements effected in

[24] 'L'abbé Picard fut en société avec Auzout, l'inventeur du micromètre.' *Biog. Univ.* vol. xxxiv. p. 253. See also *Préface de l'Hist. de l'Acad. des Sciences*, in *Œuvres de Fontenelle*, Paris, 1766, vol. x. p. 20.

[25] The best account I have seen of the invention of the micrometer, is in Mr. Grant's recent work, *History of Physical Astronomy*, pp. 428, 450-453, where it is proved that Gascoigne invented it in 1639, or possibly a year or two earlier. Compare *Humboldt's Cosmos*, vol. iii. p. 52; who also ascribes it to Gascoigne, but erroneously dates it in 1640. Montucla (*Hist. des Mathémat.* vol. ii. pp. 570, 571) admits the priority of Gascoigne; but underrates his merit, being apparently unacquainted with the evidence which Mr. Grant subsequently adduced.

[26] For a short account of this able man, see *Lankester's Mem. of Ray*, p. 17.

[27] Notwithstanding the strong prejudice then existing against Englishmen, Butterfield was employed by 'the king and all the princes.' *Lister's Account of Paris at the close of the Seventeenth Century, edited by Dr. Henning*, p. 85. Fontenelle mentions 'M. Hubin,' as one of the most celebrated makers in Paris in 1687 (*Eloge d'Amontons*, in *Œuvres de Fontenelle*, Paris, 1766, vol. v. p. 113); but has forgotten to state that he too was an Englishman. 'Lutetiæ sedem posuerat ante aliquod tempus *Anglus quidam nomine Hubinus*, vir ingeniosus, atque hujusmodi machinationum peritus opifex et industrius. Hominem adii,' &c. *Huetii Commentarius de Rebus ad eum pertinentibus*, p. 346. Thus, again, in regard to time-keepers, the vast superiority of the English makers, late in the reign of Louis XIV., was

manufactures were few and insignificant, and were calculated, not for the comfort of the people, but for the luxury of the idle classes.[28] What was really valuable was neglected; no great invention was made; and by the end of the reign of Louis XIV. scarcely anything had been done in machinery, or in those other contrivances which, by economizing national labour, increase national wealth.[29]

While such was the state, not only of mathematical and astronomical science, but also of mechanical and inventive arts, corresponding symptoms of declining power were seen in other departments. In physiology, in anatomy, and in medicine, we look in vain for any men equal to those by whom France had once been honoured. The greatest discovery of this kind ever made by a Frenchman, was that of the receptacle of the chyle; a discovery which, in the opinion of a high authority, is not inferior to that of the circulation of the blood by Harvey.[30] This important step in our knowledge is constantly assigned to the age of Louis XIV., as if it were one of the results of his gracious bounty; but it would be difficult to tell what Louis had to do with it, since the discovery was made by Pecquet in 1647,[31] when the great king was nine years

equally incontestable. Compare *Biog. Univ.* vol. xxiv. pp. 242, 243, with *Brewster's Life of Newton*, vol. ii. p. 262; and as to the middle of the reign of Louis XIV., see *Eloge de Sebastien*, in *Œuvres de Fontenelle*, vol. vi. pp 332, 333.

[28] 'Les manufactures étaient plutôt dirigées vers le brillant que vers l'utile. On s'efforça, par un arrêt du mois de mars 1700, d'extirper, ou du moins de réduire beaucoup les fabriques de bas au métier. Malgré cette fausse direction, les objets d'un luxe très-recherché faisaient des progrès bien lents. En 1687, après la mort de Colbert, la cour soldait encore l'industrie des barbares, et faisait fabriquer et broder ses plus beaux habits à Constantinople.' *Lemontey, Etablissement de Louis XIV*, p. 364. Lacretelle (*Dix-huitième Siècle*, vol. ii. p. 5) says, that during the last thirty years of the reign of Louis XIV. 'les manufactures tombaient.'

[29] Cuvier (*Biog. Univ.* vol. xxxvii. p. 199) thus describes the condition of France only seven years after the death of Louis XIV.: 'Nos forges étaient alors presque dans l'enfance; et nous ne faisions point d'acier: tout celui qu'éxigeaient les différents métiers nous venait de l'étranger. . . . . . Nous ne faisions point non plus alors de fer-blanc, et il ne nous venait que de l'Allemagne.'

[30] 'Certainement la découverte de Pecquet ne brille pas moins dans l'histoire de notre art que la vérité démontrée pour la première fois par Harvey.' *Sprengel, Hist. de la Médecine*, vol. iv. p. 208.

[31] Henle (*Anatomie Générale*, vol. ii. p. 106) says, that the discovery was

old. After Pecquet, the most eminent of the French anatomists in the seventeenth century was Riolan; and his name we also find among the illustrious men who adorned the reign of Louis XIV. But the principal works of Riolan were written before Louis XIV. was born; his last work was published in 1652; and he himself died in 1657.[32] Then there came a pause, and, during three generations, the French did nothing for these great subjects; they wrote no work upon them which is now read, they made no discoveries, and they seemed to have lost all heart, until that revival of knowledge, which, as we shall presently see, took place in France about the middle of the eighteenth century. In the practical parts of medicine, in its speculative parts, and in the arts connected with surgery, the same law prevails. The French, in these, as in other matters, had formerly produced men of great eminence, who had won for themselves an European reputation, and whose works are still remembered. Thus, only to mention two or three instances, they had a long line of illustrious physicians, among whom Fernel and Joubert were the earliest:[33] they had, in surgery, Ambroise Paré, who not only introduced important practical improvements,[34] but who has the still rarer merit of being one of the founders of comparative osteology;[35] and they

made in 1649; but the historians of medicine assign it to 1647. *Sprengel, Hist. de la Médecine*, vol. iv. pp. 207, 405; *Renouard, Hist. de la Médecine*, vol. ii. p. 173.

[32] *Biog. Univ.* vol. xxxviii. pp. 123, 124.

[33] Some of the great steps taken by Joubert are concisely stated in *Broussais, Examen des Doctrines Médicales*, vol. i. pp. 293, 294, vol. iii. p. 361. Compare *Sprengel, Hist. de la Médecine*, vol. iii. p. 210. Fernel, though enthusiastically praised by Patin, was probably hardly equal to Joubert. *Lettres de Patin*, vol. iii. pp. 59, 199, 648. At p. 106, Patin calls Fernel 'le premier médecin de son temps, et peut-être le plus grand qui sera jamais.'

[34] See a summary of them in *Sprengel, Hist. de la Médecine*, vol. iii. pp. 405, 406, vol. vii. pp. 14, 15. Sir Benjamin Brodie (*Lectures on Surgery*, p. 21) says, 'Few greater benefits have been conferred on mankind than that for which we are indebted to Ambrose Parey—the application of a ligature to a bleeding artery.'

[35] 'C'était là une vue très ingénieuse et très juste qu'Ambroise Paré donnait pour la première fois. C'était un commencement d'ostéologie comparée.' *Cuvier, Hist. des Sciences*, part. ii. p. 42. To this I may add, that he is the first French writer on medical jurisprudence. See *Paris and Fonblanque's Medical Jurisprudence*, 1823, vol. i. p. xviii.

had Baillou, who, late in the sixteenth and early in the seventeenth century, advanced pathology, by connecting it with the study of morbid anatomy.[36] Under Louis XIV. all this was changed. Under him, surgery was neglected, though in other countries its progress was rapid.[37] The English, by the middle of the seventeenth century, had taken considerable steps in medicine; its therapeutical branch being reformed chiefly by Sydenham, its physiological branch by Glisson.[38] But the age of Louis XIV. cannot boast of a single medical writer who can be compared to these; not even one whose name is now known as having made any specific addition to our knowledge. In Paris, the practice of medicine was notoriously inferior to that in the capitals of Germany, Italy, and England; while in the French provinces, the ignorance, even of the best physicians, was scandalous.[39] Indeed, it is no exaggeration to say that, during the whole of this long period, the French in these matters effected comparatively nothing; they made no contributions to clinical literature,[40]

[36] 'L'un des premiers auteurs à qui l'on doit des observations cadavériques sur les maladies, est le fameux Baillou.' *Broussais, Examen des Doctrines Médicales*, vol. ii. p. 218. See also vol. iii. p. 362; and *Renouard, Hist. de la Médecine*, vol. ii. p. 89. The value of his services is recognized in a recent able work, *Phillips on Scrofula*, 1846, p. 16.

[37] 'The most celebrated surgeon of the sixteenth century was Ambroise Paré. . . . . From the time of Paré until the commencement of the eighteenth century, surgery was but little cultivated in France. Mauriceau, Saviard, and Belloste, were the only French surgeons of note who could be contrasted with so many eminent men of other nations. During the eighteenth century, France produced two surgeons of extraordinary genius; these are Petit and Desault.' *Bowman's Surgery*, in *Encyclop. of Medical Sciences*, 1847, 4to, pp. 829, 830.

[38] It is unnecessary to adduce evidence respecting the services rendered by Sydenham, as they are universally admitted; but what, perhaps, is less generally known, is, that Glisson anticipated those important views concerning irritability, which were afterwards developed by Haller and Gorter. Compare *Renouard, Hist. de le Médecine*, vol. ii. p. 192; *Elliotson's Human Physiol.* p. 471; *Bordas Demoulin, Cartésianisme*, vol. i. p. 170. In *Wagner's Physiol.* 1841, p. 655, the theory is too exclusively ascribed to Haller.

[39] Of this, we have numerous complaints from foreigners who visited France. I will quote the testimony of one celebrated man. In 1699, Addison writes from Blois: 'I made use of one of the physicians of this place, who are as cheap as our English farriers, and generally as ignorant.' *Aikin's Life of Addison*, vol. i. p. 74.

[40] Indeed, France was the last great country in Europe in which a chair of clinical medicine was established. See *Renouard, Hist. de la Médecine*, vol. ii. p. 312; and *Bouillaud, Philos. Médicale*, p. 114.

and scarcely any to therapeutics, to pathology, to physiology, or to anatomy.[41]

In what are called the natural sciences, we also find the French now brought to a stand. In zoology, they had formerly possessed remarkable men, among whom Belon and Rondelet were the most conspicuous;[42] but, under Louis XIV., they did not produce one original observer in this great field of inquiry.[43] In chemistry, again, Rey had, in the reign of Louis XIII., struck out views of such vast importance, that he anticipated some of those generalizations which formed the glory of the French intellect in the eighteenth century.[44] During the corrupt and frivolous age of Louis XIV., all this was forgotten; the labours of Rey were neglected; and so complete was the indifference, that even the celebrated experiments of Boyle remained unknown in France for more than forty years after they were published.[45]

Connected with zoology, and, to a philosophic mind, inseparable from it, is botany; which, occupying a middle place between the animal and mineral world, indicates

[41] M. Bouillaud, in his account of the state of medicine in the seventeenth century, does not mention a single Frenchman during this period. See *Bouillaud, Philosophie Médicale*, pp. 13 seq. During many years of the power of Louis XIV., the French Academy only possessed one anatomist; and of him, few students of physiology have ever heard: 'M. du Verney fut assez long-temps le seul anatomiste de l'académie, et ce ne fut qu'en 1684 qu'on lui joignit M. Mery.' *Eloge de Du Verney*, in *Œuvres de Fontenelle*, vol. vi. p. 392.

[42] *Cuvier, Hist. des Sciences*, part ii. pp. 64-73, 76-80.

[43] After Belon, nothing was done in France for the natural history of animals until 1734, when there appeared the first volume of Reaumur's great work. See *Swainson on the Study of Nat. Hist.* pp. 24, 43.

[44] On this remarkable man, who was the first philosophic chemist Europe produced, and who, so early as 1630, anticipated some of the generalizations made a hundred and fifty years later by Lavoisier, see *Liebig's Letters on Chemistry*, pp. 46, 47; *Thomson's Hist. of Chemistry*, vol. ii. pp. 95, 96; *Humboldt's Cosmos*, vol. ii. p. 729; *Cuvier, Progrès des Sciences*, vol. i. p. 30.

[45] Cuvier (*Progrès des Sciences*, vol. i. p. 30) says of Rey, 'son écrit était tombé dans l'oubli le plus profond;' and, in another work, the same great authority writes (*Hist. des Sciences*, part. ii. p. 333): 'Il y avait plus de quarante ans que Becker avait présenté sa nouvelle théorie, développée par Stahl; il y avait encore plus long-temps que les expériences de Boyle sur la chimie pneumatique avaient été publiées, et cependant, rien de tout cela n'entrait encore dans l'enseignement général de la chimie, du moins en France.'

their relation to each other, and at different points touches the confines of both. It also throws great light on the functions of nutrition,[46] and on the laws of development; while, from the marked analogy between animals and vegetables, we have every reason to hope that its further progress, assisted by that of electricity, will prepare the way for a comprehensive theory of life, to which the resources of our knowledge are still unequal, but towards which the movements of modern science are manifestly tending. On these grounds, far more than for the sake of practical advantages, botany will always attract the attention of thinking men; who, neglecting views of immediate utility, look to large and ultimate results, and only value particular facts in so far as they facilitate the discovery of general truths. The first step in this noble study was taken towards the middle of the sixteenth century, when authors, instead of copying what previous writers had said, began to observe nature for themselves.[47] The next step was, to add experiment to observation; but it required another hundred years before this could be done with accuracy; because the microscope, which is essential to such inquiries, was only invented about 1620, and the labour of a whole generation was needed to make it available for minute investigations.[48] So soon, however,

[46] The highest present generalizations of the laws of nutrition are those by M. Chevreul; which are thus summed up by MM. Robin et Verdeil, in their admirable work, *Chimie Anatomique*, vol. i. p. 203, Paris, 1853: 'En passant des plantes aux animaux, nous voyons que plus l'organisation de ces derniers est compliquée, plus les aliments dont ils se nourrissent sont complexes et analogues par leurs principes immédiats aux principes des organes qu'ils doivent entretenir.

'En définitive, on voit que les végétaux se nourrissent d'eau, d'acide carbonique, d'autres gaz et de matières organiques à l'état d'engrais, ou en d'autres termes altérées, c'est-à-dire ramenées à l'état de principes plus simples, plus solubles. Au contraire, les animaux plus élevés dans l'échelle organique ont besoin de matières bien plus complexes quant aux principes immédiats qui les composent, et plus variées dans leurs propriétés.'

[47] Brunfels in 1530, and Fuchs in 1542, were the two first writers who observed the vegetable kingdom for themselves, instead of copying what the ancients had said. Compare *Whewell's Hist. of the Sciences*, vol. iii. pp. 305, 306, with *Pulteney's Hist. of Botany*, vol. i. p. 38.

[48] The microscope was exhibited in London, by Drebbel, about 1620; and this appears to be the earliest unquestionable notice of its use, though some writers assert that it was invented at the beginning of the seventeenth

as this resource was sufficiently matured to be applied to plants, the march of botany became rapid, at least as far as details are concerned; for it was not until the eighteenth century that the facts were actually generalized. But, in the preliminary work of accumulating the facts, great energy was shown; and, for reasons stated in an earlier part of the Introduction, this, like other studies relating to the external world, advanced with peculiar speed during the reign of Charles II. The tracheæ of plants were discovered by Henshaw in 1661;[49] and their cellular tissue by Hooke in 1667.[50] These were considerable approaches towards establishing the analogy between plants and animals; and, within a few years, Grew effected still more of the same kind. He made such minute and extensive dissections, as to raise the anatomy of vegetables to a separate study, and prove that their organization is scarcely less complicated than that possessed by animals.[51] His first work was written in 1670;[52]

century, or even in 1590. Compare the different statements, in *Pouillet, Elémens de Physique*, vol. ii. p. 357; *Humboldt's Cosmos*, vol. ii. pp. 699, 700; *Sprengel, Hist. de la Médecine*, vol. iv. p. 337; *Winckler, Gesch. der Botanik*, p. 136; *Quekett's Treatise on the Microscope*, 1848, p. 2; *Cuvier, Hist. des Sciences*, part ii. p. 470; *Hallam's Lit. of Europe*, vol. iii. p. 202; *Leslie's Nat. Philos.* p. 52. On the subsequent improvement of the microscope during the seventeenth century, see *Brewster's Life of Newton*, vol. i. pp. 29, 242, 243.

[49] See *Balfour's Botany*, p. 15. In Pulteney's *Progress of Botany in England*, this beautiful discovery is, if I rightly remember, not even alluded to; but it appears, from a letter written in 1672, that it was then becoming generally known, and had been confirmed by Grew and Malpighi. *Ray's Correspond.* edit. 1848, p. 98. Compare *Richard, Elémens de Botanique*, p. 46; where, however, M. Richard erroneously supposes that Grew did not know of the tracheæ till 1682.

[50] Compare *Cuvier, Hist. des Sciences*, part ii. p. 471, with *Thomson's Vegetable Chemistry*, p. 950.

[51] Dr. Thomson (*Vegetable Chemistry*, p. 950) says: 'But the person to whom we are indebted for the first attempt to ascertain the structure of plants by dissection and microscopical observations, was Dr. Nathaniel Grew.' The character of Grew's inquiries, as 'viewing the internal, as well as external parts of plants,' is also noticed in *Ray's Correspond.* p. 188; and M. Winckler (*Gesch. der Botanik*, p. 382) ascribes to him and Malpighi the 'neuen Aufschwung' taken by vegetable physiology late in the seventeenth century. See also, on Grew, *Lindley's Botany*, vol. i. p. 93; and *Third Report of Brit. Assoc.* p. 27.

[52] The first book of his Anatomy of Plants was laid before the Royal Society in 1670, and printed in 1671. *Hallam's Lit. of Europe*, vol. iii. p. 580; and *Thomson's Hist. of the Royal Society*, p. 44.

and, in 1676, another Englishman, Millington, ascertained the existence of a distinction of sexes;[53] thus supplying further evidence of the harmony between the animal and vegetable kingdoms, and of the unity of idea which regulates their composition.

This is what was effected in England during the reign of Charles II.; and we now ask what was done in France, during the same period, under the munificent patronage of Louis XIV. The answer is, nothing: no discovery, no idea, which forms an epoch in this important department of natural science. The son of the celebrated Sir Thomas Brown visited Paris in the hope of making some additions to his knowledge of botany, which he thought he could not fail to do in a country where science was held in such honour, its professors so caressed by the court, and its researches so bountifully encouraged. To his surprise, he, in 1665, found in that great city no one capable of teaching his favourite pursuit, and even the public lectures on it miserably meagre and unsatisfactory.[54] Neither then, nor at a much later period, did the French possess a good popular treatise on botany: still less did they make any improvement in it. Indeed, so completely was the philosophy of the subject misunderstood, that Tournefort, the only French botanist of repute in the reign of Louis, actually rejected that discovery of the sexes of plants, which had been made before he began to write, and which afterwards became the corner-stone of the Linnean system.[55] This showed his incapacity for those

[53] 'The presence of sexual organs in plants was first shown in 1676, by Sir Thomas Millington; and it was afterwards confirmed by Grew, Malpighi, and Ray.' *Balfour's Botany*, p. 236. See also *Pulteney's Progress of Botany*, vol. i. pp. 336, 337; and *Lindley's Botany*, vol. ii. p. 217: and, as to Ray, who was rather slow in admitting the discovery, see *Lankester's Mem. of Ray*, p. 100. Before this, the sexual system of vegetables had been empirically known to several of the ancients, but never raised to a scientific truth. Compare *Richard, Eléments de Botanique*, pp. 353, 427, 428, with *Matter, Hist. de l'Ecole d'Alexandrie*, vol. ii. p. 9.

[54] In July 1665, he writes from Paris to his father, 'The lecture of plants here is only the naming of them, their degrees in heat and cold, and sometimes their use in physick; scarce a word more than may be seen in every herball.' *Browne's Works*, vol. i. p. 108.

[55] Cuvier, mentioning the inferiority of Tournefort's views to those of his predecessors, gives as an instance, 'puisqu'il a rejeté les sexes des plantes.'

large views respecting the unity of the organic world, which alone give to botany a scientific value; and we find, accordingly, that he did nothing for the physiology of plants, and that his only merit was as a collector and classifier of them.[56] And even in his classification he was guided, not by a comprehensive comparison of their various parts, but by considerations drawn from the mere appearance of the flower:[57] thus depriving botany of its real grandeur, degrading it into an arrangement of beautiful objects, and supplying another instance of the way in which the Frenchmen of that generation impoverished what they sought to enrich, and dwarfed every topic, until they suited the intellect and pleased the eye of that ignorant and luxurious court, to whose favour they looked for reward, and whose applause it was the business of their life to gain.

The truth is, that in these, as in all matters of real importance, in questions requiring independent thought, and in questions of practical utility, the age of Louis XIV. was an age of decay: it was an age of misery, of intolerance, and oppression; it was an age of bondage, of ignominy, of incompetence. This would long since have been universally admitted, if those who have written the history of that period had taken the trouble to study subjects without which no history can be understood; or, I should rather say, without which no history can exist. If this had been done, the reputation of Louis XIV. would at

Hist. des Sciences, part ii. p. 496. Hence he held that the farina was excrementitious. *Pulteney's Progress of Botany*, vol. i. p. 340.

[56] This is admitted even by his eulogist Duvau. *Biog. Univ.* vol. xlvi. p. 363.

[57] On the method of Tournefort, which was that of a corrollist, compare *Richard, Éléments de Botanique*, p. 547; *Jussieu's Botany*, edit. Wilson, 1849, p. 516; *Ray's Correspond.* pp. 381, 382; *Lankester's Mem. of Ray*, p. 49; *Winckler, Gesch. der Botanik*, p. 142. Cuvier (*Hist. des Sciences*, part ii. p. 496), with quiet irony, says of it, 'vous voyez, messieurs, que cette méthode a le mérite d'une grande clarté; qu'elle est fondée sur la forme de la fleur, et par conséquent sur des considérations agréables à saisir. . . . . Ce qui en fit le succès, c'est que Tournefort joignit à son ouvrage une figure de fleur et de fruit appartenant à chacun de ses genres.' Even in this, he appears to have been careless, and is said to have described 'a great many plants he never examined nor saw.' *Letter from Dr. Sherard*, in *Nichols's Illustrations of the Eighteenth Century*, vol. i. p. 356.

once have shrunk to its natural size. Even at the risk of exposing myself to the charge of unduly estimating my own labours, I cannot avoid saying, that the facts which I have just pointed out have never before been collected, but have remained isolated in the text-books and repertories of the sciences to which they belong. Yet without them it is impossible to study the age of Louis XIV. It is impossible to estimate the character of any period except by tracing its development; in other words, by measuring the extent of its knowledge. Therefore it is, that to write the history of a country without regard to its intellectual progress, is as if an astronomer should compose a planetary system without regard to the sun, by whose light alone the planets can be seen, and by whose attraction they are held in their course, and compelled to run in the path of their appointed orbits. For the great luminary, even as it shines in the heaven, is not a more noble or a more powerful object than is the intellect of man in this nether world. It is to the human intellect, and to that alone, that every country owes its knowledge. And what is it but the progress and diffusion of knowledge which has given us our arts, our sciences, our manufactures, our laws, our opinions, our manners, our comforts, our luxuries, our civilization; in short, every thing that raises us above the savages, who by their ignorance are degraded to the level of the brutes with which they herd? Surely, then, the time has now arrived when they who undertake to write the history of a great nation should occupy themselves with those matters by which alone the destiny of men is regulated, and should abandon the petty and insignificant details by which we have too long been wearied; details respecting the lives of kings, the intrigues of ministers, the vices and the gossip of courts.

It is precisely these higher considerations which furnish the key to the history of the reign of Louis XIV. In that time, as in all others, the misery of the people and the degradation of the country followed the decline of the national intellect; while this last was, in its turn, the result of the protective spirit—that mischievous spirit which

weakens whatever it touches. If in the long course and compass of history there is one thing more clear than another, it is, that whenever a government undertakes to protect intellectual pursuits, it will almost always protect them in the wrong place, and reward the wrong men. Nor is it surprising that this should be the case. What can kings and ministers know about those immense branches of knowledge, to cultivate which with success is often the business of an entire life? How can they, constantly occupied with their lofty pursuits, have leisure for such inferior matters? Is it to be supposed that such acquirements will be found among statesmen, who are always engaged in the most weighty concerns; sometimes writing despatches, sometimes making speeches, sometimes organizing a party in the parliament, sometimes baffling an intrigue in the privy-chamber? Or if the sovereign should graciously bestow his patronage according to his own judgment, are we to expect that mere philosophy and science should be familiar to high and mighty princes, who have their own peculiar and arduous studies, and who have to learn the mysteries of heraldry, the nature and dignities of rank, the comparative value of the different orders, decorations, and titles, the laws of precedence, the prerogatives of noble birth, the names and powers of ribbons, stars, and garters, the various modes of conferring an honour or installing into an office, the adjustment of ceremonies, the subtleties of etiquette, and all those other courtly accomplishments necessary to the exalted functions which they perform?

The mere statement of such questions proves the absurdity of the principle which they involve. For, unless we believe that kings are omniscient as well as immaculate, it is evident that in the bestowal of rewards they must be guided either by personal caprice or by the testimony of competent judges. And since no one is a competent judge of scientific excellence unless he is himself scientific, we are driven to this monstrous alternative, that the rewards of intellectual labour must be conferred injudiciously, or else that they must be given according to

the verdict of that very class by whom they are received. In the first case, the reward will be ridiculous; in the latter case, it will be disgraceful. In the former case, weak men will be benefited by wealth which is taken from industry to be lavished on idleness. But in the latter case, those men of real genius, those great and illustrious thinkers, who are the masters and teachers of the human race, are to be tricked out with trumpery titles; and after scrambling in miserable rivalry for the sordid favours of a court, they are then to be turned into beggars of the state, who not only clamour for their share of the spoil, but even regulate the proportions into which the shares are to be divided.

Under such a system, the natural results are, first, the impoverishment and servility of genius; then the decay of knowledge; then the decline of the country. Three times in the history of the world has this experiment been tried. In the ages of Augustus, of Leo X., and of Louis XIV., the same method was adopted, and the same result ensued. In each of these ages, there was much apparent splendour, immediately succeeded by sudden ruin. In each instance, the brilliancy survived the independence; and in each instance, the national spirit sank under that pernicious alliance between government and literature, by virtue of which the political classes become very powerful, and the intellectual classes very weak, simply because they who dispense the patronage will, of course, receive the homage; and if, on the one hand, government is always ready to reward literature, so, on the other hand, will literature be always ready to succumb to government.

Of these three ages, that of Louis XIV. was incomparably the worst; and nothing but the amazing energy of the French people could have enabled them to rally, as they afterwards did, from the effects of so enfeebling a system. But though they rallied, the effort cost them dear. The struggle, as we shall presently see, lasted two generations, and was only ended by that frightful Revolution which formed its natural climax. What the real

history of that struggle was, I shall endeavour to ascertain towards the conclusion of this volume. Without, however, anticipating the course of affairs, we will now proceed to what I have already mentioned, as the second great characteristic of the reign of Louis XIV.

II. The second intellectual characteristic of the reign of Louis XIV. is, in importance, hardly inferior to the first. We have already seen that the national intellect, stunted by the protection of the court, was so diverted from the noblest branches of knowledge, that in none of them did it produce any thing worthy of being recorded. As a natural consequence, the minds of men, driven from the higher departments, took refuge in the lower, and concentrated themselves upon those inferior subjects, where the discovery of truth is not the main object, but where beauty of form and expression are the things chiefly pursued. Thus, the first consequence of the patronage of Louis XIV. was, to diminish the field for genius, and to sacrifice science to art. The second consequence was, that, even in art itself, there was soon seen a marked decay. For a short time, the stimulus produced its effect; but was followed by that collapse which is its natural result. So essentially vicious is the whole system of patronage and reward, that after the death of those writers and artists, whose works form the only redeeming point in the reign of Louis, there was found no one capable of even imitating their excellencies. The poets, dramatists, painters, musicians, sculptors, architects, were, with hardly an exception, not only born, but educated under that freer policy, which existed before his time. When they began their labours, they benefited by a munificence which encouraged the activity of their genius. But in a few years, that generation having died off, the hollowness of the whole system was clearly exposed. More than a quarter of a century before the death of Louis XIV., most of these eminent men had ceased to live; and then it was seen to how miserable a plight the country was reduced under the boasted patronage of the great king. At the moment when Louis XIV. died, there was scarcely a writer or an

artist in France who enjoyed an European reputation. This is a circumstance well worth our notice. If we compare the different classes of literature, we shall find that sacred oratory, being the least influenced by the king, was able the longest to bear up against his system. Massillon belongs partly to the subsequent reign; but even of the other great divines, Bossuet and Bourdaloue both lived to 1704,[58] Mascaron to 1703,[59] and Flechier to 1710.[60] As, however, the king, particularly in his latter years, was very fearful of meddling with the church, it is in profane matters that we can best trace the workings of his policy, because it is there that his interference was most active. With a view to this, the simplest plan will be, to look, in the first place, into the history of the fine arts; and after ascertaining who the greatest artists were, observe the year in which they died, remembering that the government of Louis XIV. began in 1661, and ended in 1715.

If, now, we examine this period of fifty-four years, we shall be struck by the remarkable fact, that every thing which is celebrated was effected in the first half of it; while more than twenty years before its close, the most eminent masters all died without leaving any successors. The six greatest painters in the reign of Louis XIV. were, Poussin, Lesueur, Claude Lorraine, Le Brun, and the two Mignards. Of these, Le Brun died in 1690;[61] the elder Mignard in 1668;[62] the younger in 1695;[63] Claude Lorraine in 1682;[64] Lesueur in 1655;[65] and Poussin, perhaps the most distinguished of all the French school, died in 1665.[66] The two greatest architects were, Claude Perrault

[58] *Biog. Univ.* vol. v. pp. 236, 358.
[59] *Ibid.* xxvii. p. 351.
[60] *Ibid.* xv. p. 35.
[61] *Ibid.* xxiii. p. 496.
[62] *Ibid.* xxix. p. 17.
[63] *Ibid.* xxix. p. 19.

[64] 'His best pictures were painted from about 1640 to 1660; he died in 1682.' *Wornum's Epochs of Painting*, Lond. 1847, p. 399. Voltaire (*Siècle de Louis XIV*, in *Œuvres*, vol. xix p. 205) says that he died in 1678.

[65] *Biog. Univ.* vol. xxiv. p. 327; *Works of Sir Joshua Reynolds*, vol. ii. pp. 454, 455.

[66] *Biog. Univ.* vol. xxxv. p. 579. Poussin was Barry's 'favourite' painter. *Letter from Barry*, in *Burke's Correspond.* vol. i. p. 88. Compare *Otter's Life of Clarke*, vol. ii. p. 55. Sir Joshua Reynolds (*Works*, vol. i. pp. 97, 351, 370) appears to have preferred him to any of the French school; and in the report presented to Napoleon by the Institute, he is the only

and Francis Mansart; but Perrault died in 1688,[67] Mansart in 1666;[68] and Blondel, the next in fame, died in 1686.[69] The greatest of all the sculptors was Puget, who died in 1694.[70] Lulli, the founder of French music, died in 1687.[71] Quinault, the greatest poet of French music, died in 1688.[72] Under these eminent men, the fine arts, in the reign of Louis XIV., reached their zenith; and during the last thirty years of his life, their decline was portentously rapid. This was the case, not only in architecture and music, but even in painting, which, being more subservient than they are to personal vanity, is more likely to flourish under a rich and despotic government. The genius, however, of painters fell so low, that long before the death of Louis XIV., France ceased to possess one of any merit; and when his successor came to the throne, this beautiful art was, in that great country, almost extinct.[73]

These are startling facts; not matters of opinion, which may be disputed, but stubborn dates, supported by irre-

French painter mentioned by the side of the Greek and Italian artists. *Dacier, Rapport Historique*, p. 23.

[67] *Biog. Univ.* vol. xxxiii. p. 411; *Siècle de Louis XIV*, in *Œuvres de Voltaire*, vol. xix. p. 158.

[68] *Biog. Univ.* vol. xxvi. p. 503.

[69] *Ibid.* vol. iv. p. 593.

[70] *Ibid.* vol. xxxvi. p. 300. Respecting him, see *Lady Morgan's France*, vol. ii. pp. 30, 31.

[71] M. Capefigue (*Louis XIV*, vol. ii. p. 79) says, 'Lulli mourut en 1689;' but 1687 is the date assigned in *Biog. Univ* vol. xxv. p. 425; in *Chalmers's Biog. Dict.* vol. xx. p. 483; in *Rose's Biog. Dict.* vol. ix. p. 350; and in *Monteil, Divers Etats*, vol. vii. p. 63. In *Œuvres de Voltaire*, vol. xix. p. 200, he is called 'le père de la vraie musique en France.' He was admired by Louis XIV. *Lettres de Sevigné*, vol. ii. pp. 162, 163.

[72] *Biog. Univ.* vol. xxxvi. p. 423. Voltaire (*Œuvres*, vol. xix. p. 162) says, 'personne n'a jamais égalé Quinault;' and Mr. Hallam (*Lit. of Europe*, vol. iii. p. 507), 'the unrivalled poet of French music.' See also *Lettres de Dudeffand à Walpole*, vol. ii. p. 432.

[73] 'When Louis XV. ascended the throne, painting in France was in the lowest state of degradation.' *Lady Morgan's France*, vol. ii. p. 31. Lacretelle (*Dix Huitième Siècle*, vol. ii. p. 11) says, 'Les beaux arts dégénérèrent plus sensiblement que les lettres pendant la seconde partie du siècle de Louis XIV. . . . . Il est certain que les vingt-cinq dernières années du règne de Louis XIV n'offrirent que des productions très-inférieures,' &c. Thus too Barrington (*Observations on the Statutes*, p. 377), 'It is very remarkable that the French school hath not produced any very capital painters since the expensive establishment by Louis XIV. of the academies at Rome and Paris.'

fragable testimony. And if we examine in the same manner the literature of the age of Louis XIV., we shall arrive at similar conclusions. If we ascertain the dates of those masterpieces which adorn his reign, we shall find that during the last five-and-twenty years of his life, when his patronage had been the longest in operation, it was entirely barren of results; in other words, that when the French had been most habituated to his protection, they were least able to effect great things. Louis XIV. died in 1715. Racine produced *Phèdre* in 1677; *Andromaque* in 1667; *Athelie* in 1691.[74] Molière published the *Misanthrope* in 1666; *Tartuffe* in 1667; the *Avare* in 1668.[75] The *Lutrin* of Boileau was written in 1674; his best Satires in 1666.[76] The last Fables of La Fontaine appeared in 1678, and his last Tales in 1671.[77] The *Inquiry respecting Truth*, by Malebranche, was published in 1674;[78] the *Caractères* of La Bruyère in 1687;[79] the *Maximes* of Rochefoucauld in 1665.[80] The *Provincial Letters* of Pascal where written in 1656, and he himself died in 1662.[81] As to Corneille, his great Tragedies were composed, some while Louis was still a boy, and the others before the king was born.[82] Such were the dates of the masterpieces of the age of Louis XIV. The authors of these immortal works all ceased to write, and nearly all ceased to live, before the close of the seventeenth century; and we may fairly ask the admirers of Louis XIV. who those men were that succeeded them. Where have their names been registered? Where are their works to

[74] *Biog. Univ.* vol. xxxvi. pp. 499, 502; *Hallam's Lit.* vol. iii. p. 493.
[75] *Biog. Univ.* vol. xxix. pp. 306, 308.
[76] *Rose's Biog. Dict.* vol. iv. p. 376; and *Biog. Univ.* vol. v. pp. 7, 8, where it is said that 'ses meilleures satires' were those published in 1666.
[77] *Ibid.* vol. xxiii. p. 127.
[78] *Tennemann, Gesch. der Philos.* vol. x. p. 322.
[79] *Biog. Univ.* vol. vi. p. 175.
[80] *Brunet, Manuel du Libraire*, vol. iv. p. 105, Paris, 1843; and note in *Lettres de Patin*, vol. i. p. 421.
[81] *Biog. Univ.* vol. xxxiii. pp. 64, 71; *Palissot, Mém. pour l'Hist. de Lit.* vol. ii. pp. 239, 241.
[82] *Polyeucte*, which is probably his greatest work, appeared in 1640; *Médée* in 1635; *The Cid* in 1636; *Horace* and *Cinna* both in 1639. *Biog. Univ.* vol. ix. pp. 609-613.

be found? Who is there that now reads the books of those obscure hirelings, who for so many years thronged the court of the great king? Who has heard any thing of Campistron, La Chapelle, Genest, Ducerceau, Dancourt, Danchet, Vergier, Catrou, Chaulieu, Legendre, Valincour, Lamotte, and the other ignoble compilers, who long remained the brightest ornaments of France? Was this, then, the consequence of the royal bounty? Was this the fruit of the royal patronage? If the system of reward and protection is really advantageous to literature and to art, how is it that it should have produced the meanest results when it had been the longest in operation? If the favour of kings is, as their flatterers tell us, of such importance, how comes it that the more the favour was displayed, the more the effects were contemptible?

Nor was this almost inconceivable penury compensated by superiority in any other department. The simple fact is that Louis XIV. survived the entire intellect of the French nation, except that small part of it which grew up in opposition to his principles, and afterwards shook the throne of his successor.[83] Several years before his death, and when his protective system had been in full force for nearly half a century, there was not to be found in the whole of France a statesman who could develop the resources of the country, or a general who could defend it against its enemies. Both in the civil service and in the military service, every thing had fallen into disorder. At home there was nothing but confusion; abroad there was nothing but disaster. The spirit of France succumbed, and was laid prostrate. The men of letters, pensioned and decorated by the court, had degenerated into a fawning and hypocritical race, who, to meet the wishes of their masters, opposed all improvement, and exerted themselves in support of every old abuse. The end of all this was, a

[83] Voltaire (*Siècle de Louis XIV*, in *Œuvres*, vol. xx. pp. 319-322) reluctantly confesses the decline of the French intellect in the latter part of the reign of Louis; and Flassan (*Diplomat. Franç.* vol. iv. p. 400) calls it 'remarquable.' See also *Barante, Littérature Française*, p. 28; *Sismondi, Hist. des Français*, vol. xxvi. p. 217.

corruption, a servility, and a loss of power more complete than has ever been witnessed in any of the great countries of Europe. There was no popular liberty; there were no great men; there was no science; there was no literature; there were no arts. Within, there was a discontented people, a rapacious government, and a beggared exchequer. Without, there were foreign armies, which pressed upon all the frontiers, and which nothing but their mutual jealousies, and a change in the English cabinet, prevented from dismembering the monarchy of France.[84]

Such was the forlorn position of that noble country towards the close of the reign of Louis XIV.[85] The

[84] 'Oppressed by defeats abroad, and by famine and misery at home, Louis was laid at the mercy of his enemies; and was only saved by a party revolution in the English ministry.' *Arnold's Lectures on Modern History*, p. 137. Compare *Fragments sur l'Histoire*, article xxiii. in *Œuvres de Voltaire*, vol. xxvii. p. 345, with *De Tocqueville, Règne de Louis XV*, vol. i. p. 86.

[85] For evidence of the depression and, indeed, utter exhaustion of France during the latter years of Louis XIV., compare *Duclos, Mémoires*, vol. i. pp. 11-18, with *Marmontel, Hist. de la Régence*, Paris, 1826, pp. 79-97. The *Lettres inédites de Madame de Maintenon* (vol. i. pp. 263, 284, 358, 389, 393, 408, 414, 422, 426, 447, 457, 463, vol. ii. pp. 19, 23, 33, 46, 56, and numerous other passages) fully confirm this, and, moreover, prove that in Paris, early in the eighteenth century, the resources, even of the wealthy classes, were beginning to fail; while both public and private credit were so shaken, that it was hardly possible to obtain money on any terms. In 1710, she, the wife of Louis XIV., complains of her inability to borrow 500 livres: 'Tout mon crédit échoue souvent auprès de M. Desmaretz pour une somme de cinq cents livres.' *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 33. In 1709, she writes (vol. i. p. 447): 'Le jeu devient insipide, parce qu'il n'y a presque plus d'argent.' See also vol. ii. p. 112; and in February 1711 (p. 151): 'Ce n'est pas l'abondance, mais l'avarice qui fait jouer nos courtisans; on met le tout pour le tout pour avoir quelque argent, et les tables de lansquenet ont plus l'air d'un triste commerce que d'un divertissement.'

In regard to the people generally, the French writers supply us with little information, because in that age they were too much occupied with their great king and their showy literature, to pay attention to mere popular interests. But I have collected from other sources some information which I will now put together, and which I recommend to the notice of the next French author who undertakes to compose a history of Louis XIV.

Lock, who was travelling in France in 1676 and 1677, writes in his journal, 'The rent of lands in France fallen one-half in these few years, by reason of the poverty of the people.' *King's Life of Locke*, vol. i. p. 129. About the same time, Sir William Temple says (*Works*, vol. ii. p. 268), 'The French peasantry are wholly dispirited by labour and want.' In 1691, another observer, proceeding from Calais, writes, 'From hence, travelling to Paris, there was opportunity enough to observe what a prodigious state of poverty the ambition and absoluteness of a tyrant can reduce an opulent and fertile country to. There were visible all the marks and signs of a growing

misfortunes which embittered the declining years of the king were, indeed, so serious, that they could not fail to excite our sympathy, if we did not know that they were the result of his own turbulent ambition, of his insufferable arrogance, but, above all, of a grasping and restless vanity, which, making him eager to concentrate on his single person all the glory of France, gave rise to that insidious policy, which, with gifts, with honours, and with honied words, began by gaining the admiration of the intellectual classes, then made them courtly and time-serving, and ended by destroying all their boldness, stifling every effort of original thought, and thus postponing for an indefinite period the progress of national civilization.

misfortune; all the dismal indications of an overwhelming calamity. The fields were uncultivated, the villages unpeopled, the houses dropping to decay.' *Burton's Diary*, note by Rutt, vol. iv. p. 79. In a tract published in 1689, the author says (*Somers Tracts*, vol. x. p. 264), 'I have known in France poor people sell their beds, and lie upon straw; sell their pots, kettles, and all their necessary household goods, to content the unmerciful collectors of the king's taxes.' Dr. Lister, who visited Paris in 1698, says, 'Such is the vast multitude of poor wretches in all parts of this city, that whether a person is in a carriage or on foot, in the street, or even in a shop, he is alike unable to transact business, on account of the importunities of mendicants.' *Lister's Account of Paris*, p. 46. Compare a *Letter from Prior*, in *Ellis's Letters of Literary Men*, p. 213. In 1708, Addison, who, from personal observation, was well acquainted with France, writes: 'We think here as you do in the country, that France is on her last legs.' *Aikin's Life of Addison*, vol. i. p. 233. Finally, in 1718—that is, three years after the death of Louis—Lady Mary Montagu gives the following account of the result of his reign, in a letter to Lady Rich, dated Paris, 10th October, 1718: 'I think nothing so terrible as objects of misery, except one had the god-like attribute of being able to redress them; and all the country villages of France show nothing else. While the post-horses are changed, the whole town comes out to beg, with such miserable starved faces, and thin, tattered clothes, they need no other eloquence to persuade one of the wretchedness of their condition.' *Works of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu*, vol. iii. p. 74, edit. 1803.

CHAPTER XII.

DEATH OF LOUIS XIV. REACTION AGAINST THE PROTECTIVE SPIRIT, AND PREPARATIONS FOR THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

AT length Louis XIV. died. When it was positively known that the old king had ceased to breathe, the people went almost mad with joy.[1] The tyranny which had weighed them down was removed; and there at once followed a reaction which, for sudden violence, has no parallel in modern history.[2] The great majority indemnified themselves for their forced hypocrisy by indulging in the grossest licentiousness. But among the generation then forming, there were some high-spirited youths, who had far higher views, and whose notions of liberty were not confined to the license of the gaming-house and the brothel. Devoted to the great idea of restoring to France that freedom of utterance which it had lost, they naturally turned their eyes towards the only country where the freedom was practised. Their determination to search for liberty in the place where alone it could be found, gave rise to that junction of the French and English intellects which, looking at the immense chain of its effects, is by

[1] 'L'annonce de la mort du grand roi ne produisit chez le peuple français qu'une explosion de joie.' *Sismondi, Hist. des Français,* vol. xxvii. p. 220. 'Le jour des obsèques de Louis XIV, on établit des guinguettes sur le chemin de Saint-Denis. Voltaire, que la curiosité avoit mené aux funérailles du souverain, vit dans ces guinguettes le peuple ivre de vin et de joie de la mort de Louis XIV.' *Duvernet, Vie de Voltaire,* p. 29: see also *Condorcet, Vie de Voltaire,* p. 118; *De Tocqueville, Règne de Louis XV,* vol. i. p. 18; *Duclos, Mémoires,* vol. i. p. 221; *Lemontey, Etablissement de Louis XIV,* pp. 311, 388.

[2] 'Kaum hatte er aber die Augen geschlossen, als alles umschlug. Der reprimirte Geist warf sich in eine zügellose Bewegung.' *Ranke, die Päpste,* vol. iii. p. 192.

far the most important fact in the history of the eighteenth century.

During the reign of Louis XIV., the French, puffed up by national vanity, despised the barbarism of a people who were so uncivilized as to be always turning on their rulers, and who, within the space of forty years, had executed one king, and deposed another.[3] They could not believe that such a restless horde possessed any thing worthy the attention of enlightened men. Our laws, our literature, and our manners, were perfectly unknown to them; and I doubt if at the end of the seventeenth century there were, either in literature or in science, five persons in France acquainted with the English language.[4] But a long ex-

[3] The shock which these events gave to the delicacy of the French mind was very serious. The learned Saumaise declared that the English are 'more savage than their own mastiffs.' *Carlyle's Cromwell*, vol. i. p. 444. Another writer said that we were 'barbares révoltés;' and 'les barbares sujets du roi.' *Mém. de Motteville*, vol. ii. pp. 105, 362. Patin likened us to the Turks; and said, that having executed one king, we should probably hang the next. *Lettres de Patin*, vol. i. p. 261, vol. ii. p. 518, vol. iii. p. 148. Compare *Mém. de Campion*, p. 213. After we had sent away James II., the indignation of the French rose still higher, and even the amiable Madame Sevigné, having occasion to mention Mary the wife of William III., could find no better name for her than Tullia: 'la joie est universelle de la déroute de ce prince, dont la femme est une Tullie.' *Lettres de Sevigné*, vol. v. p. 179. Another influential French lady mentions 'la férocité des Anglais.' *Lettres inédites de Maintenon*, vol. i. p. 303; and elsewhere (p. 109), 'je hais les Anglais comme le peuple. . . . . Véritablement je ne les puis souffrir.'

I will only give two more illustrations of the wide diffusion of such feelings. In 1679, an attempt was made to bring bark into discredit as a 'remède anglais' (*Sprengel, Hist. de la Médecine*, vol. v. p. 430): and at the end of the seventeenth century, one of the arguments in Paris against coffee was that the English liked it. *Monteil, Divers Etats*, vol. vii. p. 216.

[4] 'Au temps de Boileau, personne en France n'apprenait l'Anglais.' *Œuvres de Voltaire*, vol. xxxviii. p. 337, and see vol. xix. p. 159. 'Parmi nos grands écrivains du xvii[e] siècle, il n'en est aucun, je crois, où l'on puisse reconnaître un souvenir, une impression de l'esprit anglais.' *Villemain, Lit. au XVIII[e] Siècle*, vol. iii. p. 324. Compare *Barante, XVIII[e] Siècle*, p. 47, and *Grimm, Correspond.* vol. v. p. 135, vol. xvii. p. 2.

The French, during the reign of Louis XIV., principally knew us from the accounts given by two of their countrymen, Monconys and Sorbière; both of whom published their travels in England, but neither of whom were acquainted with the English language. For proof of this, see *Monconys, Voyages*, vol. iii. pp. 34, 69, 70, 96; and *Sorbière, Voyage*, pp. 45, 70.

When Prior arrived at the court of Louis XIV. as plenipotentiary, no one in Paris was aware that he had written poetry (*Lettres sur les Anglais*, in *Œuvres de Voltaire*, vol. xxvi. p. 130); and when Addison, being in Paris, presented Boileau with a copy of the *Musæ Anglicanæ*, the Frenchman learnt for the first time that we had any good poets: 'first conceived an

perience of the reign of Louis XIV. induced the French to reconsider many of their opinions. It induced them to suspect that despotism may have its disadvantages, and that a government composed of princes and bishops is not necessarily the best for a civilized country. They began to look, first with complacency, and then with respect, upon that strange and outlandish people, who, though only separated from themselves by a narrow sea, appeared to be of an altogether different kind; and who, having punished their oppressors, had carried their liberties and their prosperity to a height of which the world had seen no example. These feelings, which, before the Revolution broke out, were entertained by the whole of the educated classes in France, were, in the beginning, confined to those men whose intellects placed them at the head of their age. During the two generations which elapsed between the death of Louis XIV. and the outbreak of the Revolution, there was hardly a Frenchman of eminence who did not either visit England or learn English; while many of them did both. Buffon, Brissot, Broussonnet, Condamine, Delisle, Elie de Beaumont, Gournay, Helvétius, Jussieu, Lalande, Lafayette, Larcher, L'Héritier, Montesquieu, Maupertuis, Morellet, Mirabeau, Nollet, Raynal, the celebrated Roland, and his still more celebrated wife, Rousseau, Ségur, Suard, Voltaire,—all these remarkable persons flocked to London, as also did others of inferior ability, but of considerable influence, such as Brequiny, Bordes, Calonne, Coyer, Cormatin, Dufay, Dumarest, Dezallier, Favier, Girod, Grosley, Godin, D'Hancarville, Hunauld, Jars, Le Blanc, Ledru, Lescallier, Linguet, Lesuire, Lemonnier, Levesque de Pouilly, Montgolfier, Morand, Patu, Poissonier, Reveillon, Septchènes, Silhouette, Siret, Soulavie, Soulès, and Valmont de Brienne.

opinion of the English genius for poetry.' Tickell's statement, in *Aikin's Life of Addison*, vol. i. p. 65. Finally, it is said that Milton's *Paradise Lost* was not even known by report in France until after the death of Louis XIV., though the poem was published in 1667, and the king died in 1715: 'Nous n'avions jamais entendu parler de ce poëme en France, avant que l'auteur de la Henriade nous en eût donné une idée dans le neuvième chapitre de son Essai sur la poésie épique.' *Dict. Philos.* article *Epopée*, in *Œuvres de Voltaire*, vol. xxxix. p. 175: see also vol. lxvi. p. 249.

Nearly all of these carefully studied our language, and most of them seized the spirit of our literature. Voltaire, in particular, devoted himself with his usual ardour to the new pursuit, and acquired in England a knowledge of those doctrines, the promulgation of which afterwards won for him so great a reputation.[5] He was the first who popularized in France the philosophy of Newton, where it rapidly superseded that of Descartes.[6] He recommended to his countrymen the writings of Locke;[7] which soon gained immense popularity, and which supplied materials to Condillac for his system of metaphysics,[8] and to Rousseau for his theory of education.[9] Besides this, Voltaire was the first Frenchman who studied Shakespeare; to whose works he was greatly indebted, though he afterwards wished to lessen what he considered the exorbitant respect paid to them in France.[10] Indeed, so intimate was his knowledge of the English language,[11] that we can trace his obligations

[5] 'Le vrai roi du xviii[e] siècle, c'est Voltaire; mais Voltaire à son tour est un écolier de l'Angleterre. Avant que Voltaire eût connu l'Angleterre, soit par ses voyages, soit par ses amitiés, il n'était pas Voltaire, et le xviii[e] siècle se cherchait encore.' *Cousin, Hist. de la Philos.* I. série, vol. iii. pp. 38, 39. Compare *Damiron, Hist. de la Philos. en France,* Paris, 1828, vol. i. p. 34.

[6] 'J'avais été le premier qui eût osé développer à ma nation les découvertes de Newton, en langage intelligible.' *Œuvres de Voltaire,* vol. i. p. 315; see also vol. xix. p. 87, vol. xxvi. p. 71; *Whewell's Hist. of Induc. Sciences,* vol. ii. p. 206; *Weld's Hist. of the Royal Society,* vol. i. p. 441. After this, the Cartesian physics lost ground every day; and in *Grimm's Correspondence,* vol. ii. p. 148, there is a letter, dated Paris, 1757, which says, 'Il n'y a guère plus ici de partisans de Descartes que M. de Mairan.' Compare *Observations et Pensées,* in *Œuvres de Turgot,* vol. iii. p. 298.

[7] Which he was never weary of praising; so that, as M. Cousin says (*Hist. de la Philos.* II. série, vol. ii. pp. 311, 312), 'Locke est le vrai maître de Voltaire.' Locke was one of the authors he put into the hands of Madame du Châtelet. *Condorcet, Vie de Voltaire,* p. 296.

[8] *Morell's Hist. of Philos.* 1846, vol. i. p. 134; *Hamilton's Discuss.* p. 3.

[9] 'Rousseau tira des ouvrages de Locke une grande partie de ses idées sur la politique et l'éducation; Condillac toute sa philosophie.' *Villemain, Lit. au XVIII[e] Siècle,* vol. i. p. 83. See also, on the obligations of Rousseau to Locke, *Grimm, Correspond.* vol. v. p. 97; *Musset Pathay, Vie de Rousseau,* vol. i. p. 38, vol. ii. p. 394; *Mém. de Morellet,* vol. i. p. 113; *Romilly's Memoirs,* vol. i. pp. 211, 212.

[10] In 1768, Voltaire (*Œuvres,* vol. lxvi. p. 249) writes to Horace Walpole, 'Je suis le premier qui ait fait connaître Shakespeare aux Français.' See also his *Lettres inédites,* vol. ii. p. 500; *Villemain, Lit. au XVIII[e] Siècle,* vol. iii. p. 325; and *Grimm, Correspond.* vol. xii. pp. 124, 125, 133.

[11] There are extant many English letters written by Voltaire, which,

to Butler,[12] one of the most difficult of our poets, and to Tillotson,[13] one of the dullest of our theologians. He was acquainted with the speculations of Berkeley,[14] the most subtle metaphysician who has ever written in English; and he had read the works, not only of Shaftesbury,[15] but even of Chubb,[16] Garth,[17] Mandeville,[18] and Woolston.[19] Montesquieu imbibed in our country many of his principles; he studied our language; and he always expressed admiration for England, not only in his writings, but also in his private conversation.[20] Buffon learnt English, and his first appearance as an author was as the translator of Newton and of Hales.[21] Diderot, following in the same course, was an enthusiastic admirer of the novels of Richardson;[22] he took the idea of several of his plays from the English dramatists, particularly from Lillo; he borrowed many of his arguments from Shaftesbury and Collins, and his earliest publication was a translation of Stanyan's *History of Greece*.[23] Helvétius, who visited London, was

though of course containing several errors, also contain abundant evidence of the spirit with which he seized our idiomatic expressions. In addition to his *Lettres inédites*, published at Paris in the present year (1856), see *Chatham Correspond.* vol. ii. pp. 131-133; and *Phillimore's Mem. of Lyttelton*, vol. i. pp. 323-325, vol. ii. pp. 555, 556, 558.

[12] *Grimm, Correspond.* vol. i. p. 332; *Voltaire, Lettres inédites*, vol. ii. p. 258; and the account of Hudibras, with translations from it, in *Œuvres*, vol. xxvi. pp. 132-137; also a conversation between Voltaire and Townley, in *Nichols's Illustrations of the Eighteenth Century*, vol. iii. p. 722.

[13] Compare *Mackintosh's Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 341, with *Œuvres de Voltaire*, vol. xxxix. p. 259, vol. xlvii. p. 85.

[14] *Œuvres de Voltaire*, vol. xxxviii. pp. 216-218, vol. xlvi. p. 282, vol. xlvii. p. 439, vol. lvii. p. 178.

[15] *Ibid.* vol. xxxvii. p. 353, vol. lvii. p. 66; *Correspond. inédite de Dudeffand*, vol. ii. p. 230.

[16] *Œuvres*, vol. xxxiv. p. 294, vol. lvii. p. 121.

[17] *Ibid.* vol. xxxvii. pp. 407, 441. [11] *Ibid.* vol. xxxvi. p. 46.

[19] *Ibid.* vol. xxxiv. p. 288, vol. xli. pp. 212-217; *Biog. Univ.* vol. li. pp. 199, 200.

[20] *Lerminier, Philos. du Droit*, vol. i. p. 221; *Klimrath, Hist. du Droit*, vol. ii. p. 502; *Harris's Life of Hardwicke*, vol. ii. p. 398, vol. iii. pp. 432-434; *Mém. de Diderot*, vol. ii. pp. 193, 194; *Lacretelle, XVIII^e Siècle*, vol. ii. p. 24.

[21] *Villemain, Lit. au XVIII^e Siècle*, vol. ii. p. 182; *Biog. Univ.* vol. vi. p. 235: *Le Blanc, Lettres*, vol. i. p. 93, vol. ii. pp. 159, 160.

[22] 'Admirateur passionné du romancier anglais.' *Biog. Univ.* vol. xxxvii. p. 581. Compare *Diderot, Corresp.* vol. i. p. 352, vol. ii. pp. 44, 52, 53; *Mercier sur Rousseau*, vol. i. p. 44.

[23] *Villemain, Lit.* vol. ii. p. 115; *Schlosser's Eighteenth Century*, vol. i.

never weary of praising the people; many of the views in his great work on the Mind are drawn from Mandeville; and he constantly refers to the authority of Locke, whose principles hardly any Frenchman would at an earlier period have dared to recommend.[24] The works of Bacon, previously little known, were now translated into French; and his classification of the human faculties was made the basis of that celebrated Encyclopædia, which is justly regarded as one of the greatest productions of the eighteenth century.[25] The *Theory of Moral Sentiments*, by Adam Smith, was during thirty-four years translated three different times, by three different French authors.[26] And such was the general eagerness, that directly the *Wealth of Nations*, by the same great writer, appeared, Morellet, who was then high in reputation, began to turn it into French; and was only prevented from printing his translation by the circumstance, that before it could be completed, another version of it was published in a French periodical.[27] Coyer, who is still remembered for his Life of Sobieski, visited England; and after returning to his own country, showed the direction of his studies by rendering into French the Commentaries of Blackstone.[28] Le Blanc travelled in England, wrote a work expressly upon the English, and translated into French the Political Discourses of Hume.[29] Holbach was certainly one of the

pp. 34, 42; *Tennemann, Gesch. de Philos.* vol. xi. p. 314; *Biog. Univ.* vol. xi. p. 314; *Grimm, Correspond.* vol. xv. p. 81. Stanyan's *History of Greece* was once famous, and, even so late as 1804, I find Dr. Parr recommending it. *Parr's Works*, vol. viii. p. 422. Diderot told Sir Samuel Romilly that he had collected materials for a history of the trial of Charles I. *Life of Romilly*, vol. i. p. 46.

[24] *Diderot, Mém.* vol. ii. p. 286; *Cousin, Hist. de la Philos.* II. série, vol. ii. p. 331; *Helvétius de l'Esprit*, vol. i. pp. 31, 38, 46, 65, 114, 169, 193, 266, 268, vol. ii. pp. 144, 163, 165, 195, 212; *Letters addressed to Hume*, Edinb. 1849, pp. 9, 10.

[25] This is the arrangement of our knowledge under the heads of Memory, Reason, and Imagination, which D'Alembert took from Bacon. Compare *Whewell's Philos. of the Sciences*, vol. ii. p. 306; *Cuvier, Hist. des Sciences*, part ii. p. 276; *Georgel, Mém.* vol. ii. p. 241; *Bordas Demoulin, Cartésianisme*, vol. i. p. 18.

[26] *Quérard, France Lit.* ix. 193.

[27] *Mém. de Morellet*, i. 236, 237.

[28] *Œuvres de Voltaire*, lxv. 161, 190, 212; *Biog. Univ.* x. 158, 159.

[29] *Burton's Life of Hume*, vol. i. pp. 365, 366, 406.

most active leaders of the liberal party in Paris; but a large part of his very numerous writings consists solely in translations of English authors.[30] Indeed, it may be broadly stated, that while, at the end of the seventeenth century, it would have been difficult to find, even among the most educated Frenchmen, a single person acquainted with English, it would, in the eighteenth century, have been nearly as difficult to find in the same class one who was ignorant of it. Men of all tastes, and of the most opposite pursuits, were on this point united as by a common bond. Poets, geometricians, historians, naturalists, all seemed to agree as to the necessity of studying a literature on which no one before had wasted a thought. In the course of general reading, I have met with proofs that the English language was known, not only to those eminent Frenchmen whom I have already mentioned, but also to mathematicians, as D'Alembert,[31] Darquier,[32] Du Val le Roy,[33] Jurain,[34] Lachapelle,[35] Lalande,[36] Le Cozic,[37] Montucla,[38] Pezenas,[39] Prony,[40] Romme,[41] and Roger Martin;[42] to anatomists, physiologists, and writers on medicine, as Barthèz,[43] Bichat,[44] Bordeu,[45] Barbeu Dubourg,[46] Bosquillon,[47] Bourru,[48] Begue de Presle,[49] Cabanis,[50] Demours,[51] Duplanil,[52] Fouquet,[53] Goulin,[54] Lavirotte,[55] Lassus,[56] Petit

[30] See the list, in *Biog. Univ.* vol. xx. pp. 463-466; and compare *Mém. de Diderot*, vol. iii. p. 49, from which it seems that Holbach was indebted to Toland, though Diderot speaks rather doubtingly. In *Almon's Mém. of Wilkes*, 1805, vol. iv. pp. 176, 177, there is an English letter, tolerably well written, from Holbach to Wilkes.

[31] *Musset Pathay, Vie de Rousseau*, ii. 10, 175; *Œuvres de Voltaire*, liv. 207.

[32] *Biog. Univ.* x. 556.

[33] *Ibid.* xii. 418.

[34] *Quérard, France Lit.* iv. 34, 272.

[35] *Ibid.* iv. 361.

[36] *Biog. Univ.* xxiii. 226.

[37] *Montucla, Hist. des Mathém.* ii. 170.

[38] *Montucla*, ii. 120, iv. 662, 665, 670.

[39] *Biog. Univ.* iii. 253, xxxiii. 504.

[40] *Quérard, France Lit.* vii. 353.

[41] *Biog. Univ.* xxxviii. 530.

[42] *Biog. Univ.* xxxviii. 411.

[43] *Ibid.* iii. 450.

[44] *Bichat sur la Vie*, 244.

[45] *Quérard*, i. 416.

[46] *Biog. Univ.* iii. 345.

[47] *Quérard*, i. 260, 425, ii. 354.

[48] *Quérard*, i. 476.

[49] *Biog. Univ.* iv. 55, 56.

[50] *Notice sur Cabanis*, p. viii. in his *Physique et Moral.*

[51] *Biog. Univ.* xi. 65, 66.

[52] *Ibid.* xii. 276.

[53] *Ibid.* xv. 359.

[54] *Ibid.* xviii. 187.

[55] *Quérard*, iv. 641, vi. 9, 398.

[56] *Cuvier, Eloges*, i. 354.

Radel,[57] Pinel,[58] Roux,[59] Sauvages,[60] and Sue;[61] to naturalists, as Alyon,[62] Brémond,[63] Brisson,[64] Broussonnet,[65] Dalibard,[66] Haüy,[67] Latapie,[68] Richard,[69] Rigaud,[70] and Romé de Lisle;[71] to historians, philologists, and antiquaries, as Barthélemy,[72] Butel Dumont,[73] De Brosses,[74] Foucher,[75] Freret,[76] Larcher,[77] Le Coq de Villeray,[78] Millot,[79] Targe,[80] Velly,[81] Volney,[82] and Wailly;[83] to poets and dramatists, as Chéron,[84] Colardeau,[85] Delille,[86] Desforges,[87] Ducis,[88] Florian,[89] Laborde,[90] Lefèvre de Beauvray,[91] Mercier,[92] Patu,[93] Pompignan,[94] Quétant,[95] Roucher,[96] and Saint-Ange;[97] to miscellaneous writers, as Bassinet,[98] Baudeau,[99] Beaulaton,[100] Benoist,[101] Bergier,[102] Blavet,[103] Bouchaud,[104] Bougainville,[105] Bruté,[106] Castera,[107] Chantreau,[108] Charpentier,[109] Chastellux,[110] Contant d'Orville,[111] De Bissy,[112]

57 *Quérard*, vii. 95.

58 *Cuvier, Eloges*, iii. 382.

59 *Biog. Univ.* xxxix. 174.

60 *Le Blanc, Lettres*, i. 93.

61 *Quérard*, ix. 286.

62 *Robin et Verdeil, Chim. Anat.* ii. 416.

63 *Biog. Univ.* v. 530, 531.

64 *Cuvier, Eloges*, i. 196.

65 *Biog. Univ.* vi. 47.

66 *Quérard*. ii. 372.

67 *Haüy, Minéralogie*, ii. 247, 267, 295, 327, 529, 609, iii. 75, 293, 307, 447, 575, iv. 45, 280, 292, 362.

68 *Quérard*, iv. 598.

69 *Ibid.* viii. 22.

70 *Swainson, Disc. on Nat. Hist.* 52; *Cuvier, Règne Animal*, iii. 415

71 *De Lisle, Cristallographie*, 1772, xviii. xx. xxiii. xxv. xxvii. 78, 206, 254.

72 *Albemarle's Rockingham*, ii. 156; *Campbell's Chancellors*, v. 365.

73 *Biog. Univ.* vi. 386.

74 *Letters to Hume*, Edin. 1849, 276, 278.

75 *Biog. Univ.* xv. 332.

76 *Brewster's Life of Newton*, ii. 302.

77 *Palissot, Mém.* ii. 56.

78 *Biog. Univ.* ix. 549.

79 *Biog. Univ.* xxix. 51, 53.

80 *Ibid.* xliv. 534.

81 *Ibid.* xlviii. 93.

82 *Volney, Syrie et Egypte*, ii. 100, 157; *Quérard*, x. 271, 273.

83 *Biog. Univ.* l. 42.

84 *Ibid.* viii. 340, 341.

85 *Mém. de Genlis*, i. 276.

86 *Palissot, Mém.* i. 243.

87 *Biog. Univ.* xi. 281, xi. 172, 173.

88 *Quérard*, ii. 626, 627.

89 *Quérard*, iii. 141.

90 *Ibid.* iv. 342.

91 *Ibid.* v. 83.

92 *Ibid.* vi. 62.

93 *Garrick Correspond.* 4to, 1832, ii. 385, 395, 416.

94 *Biog. Univ.* xxxv. 314.

95 *Quérard*, vii. 399.

96 *Biog. Univ.* xxxix. 93.

97 *Ibid.* xxxix. 530.

98 *Quérard*, i. 209.

99 *Biog. Univ.* iii. 533.

100 *Biog. Univ.* iii. 631.

101 *Cuvier, Règne Animal*, iii. 334.

102 *Quérard*, i. 284, vii. 287.

103 *Mém. de Morellet*, i. 237.

104 *Biog. Univ* v. 264.

105 *Dutens, Mém.* iii. 32.

106 *Biog. Univ.* vi. 165.

107 *Murray's Life of Bruce*, 121; *Biog. Univ.* vi. 79.

108 *Biog. Univ.* viii. 46.

109 *Ibid.* viii. 246.

110 *Ibid.* viii. 266.

111 *Ibid.* ix. 497.

112 *Ibid.* xlv. 394.

Demeunier,[113] Desfontaines,[114] Devienne,[115] Dubocage,[116] Dupré,[117] Duresnel,[118] Eidous,[119] Estienne,[120] Favier,[121] Flavigny,[122] Fontanelle,[123] Fontenay,[124] Framery,[125] Fresnais,[126] Fréville,[127] Frossard,[128] Galtier,[129] Garsault,[130] Goddard,[131] Goudar,[132] Guénée,[133] Guillemard,[134] Guyard,[135] Jault,[136] Imbert,[137] Joncourt,[138] Kéralio,[139] Laboreau,[140] Lacombe,[141] Lafargue,[142] La Montagne,[143] Lanjuinais,[144] Lasalle,[145] Lasteyrie,[146] Le Breton,[147] Lécuy,[148] Léonard des Malpeines,[149] Letourneur,[150] Linguet,[151] Lottin,[152] Luneau,[153] Maillet Duclairon,[154] Mandrillon,[155] Marsy,[156] Moet,[157] Monod,[158] Mosneron,[159] Nagot,[160] Peyron,[161] Prévost,[162] Puisieux,[163] Rivoire,[164] Robinet,[165] Roger,[166] Roubaud,[167] Salaville,[168] Sauseuil'[169] Secondat,[170] Septchènes,[171] Simon,[172] Soulès,[173] Suard,[174] Tannevot,[175]

113 *Lettres de Dudeffand à Walpole*, iii. 184.
114 *Œuvres de Voltaire*, lvi. 527.
115 *Biog. Univ.* xi. 264.
116 *Quérard*, ii. 598.
117 *Biog. Univ.* xii. 313, 314.
118 *Nichols's Lit. Anec.* ii. 154; *Palissot, Mém.* ii. 311.
119 *Biog. Univ.* iv. 547, xii. 595.
120 *Ibid.* xiii. 399.
121 *Quérard*, iii. 79.
122 *Biog. Univ.* xv. 29.
123 *Biog. Univ.* xv. 203.
124 *Ibid.* 218.
125 *Quérard*, i. 525.
126 *Biog. Univ.* xvi. 48.
127 *Ibid.* li. 508.
128 *Smith's Tour on the Continent in* 1786, i. 143.
129 *Biog. Univ.* xvi. 388.
130 *Ibid.* xvi. 502.
131 *Sinclair's Correspond.* i. 157.
132 *Quérard*, iii. 418.
133 *Biog. Univ.* xix. 13.
134 *Quérard*, i. 10, iii. 536.
135 *Quérard*, iii. 469.
136 *Biog. Univ.* xxi. 419.
137 *Biog. Univ.* xxi. 200.
138 *Œuvres de Voltaire*, xxxviii. 244.
139 *Palissot, Mém.* i. 425.
140 *Biog. Univ.* xxiii. 34.
141 *Biog. Univ.* xxiii. 56.
142 *Ibid.* xxiii. 111.
143 *Quérard*, iv. 503.
144 *Biog. Univ.* xxiii. 373.
145 *Quérard*, iv. 579.
146 *Sinclair's Correspond.* ii. 139.
147 *Mem. and Correspond. of Sir J. E. Smith*, i. 163.
148 *Biog. des Hommes Vivants*, iv. 164.
149 *Quérard*, v. 177.
150 *Nichols's Lit. Anec.* iv. 583; *Longchamp et Wagnière, Mém.* i. 395.
151 *Quérard*, v. 316.
152 *Biog. Univ.* xxv. 87.
153 *Biog. Univ.* xxv. 432.
154 *Ibid.* xxvi. 244.
155 *Ibid.* xxvi. 468.
156 *Ibid.* xxvii. 269.
157 *Ibid.* xxix. 208.
158 *Lettres de Dudeffand à Walpole*, i. 222.
159 *Quérard*, vi. 330.
160 *Biog. Univ.* xxx. 539.
161 *Ibid.* xxxiii. 553.
162 *Lettres de Dudeffand à Walpole*, i. 22, iii. 307, iv. 207.
163 *Biog. Univ.* xxxvi. 305, 306.
164 *Ibid.* xxxviii. 174.
165 *Peignot, Dict. des Livres*, ii. 233.
166 *Quérard*, viii. 111.
167 *Biog. Univ.* xxxix. 84.
168 *Biog. des Hommes Vivants*, v. 294.
169 *Quérard*, viii. 474.
170 *Biog. Univ.* xli. 426.
171 *Biog. Univ.* xlii. 45, 46.
172 *Ibid.* xlii. 389.
173 *Ibid.* xliii. 181.
174 *Garrick Correspond.* ii. 604; *Mém. de Genlis*, vi. 205.
175 *Biog. Univ.* xliv. 512.

Thurot,[176] Toussaint,[177] Tressan,[178] Trochereau,[179] Turpin,[180] Ussieux,[181] Vaugeois,[182] Verlac,[183] and Virloys.[184] Indeed, Le Blanc, who wrote shortly before the middle of the eighteenth century, says: 'We have placed English in the rank of the learned languages; our women study it, and have abandoned Italian in order to study the language of this philosophic people; nor is there to be found among us any one who does not desire to learn it.'[185]

Such was the eagerness with which the French imbibed the literature of a people whom but a few years before they had heartily despised. The truth is, that in this new state of things they had no alternative. For, where but in England was a literature to be found that could satisfy those bold and inquisitive thinkers who arose in France after the death of Louis XIV.? In their own country there had no doubt been great displays of eloquence, of fine dramas, and of poetry, which, though never reaching the highest point of excellence, is of finished and admirable beauty. But it is an unquestionable fact, and one melancholy to contemplate, that during the sixty years which succeeded the death of Descartes, France had not possessed a single man who dared to think for himself. Metaphysicians, moralists, historians, all had become tainted by the servility of that bad age. During two generations, no Frenchman had been allowed to discuss with freedom any question either of politics or of religion. The consequence was, that the largest intellects, excluded from their legitimate field, lost their energy; the national spirit died away; the very materials and nutriment of thought seemed to be wanting. No wonder, then, if the great Frenchmen of the eighteenth century

176 *Life of Roscoe, by his Son,* i. 200.

177 *Biog. Univ.* xlvi. 398, 399.

178 *Ibid.* xlvi. 497.

179 *Quérard,* iv. 45, ix. 558.

180 *Biog. Univ.* xlvii. 98.

181 *Biog. Univ.* xlvii. 232.

182 *Mém. de Brissot,* i. 78.

183 *Biog. Univ.* xlviii. 217, 218.

184 *Ibid.* xlix. 223.

185 'Nous avons mis depuis peu leur langue au rang des langues savantes; les femmes même l'apprennent, et ont renoncé à l'Italien pour étudier celle de ce peuple philosophe. Il n'est point dans la province d'Armande et de Belise qui ne veuille savoir l'Anglois.' *Le Blanc, Lettres,* vol. ii. p. 465. Compare *Grimm, Corresp.* vol. xiv. p. 484; and *Nichols's Lit. Anec.* vol. iii. pp. 460, 461.

sought that aliment abroad which they were unable to find at home. No wonder if they turned from their own land, and gazed with admiration at the only people who, pushing their inquiries into the highest departments, had shown the same fearlessness in politics as in religion; a people who, having punished their kings and controlled their clergy, were storing the treasures of their experience in that noble literature which never can perish, and of which it may be said in sober truth, that it has stimulated the intellect of the most distant races, and that, planted in America and in India, it has already fertilized the two extremities of the world.

There are, in fact, few things in history so instructive as the extent to which France was influenced by this new pursuit. Even those who took part in actually consummating the Revolution, were moved by the prevailing spirit. The English language was familiar to Carra,[186] Dumouriez,[187] Lafayette,[188] and Lanthénas.[189] Camille Desmoulins had cultivated his mind from the same source.[190] Marat travelled in Scotland as well as in England, and was so profoundly versed in our language, that he wrote two works in it; one of which, called *The Chains of Slavery*, was afterwards translated into French.[191] Mirabeau is declared by a high authority to have owed part of his power to a careful study of the English constitution;[192] he translated not only Watson's *History of*

[186] *Williams's Letters from France*, vol. iii. p. 68, 2nd edit. 1796; *Biog. Univ.* vol. vii. p. 192.

[187] *Adolphus's Biog. Mem.* 1799, vol. i. p. 352.

[188] *Lady Morgan's France*, vol. ii. p. 304; *Mém. de Lafayette*, vol. i. pp. 41, 49, 70, vol. ii. pp. 26, 74, 83, 89.

[189] *Quérard, France Littéraire*, vol. iv. p. 540.

[190] The last authors he read, shortly before his execution, were Young and Hervey. *Lamartine, Hist. des Girondins*, vol. viii. p. 45. In 1769 Madame Riccoboni writes from Paris, that Young's *Night Thoughts* had become very popular there; and she justly adds, 'c'est une preuve sans réplique du changement de l'esprit français.' *Garrick Correspondence*, vol. ii. p. 566, 4to, 1832.

[191] *Lamartine, Hist. des Girondins*, vol. iv. p. 119; *Mém. de Brissot*, vol. i. pp. 336, 337, vol. ii. p. 3.

[192] 'Une des supériorités secondaires, une des supériorités d'étude qui appartenaient à Mirabeau, c'était la profonde connaissance, la vive intelligence de la constitution anglaise, de ses ressorts publics et de ses ressorts cachés.' *Villemain, Lit. au XVIIIe Siècle*, vol. iv. p. 153.

Philip II., but also some parts of Milton;[193] and it is said that when he was in the National Assembly, he delivered, as his own, passages from the speeches of Burke.[194] Mounier was well acquainted with our language, and with our political institutions both in theory and in practice;[195] and in a work, which exercised considerable influence, he proposed for his own country the establishment of two chambers, to form that balance of power of which England supplied the example.[196] The same idea, derived from the same source, was advocated by Le Brun, who was a friend of Mounier's, and who, like him, had paid attention to the literature and government of the English people.[197] Brissot knew English; he had studied in London the working of the English institutions, and he himself mentions that, in his treatise on criminal law, he was mainly guided by the course of English legislation.[198] Condorcet also proposed as a model our system of criminal jurisprudence,[199] which, bad as it was, certainly surpassed that possessed by France. Madame Roland, whose position, as well as ability, made her one of the leaders of the democratic party, was an ardent student of the language and literature of the English people.[200] She too, moved by the universal curiosity, came to our country; and, as if to show that persons of every shade and of every rank were actuated by the same spirit, the Duke of Orleans likewise visited England; nor did his visit fail

[193] Particularly the democratic passages, 'un corps de doctrine de tous ses écrits républicains.' *Dumont, Souvenirs sur Mirabeau*, p. 119. As to his translation of Watson, see *Alison's Europe*, vol. i. p. 452. He also intended to translate Sinclair's History of the Revenue. *Correspond. of Sir J. Sinclair*, vol. ii. p. 119.

[194] *Prior's Life of Burke*, p. 546, 3rd edit. 1839.

[195] 'Il étudiait leur langue, la théorie et plus encore la pratique de leur institutions.' *Biog. Univ.* vol. xxx. p. 310.

[196] *Continuation de Sismondi, Hist. des Français*, vol. xxx. p. 434. Montlosier (*Monarchie Française*, vol. ii. p. 340) says that this idea was borrowed from England; but he does not mention who suggested it.

[197] *Du Mesnil, Mém. sur Le Brun*, pp. 10, 14, 29, 82, 180, 182.

[198] *Mém. de Brissot*, vol. i. pp. 63, 64, vol. ii. pp. 25, 40, 188, 206, 260, 313.

[199] Dupont de Nemours (*Mém. sur Turgot*, p. 117) says of criminal jurisprudence, 'M. de Condorcet proposait en modèle celle des Anglais.'

[200] *Mém. de Roland*, vol. i. pp. 27, 55, 89, 136, vol. ii. pp. 99, 135, 253.

to produce its natural results. 'It was,' says a celebrated writer, 'in the society of London that he acquired a taste for liberty; and it was on his return from there that he brought into France a love of popular agitation, a contempt for his own rank, and a familiarity with those beneath him.'[201]

This language, strong as it is, will not appear exaggerated to any one who has carefully studied the history of the eighteenth century. It is no doubt certain, that the French Revolution was essentially a reaction against that protective and interfering spirit which reached its zenith under Louis XIV., but which, centuries before his reign, had exercised a most injurious influence over the national prosperity. While, however, this must be fully conceded, it is equally certain that the impetus to which the reaction owed its strength, proceeded from England; and that it was English literature which taught the lessons of political liberty, first to France, and through France to the rest of Europe.[202] On this account, and not at all from mere literary curiosity, I have traced with some minuteness that union between the French and English minds, which, though often noticed, has never been examined with the care its importance deserves. The circumstances which reinforced this vast movement will be related towards the end of the volume; at present I will confine myself to its first great consequence, namely, the establishment of a complete schism between the literary men of France, and the classes who exclusively governed the country.

Those eminent Frenchmen who now turned their attention to England, found in its literature, in the structure of its society, and in its government, many peculiarities

[201] 'Le duc d'Orléans puisa ainsi le goût de la liberté dans la vie de Londres. Il en rapporta en France les habitudes d'insolence contre la cour, l'appétit des agitations populaires, le mépris pour son propre rang, la familiarité avec la foule,' &c. *Lamartine, Hist. des Girondins*, vol. ii. p. 102.

[202] M. Lerminier (*Philos. du Droit*, vol. i. p. 19) says of England, 'cette île célèbre donne à l'Europe l'enseignement de la liberté politique; elle en fut l'école au dix-huitième siècle pour tout ce que l'Europe eut de penseurs.' See also *Soulavie, Règne de Louis XVI*, vol. iii. p. 161; *Mém. de Marmontel*, vol. iv. pp. 38, 39; *Stäudlin, Gesch. der theolog. Wissenschaften*, vol. ii. pp. 291;

of which their own country furnished no example. They heard political and religious questions of the greatest moment debated with a boldness unknown in any other part of Europe. They heard dissenters and churchmen, whigs and tories, handling the most dangerous topics, and treating them with unlimited freedom. They heard public disputes respecting matters which no one in France dared to discuss; mysteries of state and mysteries of creed unfolded and rudely exposed to the popular gaze. And, what to Frenchmen of that age must have been equally amazing, they not only found a public press possessing some degree of freedom, but they found that within the very walls of parliament the administration of the crown was assailed with complete impunity, the character of its chosen servants constantly aspersed, and, strange to say, even the management of its revenues effectually controlled.[203]

The successors of the age of Louis XIV. seeing these things, and seeing, moreover, that the civilization of the country increased as the authority of the upper classes and of the crown diminished, were unable to restrain their wonder at so novel and exciting a spectacle. 'The English nation,' says Voltaire, 'is the only one on the earth, which, by resisting its kings, has succeeded in lessening their power.'[204] How I love the boldness of the English! how I love men who say what they think!'[205] The Eng-

[203] Hume, who was acquainted with several eminent Frenchmen who visited England, says (*Philosophical Works*, vol. iii. p. 8), 'nothing is more apt to surprise a foreigner than the extreme liberty which we enjoy in this country, of communicating whatever we please to the public, and of openly censuring every measure entered into by the king or his ministers.'

[204] 'La nation anglaise est la seule de la terre qui soit parvenue à régler le pouvoir des rois en leur résistant.' *Lettre VIII sur les Anglais*, in *Œuvres de Voltaire*, vol. xxvi. p. 37.

[205] 'Que j'aime la hardiesse anglaise! que j'aime les gens qui disent ce qu'ils pensent!' *Letter from Voltaire*, in *Correspond. de Dudeffand*, vol. ii. p. 263. For other instances of his admiration of England, see *Œuvres de Voltaire*, vol. xl. pp. 105-109; vol. li. pp. 137, 390; vol. liv. pp. 298, 392; [illegible] 62, 163, 195, 196, 270; vol. lvii. p. 500; vol. lviii. [illegible] pp. 265, 361; vol. lx. p. 501; vol. lxi. pp. 43, 73, 1[illegible] 474, 475; vol. lxii. pp. 343, 379, 392; vol. lxiii. pp. 128, 146, 190, 196, 226, 237, 415; vol. lxiv. pp. 36, 96, 269; vol. lxvi. pp. 93, 159; vol. lxvii. pp. 353, 484.

lish, says Le Blanc, are willing to have a king, provided they are not obliged to obey him.[206] The immediate object of their government, says Montesquieu, is political liberty;[207] they possess more freedom than any republic;[208] and their system is in fact a republic disguised as a monarchy.[209] Grosley, struck with amazement, exclaims, 'Property is in England a thing sacred, which the laws protect from all encroachment, not only from engineers, inspectors, and other people of that stamp, but even from the king himself.[210] Mably, in the most celebrated of all his works, says, 'The Hanoverians are only able to reign in England because the people are free, and believe they have a right to dispose of the crown. But if the kings were to claim the same power as the Stuarts, if they were to believe that the crown belonged to them by divine right, they would be condemning themselves, and confessing that they were occupying a place which is not their own.'[211] In England, says Helvétius, the people are respected; every citizen can take some part in the management of affairs; and authors are allowed to enlighten the public respecting its own interests.[212] And Brissot, who had made these matters his especial study, cries out, 'Admirable constitution! which can only be disparaged either by men who know it not, or else by those whose tongues are bridled by slavery.'[213]

[206] 'Ils veulent un roi, aux conditions, pour ainsi dire, de ne lui point obéir.' *Le Blanc, Lettres d'un François*, vol. i. p. 210.

[207] 'Il y a aussi une nation dans le monde qui a pour objet direct de sa constitution la liberté politique.' *Esprit des Lois*, livre xi. chap. v. in *Œuvres de Montesquieu*, p. 264. Conversely De Staël (*Consid. sur la Rév.* vol. iii. p. 261), 'la liberté politique est le moyen suprême.'

[208] 'L'Angleterre est à présent le plus libre pays qui soit au monde, je n'en excepte aucune république.' *Notes sur l'Angleterre*, in *Œuvres de Montesquieu*, p. 632.

[209] 'Une nation où la république se cache sous la forme de la monarchie.' *Esprit des Lois*, livre v. chap. xix. in *Œuvres de Montesquieu*, p. 225; also quoted in *Bancroft's American Revolution*, vol. ii. p. 36.

[210] *Grosley's Tour to London*, vol. i. pp. 16, 17.

[211] *Mably, Observ. sur l'Hist. de France*, vol. ii. p. 185.

[212] *Helvétius de l'Esprit*, vol. i. pp. 102, 199: 'un pays où le peuple est respecté comme en Angleterre; . . . un pays où chaque citoyen a part au maniement des affaires générales, où tout homme d'esprit peut éclairer le public sur ses véritables intérêts.'

[213] *Mém. de Brissot*, vol. ii. p. 25.

Such were the opinions of some of the most celebrated Frenchmen of that time; and it would be easy to fill a volume with similar extracts. But, what I now rather wish to do, is, to point out the first great consequence of this new and sudden admiration for a country which, in the preceding age, had been held in profound contempt. The events which followed are, indeed, of an importance impossible to exaggerate; since they brought about that rupture between the intellectual and governing classes, of which the Revolution itself was but a temporary episode.

The great Frenchmen of the eighteenth century being stimulated by the example of England into a love of progress, naturally came into collision with the governing classes, among whom the old stationary spirit still prevailed. This opposition was a wholesome reaction against that disgraceful servility for which, in the reign of Louis XIV., literary men had been remarkable; and if the contest which ensued had been conducted with anything approaching to moderation, the ultimate result would have been highly beneficial; since it would have secured that divergence between the speculative and practical classes which, as we have already seen, is essential to maintain the balance of civilization, and to prevent either side from acquiring a dangerous predominance. But, unfortunately, the nobles and clergy had been so long accustomed to power, that they could not brook the slightest contradiction from those great writers, whom they ignorantly despised as their inferiors. Hence it was, that when the most illustrious Frenchmen of the eighteenth century attempted to infuse into the literature of their country a spirit of inquiry similar to that which existed in England, the ruling classes became roused into a hatred and jealousy which broke all bounds, and gave rise to that crusade against knowledge which forms the second principal precursor of the French Revolution.

The extent of that cruel persecution to which literature was now exposed, can only be fully appreciated by those who have minutely studied the history of France in

the eighteenth century. For it was not a stray case of oppression, which occurred here and there; but it was a prolonged and systematic attempt to stifle all inquiry, and punish all inquirers. If a list were drawn up of all the literary men who wrote during the seventy years succeeding the death of Louis XIV., it would be found, that at least nine out of every ten had suffered from the government some grievous injury; and that a majority of them had been actually thrown into prison. Indeed, in saying thus much, I am understating the real facts of the case; for I question if one literary man out of fifty escaped with entire impunity. Certainly, my own knowledge of those times, though carefully collected, is not so complete as I could have wished; but, among those authors who were punished, I find the name of nearly every Frenchman whose writings have survived the age in which they were produced. Among those who suffered either confiscation, or imprisonment, or exile, or fines, or the suppression of their works, or the ignominy of being forced to recant what they had written, I find, besides a host of inferior writers, the names of Beaumarchais, Berruyer, Bougeant, Buffon, D'Alembert, Diderot, Duclos, Freret, Helvétius, La Harpe, Linguet, Mably, Marmontel, Montesquieu, Mercier, Morellet, Raynal, Rousseau, Suard, Thomas, and Voltaire.

The mere recital of this list is pregnant with instruction. To suppose that all these eminent men deserved the treatment they received, would, even in the absence of direct evidence, be a manifest absurdity; since it would involve the supposition, that a schism having taken place between two classes, the weaker class was altogether wrong, and the stronger altogether right. Fortunately, however, there is no necessity for resorting to any merely speculative argum nt respecting the probable merits of the two parties. The accusations brought against these great men are before the world; the penalties inflicted are equally well known; and, by putting these together, we may form some idea of the state of society, in which such things could be openly practised.

Voltaire, almost immediately after the death of Louis XIV., was falsely charged with having composed a libel on that prince; and, for this imaginary offence, he, without the pretence of a trial, and without even the shadow of a proof, was thrown into the Bastille, where he was confined more than twelve months.[214] Shortly after he was released, there was put upon him a still more grievous insult; the occurrence, and, above all, the impunity of which, supply striking evidence as to the state of society in which such things were permitted. Voltaire, at the table of the Duke de Sully, was deliberately insulted by the Chevalier de Rohan Chabot, one of those impudent and dissolute nobles who then abounded in Paris. The duke, though the outrage was committed in his own house, in his own presence, and upon his own guest, would not interfere; but seemed to consider that a poor poet was honoured by being in any way noticed by a man of rank. But, as Voltaire, in the heat of the moment, let fall one of those stinging retorts which were the terror of his enemies, the chevalier determined to visit him with further punishment. The course he adopted was characteristic of the man, and of the class to which he belonged. He caused Voltaire to be seized in the streets of Paris, and in his presence ignominiously beaten, he himself regulating the number of blows of which the chastisement was to consist. Voltaire, smarting under the insult, demanded that satisfaction which it was customary to give. This, however, did not enter into the plan of his noble assailer, who not only refused to meet him in the field, but actually obtained an order, by which he was confined in the Bastille for six months, and at the end of that time was directed to quit the country.[215]

[214] *Condorcet, Vie de Voltaire*, pp. 118, 119; *Duvernet, Vie de Voltaire*, pp. 30, 32; *Longchamp et Wagnière, Mém. sur Voltaire*, vol. i. p. 22.

[215] *Duvernet, Vie de Voltaire*, pp. 46-48: *Condorcet, Vie de Voltaire*, pp. 125, 126. Compare vol. lvi. p. 162; *Lepan, Vie de Voltaire*, 1837, pp. 70, 71; and *Biog. Univ.* vol. xlix. p. 468. Duvernet, who, writing from materials supplied by Voltaire, had the best means of information, gives a specimen of the fine feeling of a French duke in the eighteenth century. He says, that, directly after Rohan had inflicted this public chastisement, 'Voltaire rentre dans l'hôtel, demande au duc de Sully de regarder cet outrage

Thus it was that Voltaire, having first been imprisoned for a libel which he never wrote, and having then been publicly beaten because he retorted an insult wantonly put upon him, was now sentenced to another imprisonment, through the influence of the very man by whom he had been attacked. The exile which followed the imprisonment seems to have been soon remitted; as, shortly after these events, we find Voltaire again in France, preparing for publication his first historical work, a life of Charles XII. In this, there are none of those attacks on Christianity which gave offence in his subsequent writings; nor does it contain the least reflection upon the arbitrary government under which he had suffered. The French authorities at first granted that permission, without which no book could then be published; but, as soon as it was actually printed, the license was withdrawn, and the history forbidden to be circulated.[216] The next attempt of Voltaire was one of much greater value; it was therefore repulsed still more sharply. During his residence in England, his inquisitive mind had been deeply interested by a state of things so different from any he had hitherto seen; and he now published an account of that remarkable people, from whose literature he had learned many important truths. His work, which he called *Philosophic Letters*, was received with general applause; but, unfortunately for himself, he adopted in it the arguments of Locke against innate ideas. The rulers of France, though not likely to know much about innate ideas, had a suspicion that the doctrine of Locke was in some way dangerous; and, as they were told that it was a novelty, they felt themselves bound to prevent its promulgation. Their remedy was very simple. They ordered that Voltaire should be again arrested,

fait à l'un de ses convives, comme fait à lui-même : il le sollicite de se joindre à lui pour en poursuivre la vengeance, et de venir chez un commissaire en certifier la déposition. *Le duc de Sully se refuse à tout.*'

[216] 'L'Histoire de Charles XII, dont on avait arrêté une première édition après l'avoir autorisée.' *Biog. Univ.* vol. xlix. p. 470. Comp. *Nichols's Lit. Anec.* vol. i. p. 388.

and that his work should be burned by the common hangman.[217]

These repeated injuries might well have moved a more patient spirit than that of Voltaire.[218] Certainly, those who reproach this illustrious man, as if he were the instigator of unprovoked attacks upon the existing state of things, must know very little of the age in which it was his misfortune to live. Even on what has been always considered the neutral ground of physical science, there was displayed the same despotic and persecuting spirit. Voltaire, among other schemes for benefiting France, wished to make known to his countrymen the wonderful discoveries of Newton, of which they were completely ignorant. With this view, he drew up an account of the labours of that extraordinary thinker; but here again the authorities interposed, and forbade the work to be printed.[219] Indeed, the rulers of France, as if sensible that their only security was the ignorance of the people, obstinately set their face against every description of knowledge. Several eminent authors had undertaken to execute, on a magnificent scale, an Encyclopædia, which should contain a summary of all the branches of science and of art. This, undoubtedly the most splendid enterprise ever started by a body of literary men, was at first discouraged by the government, and afterwards entirely prohibited.[220] On other occasions, the same tendency was shown in matters so trifling that nothing but the gravity of their ultimate results prevents them from being ridiculous. In 1770, Imbert translated Clarke's *Letters on Spain*; one of the

[217] *Duvernet, Vie de Voltaire,* pp. 63-65; *Condorcet, Vie de Voltaire,* pp. 138-140; *Lepan, Vie de Voltaire,* pp. 93, 381.

[218] The indignation of Voltaire appears in many of his letters; and he often announced to his friends his intention of quitting for ever a country where he was liable to such treatment. See *Œuvres de Voltaire,* vol. liv. pp. 58, 335, 336, vol. lv. p. 229, vol. lvi. pp. 162, 163, 358, 447, 464, 465, vol. lvii. pp. 144, 145, 155, 156, vol. lviii. pp. 36, 222, 223, 516, 517, 519, 520, 525, 526, 563, vol. lix. pp. 107, 116, 188, 208.

[219] *Œuvres de Voltaire,* vol. i. pp. 147, 315, vol. lvii. pp. 211, 215, 219, 247, 295; *Villemain, Lit. au XVIII^e Siècle,* vol. i. p. 14; *Brougham's Men of Letters,* vol. i. pp. 53, 60.

[220] *Grimm, Correspond.* vol. i. pp. 90-95, vol. ii. p. 399; *Biog. Univ.* vol. xi. p. 316; *Brougham's Men of Letters,* vol. ii. p. 439.

best works then existing on that country. This book, however, was suppressed as soon as it appeared; and the only reason assigned for such a stretch of power is, that it contained some remarks respecting the passion of Charles III. for hunting, which were considered disrespectful to the French crown, because Louis XV. was himself a great hunter.[221] Several years before this, La Bletterie, who was favourably known in France by his works, was elected a member of the French Academy. But he, it seems, was a Jansenist, and had, moreover, ventured to assert that the Emperor Julian, notwithstanding his apostasy, was not entirely devoid of good qualities. Such offences could not be overlooked in so pure an age; and the king obliged the Academy to exclude La Bletterie from their society.[222] That the punishment extended no further, was an instance of remarkable leniency; for Fréret, an eminent critic and scholar,[223] was confined in the Bastille, because he stated, in one of his memoirs, that the earliest Frankish chiefs had received their titles from the Romans.[224] The same penalty was inflicted four different times upon Lenglet du Fresnoy.[225] In the case of this amiable and accomplished

221 *Boucher de la Richarderie, Bibliothèque des Voyages*, vol. iii. pp. 390-393, Paris, 1808: 'La distribution en France de la traduction de ce voyage fut arrêtée pendant quelque temps par des ordres supérieurs du gouvernement. . . . Il y a tout lieu de croire que les ministres de France crurent, ou feignirent de croire, que le passage en question pouvoit donner lieu à des applications sur le goût effréné de Louis XV pour la chasse, et inspirèrent aisément cette prévention à un prince très-sensible, comme on sait, aux censures les plus indirectes de sa passion pour ce genre d'amusement.' See also the account of Imbert, the translator, in *Biog. Univ.* vol. xxi. p. 200.

222 *Grimm, Correspond.* vol. vi. pp. 161, 162; the crime being, 'qu'un janséniste avait osé imprimer que Julien, apostat exécrable aux yeux d'un bon chrétien, n'était pourtant pas un homme sans quelques bonnes qualités à en juger mondainement.'

223 M. Bunsen (*Egypt*, vol. i. p. 14) refers to Fréret's 'acute treatise on the Babylonian year;' and Turgot, in his *Etymologie*, says (*Œuvres de Turgot*, vol. iii. p. 83), 'l'illustre Fréret, un des savans qui ont su le mieux appliquer la philosophie à l'érudition.'

224 This was at the very outset of his career: 'En 1715, l'homme qui devait illustrer l'érudition française au xviiie siècle, Fréret, était mis à la Bastille pour avoir avancé, dans un mémoire sur l'origine des Français, que les Francs ne formaient pas une nation à part, et que leurs premiers chefs avaient reçu de l'empire romain le titre de *patrices*.' *Villemain, Lit. au XVIIIe Siècle*, vol. ii. p. 30: see also *Nichols's Lit. Anec.* vol. ii. p. 510.

225 He was imprisoned in the Bastille, for the first time, in 1725; then

man, there seems to have been hardly the shadow of a pretext for the cruelty with which he was treated; though, on one occasion, the alleged offence was, that he had published a supplement to the History of De Thou.[226]

Indeed, we have only to open the biographies and correspondence of that time, to find instances crowding upon us from all quarters. Rousseau was threatened with imprisonment, was driven from France, and his works were publicly burned.[227] The celebrated treatise of Helvétius on the Mind was suppressed by an order from the royal council; it was burned by the common hangman, and the author was compelled to write two letters, retracting his opinions.[228] Some of the geological views of Buffon having offended the clergy, that illustrious naturalist was obliged to publish a formal recantation of doctrines which are now known to be perfectly accurate.[229] The learned Observations on the History of France, by Mably, were suppressed as soon as they appeared;[230] for what reason it would be hard to say, since M. Guizot, certainly no friend either to anarchy or to irreligion, has thought it worth while to republish them, and thus stamp them with the authority of his own great name. The History of the Indies, by Raynal, was condemned to the flames, and the author ordered to be arrested.[231] Lanjuinais, in his well-known work on

in 1743, in 1750, and finally in 1751. *Biographie Universelle*, vol. xxiv. p. 85.

[226] In 1743, Voltaire writes: 'On vient de mettre à la Bastille l'abbé Lenglet, pour avoir publié des mémoires déjà très connus, qui servent de supplément à l'histoire de notre célèbre De Thou. L'infatigable et malheureux Lenglet rendait un signalé service aux bons citoyens, et aux amateurs des recherches historiques. Il méritait des récompenses; on l'emprisonne cruellement à l'âge de soixante-huit ans.' *Œuvres de Voltaire*, vol. i. pp. 400, 401, vol. lviii. pp. 207, 208.

[227] *Musset Pathay, Vie de Rousseau*, vol. i. pp. 68, 99, 296, 377, vol. ii. pp. 111, 385, 390; *Mercier sur Rousseau*, vol. i. p. 14, vol. ii. pp. 179, 314.

[228] *Grimm, Corresp.* vol. ii. p. 349; *Walpole's Letters*, 1840, vol. iii. p. 418.

[229] *Lyell's Principles of Geology*, pp. 39, 40; *Mém. of Mallet du Pan*, vol. i. p. 125.

[230] *Soulavie, Règne de Louis XVI*, vol. ii. p. 214; *Williams's Letters from France*, vol. ii. p. 86, 3rd edit. 1796.

[231] *Mém. de Ségur*, vol. i. p. 253; *Mém. de Lafayette*, vol. ii. p. 34 note; *Lettres de Dudeffand à Walpole*, vol. ii. p. 365. On Raynal's flight, compare

Joseph II., advocated not only religious toleration, but even the abolition of slavery; his book, therefore, was declared to be 'seditious;' it was pronounced 'destructive of all subordination,' and was sentenced to be burned.[232] The Analysis of Bayle, by Marsy, was suppressed, and the author was imprisoned.[233] The History of the Jesuits, by Linguet, was delivered to the flames; eight years later his *Journal* was suppressed; and, three years after that, as he still persisted in writing, his Political Annals were suppressed, and he himself was thrown into the Bastille.[234] Delisle de Sales was sentenced to perpetual exile, and confiscation of all his property, on account of his work on the Philosophy of Nature.[235] The treatise by Mey, on French law, was suppressed;[236] that by Boncerf, on feudal law, was burned.[237] The Memoirs of Beaumarchais were likewise burned;[238] the Eloge on Fénelon by La Harpe was merely suppressed.[239] Duvernet having written a History of the Sorbonne, which was still unpublished, was seized and thrown into the *Bastille*, while the manuscript was yet in his own possession.[240] The celebrated work of De Lolme on the English constitution was suppressed by edict directly it appeared.[241] The fate of being suppressed,

a letter from Marseilles, written in 1786, and printed in *Mem. and Correspond. of Sir J. E. Smith*, vol. i. p. 194.

[232] See the proceedings of the avocat-général, in *Peignot, Livres condamnés*, vol. i. pp. 230, 231; and in *Soulavie, Règne de Louis XVI*, vol. iii. pp. 93-97.

[233] *Quérard, France Lit.* vol. v. p. 565.

[234] *Peignot, Livres condamnés*, vol. i. pp. 241, 242.

[235] *Biog. Univ.* vol. xxiv. p. 561; *Œuvres de Voltaire*, vol. lxix. pp. 374, 375; *Lettres inédites de Voltaire*, vol. ii. p. 528; *Duvernet, Vie de Voltaire*, pp. 202, 203. According to some of these authorities, parliament afterwards revoked this sentence; but there is no doubt that the sentence was passed, and De Sales imprisoned, if not banished.

[236] *Peignot, Livres condamnés*, vol. i. pp. 314, 315.

[237] *Œuvres de Voltaire*, vol. lxix. p. 204; *Lettres de Dudeffand à Walpole*, vol. iii. p. 260.

[238] 'Quatre mémoires . . . condamnés à être lacérés et brûlés par la main du bourreau.' *Peignot*, vol. i. p. 24.

[239] *Biog. Univ.* vol. xxiii. p. 187.

[240] *Duvernet, Hist. de la Sorbonne*, vol. i. p. vi.

[241] 'Supprimée par arrêt du conseil' in 1771, which was the year of its publication. Compare *Cassagnac's Révolution*, vol. i. p. 33; *Biog. Univ.* vol. xxiv. p. 634.

or prohibited, also awaited the Letters of Gervaise, in 1724;[242] the Dissertations of Courayer, in 1727;[243] the Letters of Montgon, in 1732;[244] the History of Tamerlane, by Margat, also in 1732;[245] the Essay on Taste, by Cartaud, in 1736;[246] the Life of Domat, by Prévost de la Jannès, in 1742;[247] the History of Louis XI., by Duclos, in 1745;[248] the Letters of Bargeton, in 1750;[249] the Memoirs on Troyes, by Grosley, in the same year;[250] the History of Clement XI., by Reboulet, in 1752;[251] the School of Man, by Génard, also in 1752;[252] the Therapeutics of Garlon, in 1756;[253] the celebrated thesis of Louis, on Generation, in 1754;[254] the Treatise on Presidial Jurisdiction, by Jousse, in 1755;[255] the Ericie of Fontanelle, in 1768;[256] the Thoughts of Jamin, in 1769;[257] the History of Siam, by Turpin, and the Eloge of Marcus Aurelius, by Thomas, both in 1770;[258] the works on finance, by Darigrand in 1764, and by Le Trosne in 1779;[259] the Essay on Military Tactics, by Guibert, in 1772; the Letters of Boucquet, in the same year;[260] and the Memoirs of Terrai, by Coquereau, in 1776.[261] Such wanton destruction of property was, however, mercy itself, compared to the treatment experienced by other literary men in France. Desforges, for example, having written against the arrest of the Pretender to the English throne, was, solely on that account, buried in a dungeon eight feet square, and confined there for three years.[262] This happened in 1749; and in 1770, Audra, professor at the college of Toulouse,

242 *Quérard, France Lit.* vol. iii. p. 337. 243 *Biog. Univ.* vol. x. p. 97.
244 *Peignot*, vol. i. p. 328. 245 *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 289.
246 *Biog. Univ.* vol. vii. p. 227.
247 *Lettres d'Aguesseau*, vol. ii. pp. 320, 321.
248 *Cassagnac, Causes de la Rév.* vol. i. p. 32. 249 *Biog. Univ.* vol. iii. p. 375.
250 *Quérard*, vol. iii. p. 489. 251 *Ibid.* vol. vii. pp. 483, 484.
252 *Ibid.* vol. iii. p. 302. 253 *Ibid.* vol. iii. p. 261.
254 On the importance of this remarkable thesis, and on its prohibition, see *Saint Hilaire, Anomalies de l'Organisation*, vol. i. p. 355.
255 *Quérard*, vol. iv. p. 255. 256 *Biog. Univ.* vol. xv. p. 203.
257 *Ibid.* vol. xxi. p. 391. 258 *Ibid.* vol. xlv. p. 462, vol. xlvii. p. 98.
259 *Peignot*, vol. i. pp. 90, 91, vol. ii. p. 164.
260 *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 170, vol. ii. p. 57. 261 *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 214.
262 'Il resta trois ans dans la cage; c'est un caveau creusé dans le roc, de huit pieds en carré, où le prisonnier ne reçoit le jour que par les crevasse des marches de l'église.' *Biog. Univ.* vol. xi. p. 171.

and a man of some reputation, published the first volume of his Abridgment of General History. Beyond this, the work never proceeded; it was at once condemned by the archbishop of the diocese, and the author was deprived of his office. Audra, held up to public opprobrium, the whole of his labours rendered useless, and the prospects of his life suddenly blighted, was unable to survive the shock. He was struck with apoplexy, and within twenty-four hours was lying a corpse in his own house.[263]

It will probably be allowed that I have collected sufficient evidence to substantiate my assertion respecting the persecutions directed against every description of literature; but the carelessness with which the antecedents of the French Revolution have been studied, has given rise to such erroneous opinions on this subject, that I am anxious to add a few more instances, so as to put beyond the possibility of doubt the nature of the provocations habitually received by the most eminent Frenchmen of the eighteenth century.

Among the many celebrated authors who, though inferior to Voltaire, Montesquieu, Buffon, and Rousseau, were second only to them, three of the most remarkable were Diderot, Marmontel, and Morellet. The first two are known to every reader; while Morellet, though comparatively forgotten, had in his own time considerable influence, and had, moreover, the distinguished merit of being the first who popularized in France those great truths which had been recently discovered, in political economy by Adam Smith, and in jurisprudence by Beccaria.

A certain M. Cury wrote a satire upon the Duke d'Aumont, which he showed to his friend Marmontel, who, struck by its power, repeated it to a small circle of his acquaintance. The duke, hearing of this, was full of indignation, and insisted upon the name of the author being given up. This, of course, was impossible without a gross breach of confidence; but Marmontel, to do everything in his power, wrote to the duke, stating,

[263] *Peignot, Livres condamnés*, vol. i. pp. 14, 15.

what was really the fact, that the lines in question had not been printed, that there was no intention of making them public, and that they had only been communicated to a few of his own particular friends. It might have been supposed that this would have satisfied even a French noble; but Marmontel, still doubting the result, sought an audience of the minister, in the hope of procuring the protection of the crown. All, however, was in vain. It will hardly be believed, that Marmontel, who was then at the height of his reputation, was seized in the middle of Paris, and because he refused to betray his friend, was thrown into the Bastille. Nay, so implacable were his persecutors, that after his liberation from prison, they, in the hope of reducing him to beggary, deprived him of the right of publishing the *Mercure*, upon which nearly the whole of his income depended.[264]

To the Abbé Morellet a somewhat similar circumstance occurred. A miserable scribbler, named Palissot, had written a comedy ridiculing some of the ablest Frenchmen then living. To this, Morellet replied by a pleasant little satire, in which he made a very harmless allusion to the Princess de Robeck, one of Palissot's patrons. She, amazed at such presumption, complained to the minister, who immediately ordered the abbé to be confined in the Bastille, where he remained for some months, although he had not only been guilty of no scandal, but had not even mentioned the name of the princess.[265]

The treatment of Diderot was still more severe. This remarkable man owed his influence chiefly to his immense correspondence, and to the brilliancy of a conversation for which, even in Paris, he was unrivalled, and which he used to display with considerable effect at those celebrated dinners where, during a quarter of a century, Holbach

[264] *Mémoires de Marmontel*, vol. ii. pp. 143-176; and see vol. iii. pp. 30-46, 95, for the treatment he afterwards received from the Sorbonne, because he advocated religious toleration. See also *Œuvres de Voltaire*, vol. liv. p. 258; and *Letters of Eminent Persons addressed to Hume*, pp. 207, 212, 213.

[265] *Mém. de Morellet*, vol. i. pp. 86-89; *Mélanges par Morellet*, vol. ii. pp. 3-12; *Œuvres de Voltaire*, vol. liv. pp. 106, 111, 114, 122, 183.

assembled the most illustrious thinkers in France.[266] Besides this, he is the author of several works of interest, most of which are well known to students of French literature.[267] His independent spirit, and the reputation he obtained, earned for him a share in the general persecution. The first work he wrote was ordered to be publicly burned by the common hangman.[268] This, indeed, was the fate of nearly all the best literary productions of that time; and Diderot might esteem himself fortunate in merely losing his property, provided he saved himself from imprisonment. But, a few years later, he wrote another work, in which he said that people who are born blind have some ideas different from those who are possessed of their eyesight. This assertion is by no means improbable,[269] and it contains nothing by which any one need be startled. The men, however, who then governed

[266] Marmontel (*Mém.* vol. ii. p. 313) says, 'qui n'a connu Diderot que dans ses écrits ne l'a point connu:' meaning that his works were inferior to his talk. His conversational powers are noticed by Ségur, who disliked him, and by Georgel, who hated him. *Ségur, Souvenirs*, vol. iii. p. 34; *Georgel, Mém.* vol. ii. p. 246. Compare *Forster's Life of Goldsmith*, vol. i. p. 69; *Musset Pathay, Vie de Rousseau*, vol. i. p. 95, vol. ii. p. 227; *Mémoires d'Epinay*, vol. ii. pp. 73, 74, 88; *Grimm, Corresp.* vol. xv. pp. 79-90; *Morellet, Mém.* vol. i. p. 28; *Villemain, Lit. au XVIII^e Siècle*, vol. i. p. 82.

As to Holbach's dinners, on which Madame de Genlis wrote a well-known libel, see *Schlosser's Eighteenth Century*, vol. i. p. 166; *Biog. Univ.* vol. xx. p. 462; *Jesse's Selwyn*, vol. ii. p. 9; *Walpole's Letters to Mann*, vol. iv. p. 283; *Gibbon's Miscellaneous Works*, p. 73.

[267] It is also stated by the editor of his correspondence, that he wrote a great deal for authors, which they published under their name. *Mém. et Corresp. de Diderot*, vol. iii. p. 102.

[268] This was the *Pensées Philosophiques*, in 1746, his first original work; the previous ones being translations from English. *Biog. Univ.* xi. 314. Duvernet (*Vie de Voltaire*, p. 240) says, that he was imprisoned for writing it, but this I believe is a mistake; at least I do not remember to have met with the statement elsewhere, and Duvernet is frequently careless.

[269] Dugald Stewart, who has collected some important evidence on this subject, has confirmed several of the views put forward by Diderot. *Philos. of the Mind*, vol. iii. pp. 401 seq.; comp. pp. 57, 407, 435. Since then still greater attention has been paid to the education of the blind, and it has been remarked that 'it is an exceedingly difficult task to teach them to think accurately.' *M'Alister's Essay on the Blind*, in *Jour. of Stat. Soc.* vol. i. p. 378: see also Dr. Fowler, in *Report of Brit. Assoc.* for 1847, *Transac. of Sec.* pp. 92, 93, and for 1848, p. 88. These passages unconsciously testify to the sagacity of Diderot; and they also testify to the stupid ignorance of a government, which sought to put an end to such inquiries by punishing their author.

France, discovered in it some hidden danger. Whether they suspected that the mention of blindness was an allusion to themselves, or whether they were merely instigated by the perversity of their temper, is uncertain; at all events, the unfortunate Diderot, for having hazarded this opinion, was arrested, and without even the form of a trial, was confined in the dungeon of Vincennes.[270] The natural results followed. The works of Diderot rose in popularity;[271] and he, burning with hatred against his persecutors, redoubled his efforts to overthrow those institutions, under shelter of which such monstrous tyranny could be safely practised.

It seems hardly necessary to say more respecting the incredible folly with which the rulers of France, by turning every able man into a personal enemy,[272] at length arrayed against the government all the intellect of the country, and made the Revolution a matter, not of choice, but of necessity. I will, however, as a fitting sequel to the preceding facts, give one instance of the way in which, to gratify the caprice of the higher classes, even the most private affections of domestic life could be publicly outraged. In the middle of the eighteenth century, there was an actress on the French stage of the name of Chantilly. She, though beloved by Maurice de Saxe, preferred

[270] *Mém. et Corresp. de Diderot*, vol. i. pp. 26-29; *Musset Pathay, Vie de Rousseau*, vol. i. p. 47, vol. ii. p. 276; *Letter to d'Argental*, in *Œuvres de Voltaire*, vol. lviii. p. 454; *Lacretelle, Dix-huitième Siècle*, vol. ii. p. 54.

[271] A happy arrangement, by which curiosity baffles despotism. In 1767, an acute observer wrote, 'Il n'y a plus de livres qu'on imprime plusieurs fois, que les livres condamnés. Il faut aujourd'hui qu'un libraire prie les magistrats de brûler son livre pour le faire vendre.' *Grimm, Corresp.* vol. v. p. 498. To the same effect, *Mém. de Ségur*, vol. i. pp. 15, 16; *Mém. de Georgel*, vol. ii. p. 256.

[272] 'Quel est aujourd'hui parmi nous l'homme des lettres de quelque mérite qui n'ait éprouvé plus ou moins les fureurs de la calomnie et de la persécution?' etc. *Grimm, Corresp.* vol. v. p. 451. This was written in 1767, and during more than forty years previously we find similar expressions; the earliest I have met with being in a letter to Thiriot, in 1723, in which Voltaire says (*Œuvres*, vol. lvi. p. 94), 'la sévérité devient plus grande de jour en jour dans l'inquisition de la librairie.' For other instances, see his letter to De Formont, pp. 423-425, also vol. lvii. pp. 144, 351, vol. lviii. p. 222; his *Lettres inédites*, vol. i. p. 547; *Mém. de Diderot*, vol. ii. p. 215; *Letters of Eminent Persons to Hume*, pp. 14, 15.

a more honourable attachment, and married Favart, the well-known writer of songs and of comic operas. Maurice, amazed at her boldness, applied for aid to the French crown. That he should have made such an application is sufficiently strange; but the result of it is hardly to be paralleled except in some eastern despotism. The government of France, on hearing the circumstance, had the inconceivable baseness to issue an order directing Favart to abandon his wife, and intrust her to the charge of Maurice, to whose embraces she was compelled to submit.[273]

These are among the insufferable provocations, by which the blood of men is made to boil in their veins. Who can wonder that the greatest and noblest minds in France were filled with loathing at the government by whom such things were done? If we, notwithstanding the distance of time and country, are moved to indignation by the mere mention of them, what must have been felt by those before whose eyes they actually occurred? And when, to the horror they naturally inspired, there was added that apprehension of being the next victim which every one might personally feel; when, moreover, we remember that the authors of these persecutions had none of the abilities by which even vice itself is sometimes ennobled;—when we thus contrast the poverty of their understandings with the greatness of their crimes, we, instead of being astonished that there was a revolution, by which all the machinery of the state was swept away, should rather be amazed at that unexampled patience by which alone the revolution was so long deferred.

To me, indeed, it has always appeared, that the delay of the Revolution is one of the most striking proofs history affords of the force of established habits, and of the

[273] Part of this is related, rather inaccurately, in *Schlosser's Eighteenth Century*, vol. iii. p. 483. The fullest account is in *Grimm, Corresp. Lit.* vol. viii. pp. 231-233: 'Le grand Maurice, irrité d'une résistance qu'il n'avait jamais éprouvée nulle part, eut la faiblesse de demander une lettre de cachet pour enlever à un mari sa femme, et pour la contraindre d'être sa concubine; et, chose remarquable, cette lettre de cachet fut accordée et exécutée. Les deux époux plièrent sous le joug de la nécessité, et la petite Chantilly fut à la fois femme de Favart et maîtresse de Maurice de Saxe.'

tenacity with which the human mind clings to old associations. For, if ever there existed a government inherently and radically bad, it was the government of France in the eighteenth century. If ever there existed a state of society likely, by its crying and accumulated evils, to madden men to desperation, France was in that state. The people, despised and enslaved, were sunk in abject poverty, and were curbed by laws of stringent cruelty, enforced with merciless barbarism. A supreme and irresponsible control was exercised over the whole country by the clergy, the nobles, and the crown. The intellect of France was placed under the ban of a ruthless proscription, its literature prohibited and burned, its authors plundered and imprisoned. Nor was there the least symptom that these evils were likely to be remedied. The upper classes, whose arrogance was increased by the long tenure of their power, only thought of present enjoyment: they took no heed of the future: they saw not that day of reckoning, the bitterness of which they were soon to experience. The people remained in slavery until the Revolution actually occurred; while as to the literature, nearly every year witnessed some new effort to deprive it of that share of liberty which it still retained. Having, in 1764, issued a decree forbidding any work to be published in which questions of government were discussed;[274] having, in 1767, made it a capital offence to write a book likely to excite the public mind;[275] and having, moreover, denounced the same penalty of death against any one who

[274] 'L'Averdy was no sooner named controller of finance than he published a decree, in 1764 (*arrêt du conseil*),—which, according to the state of the then existing constitution, had the force of a law,—by which every man was forbidden to print, or cause to be printed, anything whatever upon administrative affairs, or government regulations in general, under the penalty of a breach of the police-laws; by which the man was liable to be punished without defence, and not as was the case before the law-courts, where he might defend himself, and could only be judged according to law.' *Schlosser's Eighteenth Century*, vol. ii. p. 166: see also *Mém. de Morellet*, vol. i. p. 141, vol. ii. p. 75, 'un arrêt du conseil, qui défendait d'imprimer sur les matières d'administration.'

[275] 'L'ordonnance de 1767, rendue sous le ministère du chancelier Maupeou, portait la peine de mort contre tout auteur d'écrits tendant à émouvoir les esprits.' *Cassagnac, Causes de la Révolution*, vol. i. p. 313.

attacked religion,[276] as also against any one who spoke of matters of finance;[277]—having taken these steps, the rulers of France, very shortly before their final fall, contemplated another measure still more comprehensive. It is, indeed, a singular fact, that only nine years before the Revolution, and when no power on earth could have saved the institutions of the country, the government was so ignorant of the real state of affairs, and so confident that it could quell the spirit which its own despotism had raised, that a proposal was made by an officer of the crown to do away with all the publishers, and not allow any books to be printed except those which issued from a press paid, appointed, and controlled by the executive magistrate.[278] This monstrous proposition, if carried into effect, would of course have invested the king with all the influence which literature can command; it would have been as fatal to the national intellect as the other measures were to national liberty; and it would have consummated the ruin of France, either by reducing its greatest men to complete silence, or else by degrading them into mere advocates of those opinions which the government might wish to propagate.

For these are by no means to be considered as trifling matters, merely interesting to men of letters. In France, in the eighteenth century, literature was the last resource of liberty. In England, if our great authors should prostitute their abilities by inculcating servile opinions, the danger would no doubt be considerable, because other parts of society might find it difficult to escape the conta-

[276] In April 1757, D'Alembert writes from Paris, 'on vient de publier une déclaration qui inflige la peine de mort à tous ceux qui auront publié des écrits tendants à attaquer la religion.' *Œuvres de Voltaire*, vol. liv. p. 34. This, I suppose, is the same edict as that mentioned by M. Amédée Renée, in his continuation of *Sismondi, Histoire des Français*, vol. xxx. p. 247.

[277] 'Il avait été défendu, sous peine de mort, aux écrivains de parler de finances.' *Lavallée, Hist. des Français*, vol. iii. p. 490.

[278] This was the suggestion of the avocat-général in 1780. See the proposal, in his own words, in *Grimm, Correspond.* vol. xi. pp. 143, 144. On the important functions of the avocats-généraux in the eighteenth century, see a note in *Lettres d'Aguesseau*, vol. i. p. 264.

gion. Still, before the corruption had spread, there would be time to stop its course, so long as we possessed those free political institutions, by the mere mention of which the generous imagination of a bold people is easily fired. And although such institutions are the consequence, not the cause, of liberty, they do unquestionably react upon it, and from the force of habit they could for a while survive that from which they originally sprung. So long as a country retains its political freedom, there will always remain associations by which, even in the midst of mental degradation, and out of the depths of the lowest superstition, the minds of men may be recalled to better things. But in France such associations had no existence. In France everything was for the governors, and nothing for the governed. There was neither free press, nor free parliament, nor free debates. There were no public meetings; there was no popular suffrage; there was no discussion on the hustings; there was no habeas-corpus act; there was no trial by jury. The voice of liberty, thus silenced in every department of the state, could only be heard in the appeals of those great men who, by their writings, inspirited the people to resistance. This is the point of view from which we ought to estimate the character of those who are often accused of having wantonly disturbed the ancient fabric.[279] They, as well as the people at large, were cruelly oppressed by the crown, the nobles, and the church; and they used their abilities to retaliate the injury. There can be no doubt that this was the best course open to them. There can be no doubt that rebellion is the last remedy against tyranny, and that a despotic system should be encountered by a revolutionary literature. The upper classes were to blame, because they struck the first blow; but we must by no means censure those great men, who, having defended themselves from aggression, eventually

[279] And we should also remember what the circumstances were under which the accusation was first heard in France: 'Les reproches d'avoir tout détruit, adressés aux philosophes du dix-huitième siècle, ont commencé le jour où il s'est trouvé en France un governement qui a voulu rétablir les abus dont les écrivains de cette époque avaient accéléré la destruction.' *Comte, Traité de Législation*, vol. i. p. 72.

succeeded in smiting the government by whom the aggression was originally made.

Without, however, stopping to vindicate their conduct, we have now to consider what is much more important, namely, the origin of that crusade against Christianity, in which, unhappily for France, they were compelled to embark, and the occurrence of which forms the third great antecedent of the French Revolution. A knowledge of the causes of this hostility against Christianity is essential to a right understanding of the philosophy of the eighteenth century, and it will throw some light on the general theory of ecclesiastical power.

It is a circumstance well worthy of remark, that the revolutionary literature which eventually overturned all the institutions of France, was at first directed against those which were religious, rather than against those which were political. The great writers who rose into notice soon after the death of Louis XIV., exerted themselves against spiritual despotism; while the overthrow of secular despotism was left to their immediate successors.[280] This is not the course which would be pursued in a healthy state of society; and there is no doubt, that to this peculiarity the crimes and the lawless violence of the French Revolution are in no small degree to be ascribed. It is evident, that in the legitimate progress of a nation, political innovations should keep pace with religious innovations, so that the people may increase their liberty while they diminish their superstition. In France, on the contrary, during nearly forty years, the church was attacked,

280 The nature of this change, and the circumstances under which it happened, will be examined in the last chapter of the present volume; but that the revolutionary movement, while headed by Voltaire and his coadjutors, was directed against the church, and not against the state, is noticed by many writers; some of whom have also observed, that soon after the middle of the reign of Louis XV. the ground began to be shifted, and a disposition was first shown to attack political abuses. On this remarkable fact, indicated by several authors, but explained by none, compare *Lacretelle, XVIII^e Siècle*, vol. ii. p. 305; *Barruel, Mém. pour l'Hist. du Jacobinisme*, vol. i. p. xviii., vol. ii. p. 113; *Tocqueville, L'Ancien Régime*, p. 241; *Alison's Europe*, vol. i. p. 165, vol. xiv. p. 286; *Mém. de Rivarol*, p. 35; *Soulavie, Règne de Louis XVI*, vol. iv. p. 397; *Lamartine, Hist. des Girondins*, vol. i. p. 183; *Œuvres de Voltaire*, vol. lx. p. 307, vol. lxvi. p. 34.

and the government was spared. The consequence was, that the order and balance of the country were destroyed; the minds of men became habituated to the most daring speculations, while their acts were controlled by the most oppressive despotism; and they felt themselves possessed of capacities which their rulers would not allow them to employ. When, therefore, the French Revolution broke out, it was not a mere rising of ignorant slaves against educated masters, but it was a rising of men in whom the despair caused by slavery was quickened by the resources of advancing knowledge; men who were in that frightful condition when the progress of intellect outstrips the progress of liberty, and when a desire is felt, not only to remove a tyranny, but also to avenge an insult.

There can be no doubt that to this we must ascribe some of the most hideous peculiarities of the French Revolution. It, therefore, becomes a matter of great interest to inquire how it was, that while in England political freedom and religious scepticism have accompanied and aided each other, there should, on the other hand, have taken place in France a vast movement, in which, during nearly forty years, the ablest men neglected the freedom, while they encouraged the scepticism, and diminished the power of the church, without increasing the liberties of the people.

The first reason of this appears to be, the nature of those ideas out of which the French had long constructed the traditions of their glory. A train of circumstances which, when treating of the protective spirit, I attempted to indicate, had secured to the French kings an authority which, by making all classes subordinate to the crown, flattered the popular vanity.[281] Hence it was, that in France the feelings of loyalty worked into the national mind deeper than in any other country of Europe, Spain

[281] See some striking remarks in M. Tocqueville's great work, *De la Démocratie*, vol. i. p. 5; which should be compared with the observation of Horace Walpole, who was well acquainted with French society, and who says, happily enough, that the French 'love themselves in their kings.' *Walpole's Mem. of George III.* vol. ii. p. 240.

alone excepted.[282] The difference between this spirit and that observable in England has been already noticed, and may be still further illustrated by the different ways in which the two nations have dealt with the posthumous reputation of their sovereigns. With the exception of Alfred, who is sometimes called the Great,[283] we in England have not sufficiently loved any of our princes to bestow upon them titles expressive of personal admiration. But the French have decorated their kings with every variety of panegyric. Thus, to take only a single name, one king is Louis the Mild, another is Louis the Saint, another is Louis the Just, another is Louis the Great, and the most hopelessly vicious of all was called Louis the Beloved.

These are facts which, insignificant as they seem, form most important materials for real history, since they are unequivocal symptoms of the state of the country in which they exist.[284] Their relation to the subject before us is

[282] Not only the political history of Spain, but also its literature, contains melancholy evidence of the extraordinary loyalty of the Spaniards, and of the injurious results produced by it. See, on this, some useful reflections in *Ticknor's Hist. of Spanish Literature*, vol. i. pp. 95, 96, 133, vol. iii. pp. 191-193.

[283] Our admiration of Alfred is greatly increased by the fact, that we know very little about him. The principal authority referred to for his reign is Asser, whose work, there is reason to believe, is not genuine. See the arguments in *Wright's Biog. Brit. Lit.* vol. i. pp. 408-412. It moreover appears, that some of the institutions popularly ascribed to him, existed before his time. *Kemble's Saxons in England*, vol. i. pp. 247, 248.

[284] The French writers, under the old régime, constantly boast that loyalty was the characteristic of their nation, and taunt the English with their opposite and insubordinate spirit. 'Il n'est pas ici question des Français, qui se sont toujours distingués des autres nations par leur amour pour leurs rois.' *Le Blanc, Lettres d'un François*, vol. iii. p. 523. 'The English do not love their sovereigns as much as could be desired.' *Sorbière's Voyage to England*, p. 58. 'Le respect de la majesté royale, caractère distinctif des Français,' *Mém. de Montbarcy*, vol. ii. p. 54. 'L'amour et la fidélité que les Français ont naturellement pour leurs princes.' *Mém. de Motteville*, vol. ii. p. 3. 'Les Français, qui aiment leurs princes.' *De Thou, Hist. Univ.* vol. iii. p. 381; and see vol. xi. p. 729. For further evidence, see *Sully, Œconomies*, vol. iv. p. 346; *Monteil, Divers Etats*, vol. vii. p. 105; *Ségur, Mémoires*, vol. i. p. 32; *Lamartine, Hist. des Girondins*, vol. iv. p. 58.

Now, contrast with all this the sentiments contained in one of the most celebrated histories in the English language: 'There is not any one thing more certain and more evident, than that princes are made for the people, and not the people for them; and perhaps there is no nation under heaven that is more entirely possessed with this notion of princes than the English

obvious. For, by them, and by the circumstances from which they sprung, an intimate and hereditary association was engendered in the minds of Frenchmen, between the glory of their nation and the personal reputation of their sovereign. The consequence was, that the political conduct of the rulers of France was protected against censure by a fence far more impassable than any that could be erected by the most stringent laws. It was protected by those prejudices which each generation bequeathed to its successor. It was protected by that halo which time had thrown round the oldest monarchy in Europe.[285] And above all, it was protected by that miserable national vanity, which made men submit to taxation and to slavery, in order that foreign princes might be dazzled by the splendour of their sovereign, and foreign countries intimidated by the greatness of his victories.

The upshot of all this was, that when, early in the eighteenth century, the intellect of France began to be roused into action, the idea of attacking the abuses of the monarchy never occurred even to the boldest thinker. But, under the protection of the crown, there had grown up another institution, about which less delicacy was felt. The clergy, who for so long a period had been allowed to oppress the consciences of men, were not sheltered by those national associations which surrounded the person of the sovereign; nor had any of them, with the single exception of Bossuet, done much to increase the general reputation of France. Indeed, the French church, though during the reign of Louis XIV. it possessed immense authority, had always exercised it in subordination to the

nation is in this age; so that they will soon be uneasy to a prince who does not govern himself by this maxim, and in time grow very unkind to him.' *Burnet's History of his Own Time*, vol. vi. p. 223. This manly and wholesome passage was written while the French were licking the dust from the feet of Louis XIV.

285 'La race des rois la plus ancienne.' *Mém. de Genlis*, vol. ix. p. 281. 'Nos rois, issus de la plus grande race du monde, et devant qui les Césars, et la plus grande partie des princes qui jadis ont commandé tant de nations, ne sont que des roturiers.' *Mém. de Motteville*, vol. ii. p. 417. And a Venetian ambassador, in the sixteenth century, says, that France is 'regno più antico d' ogn' altro che sia in essere al presente.' *Relat. des Ambassad.* vol. i. p. 470. Compare *Boullier, Maison Militaire des Rois de France*, p. 360.

crown, at whose bidding it had not feared to oppose even the pope himself.[286] It was, therefore, natural, that in France the ecclesiastical power should be attacked before the temporal power; because, while it was as despotic, it was less influential, and because it was unprotected by those popular traditions which form the principal support of every ancient institution.

These considerations are sufficient to explain why it was that, in this respect, the French and English intellects adopted courses so entirely different. In England, the minds of men, being less hampered with the prejudices of an indiscriminate loyalty, have been able at each successive step in the great progress to direct their doubts and inquiries on politics as well as on religion; and thus establishing their freedom, as they diminished their superstition, they have maintained the balance of the national intellect, without allowing to either of its divisions an excessive preponderance. But in France the admiration for royalty had become so great, that this balance was disturbed; the inquiries of men not daring to settle on politics, were fixed on religion, and gave rise to the singular phenomenon of a rich and powerful literature, in which unanimous hostility to the church was unaccompanied by a single voice against the enormous abuses of the state.

There was likewise another circumstance which increased this peculiar tendency. During the reign of Louis XIV. the personal character of the hierarchy had done much to secure their dominion. All the leaders of the church were men of virtue, and many were men of ability. Their conduct, tyrannical as it was, seems to have been conscientious; and the evils which it produced are merely to be ascribed to the gross impolicy of intrusting ecclesiastics with power. But after the death of Louis XIV. a great change took place. The clergy, from

286 *Capefigue's Louis XIV.* vol. i. pp. 204, 301; *Koch, Tableau des Révolutions,* vol. ii. p. 16. M. Ranke (*Die Päpste,* vol. ii. p. 257) ascribes this to the circumstances attending the apostasy of Henry IV.; but the cause lies much deeper, being connected with that triumph of the secular interests over the spiritual, of which the policy of Henry IV. was itself a consequence.

causes which it would be tedious to investigate, became extremely dissolute, and often very ignorant. This made their tyranny more oppressive, because to submit to it was more disgraceful. The great abilities and unblemished morals of men like Bossuet, Fénélon, Bourdaloue, Flechier, and Mascaron, diminished in some degree the ignominy which is always connected with blind obedience. But when they were succeeded by such bishops and cardinals as Dubois, Lafiteau, Tencin, and others who flourished under the regency, it became difficult to respect the heads of the church, tainted as they were with open and notorious depravity.[287] At the same time that there occurred this unfavourable change among the ecclesiastical rulers, there also occurred that immense reaction of which I have endeavoured to trace the early workings. It was, therefore, at the very moment when the spirit of inquiry became stronger, that the character of the clergy became more contemptible.[288] The great writers who were now rising in France, were moved to indignation when they saw that those who usurped unlimited power over consciences had themselves no consciences at all. It is evident, that every argument which they borrowed from England against ecclesiastical power, would gain additional force when directed against men whose personal unfitness was universally acknowledged.[289]

287 *Lavallée, Hist. des Français*, vol. iii. p. 408; *Flassan, Hist. de la Diplomatie*, vol. v. p. 3; *Tocqueville, Règne de Louis XV*, vol. i. pp. 35, 347; *Duclos, Mémoires*, vol. ii. pp. 42, 43, 154, 155, 223, 224. What was, if possible, still more scandalous, was, that in 1723 the assembly of the clergy elected as their president, unanimously ('d'une voix unanime'), the infamous Dubois, the most notoriously immoral man of his time. *Duclos, Mém.* vol. ii. p. 262.

288 On this decline of the French clergy, see *Villemain, XVIII^e Siècle*, vol. iii. pp. 178, 179; *Cousin, Hist de la Philos.* II. série, vol. i. p. 301. *Tocqueville*, (*Règne de Louis XV*, vol. i. pp. 35-38, 365) says, 'le clergé prêchait une morale qu'il compromettait par sa conduite;' a noticeable remark, when made by an opponent of the sceptical philosophy, like the elder M. Tocqueville. Among this profligate crew, Massillon stood alone; he being the last French bishop who was remarkable for virtue as well as for ability.

289 Voltaire says of the English, 'quand ils apprennent qu'en France de jeunes gens connus par leurs débauches, et élevés à la prélature par des intrigues de femmes, font publiquement l'amour, s'égaient à composer des chansons tendres, donnent tous les jours des soupers délicats et longs, et de

Such was the position of the rival parties, when, almost immediately after the death of Louis XIV., there began that great struggle between authority and reason, which is still unfinished, although in the present state of knowledge its result is no longer doubtful. On the one side there was a compact and numerous priesthood, supported by the prescription of centuries and by the authority of the crown. On the other side there was a small body of men, without rank, without wealth, and as yet without reputation, but animated by a love of liberty and by a just confidence in their own abilities. Unfortunately, they at the very outset committed a serious error. In attacking the clergy, they lost their respect for religion. In their determination to weaken ecclesiastical power, they attempted to undermine the foundations of Christianity.[3] This is deeply to be regretted for their own sake, as well as for its ultimate effects in France; but it must not be imputed to them as a crime, since it was forced on them by the exigencies of their position. They saw the frightful evils which their country was suffering from the institution of priesthood as it then existed; and yet they were told that the preservation of that institution in its actual form was essential to the very being of Christianity. They had always been taught that the interests of the clergy were identical with the interests of religion; how, then could they avoid including both clergy and religion in the same hostility? The alternative was cruel: but it was one from which, in common honesty, they had no escape. We, judging these things by another standard, possess a measure which they could not possibly have. We should not now commit such an error, because we know that there is no connexion between any one particular form of priesthood and the interests of Christianity. We know that the clergy are made for the people, and not the people for the clergy. We know that all questions of church-government are matters, not of religion, but of policy, and

là vont implorer les lumières du Saint-Esprit, et se nomment hardiment les successeurs des apôtres; ils remercient Dieu d'être protestants.' *Lettres sur les Anglais*, in *Œuvres*, vol. xxvi. p. 29.

should be settled, not according to traditional dogmas, but according to large views of general expediency. It is because these propositions are now admitted by all enlightened men, that in our country the truths of religion are rarely attacked except by superficial thinkers. If, for instance, we were to find that the existence of our bishops, with their privileges and their wealth, is unfavourable to the progress of society, we should not on that account feel enmity against Christianity; because we should remember that episcopacy is its accident, and not its essential, and that we could do away with the institution, and yet retain the religion. In the same way, if we should ever find, what was formerly found in France, that the clergy were tyrannical, this would excite in us an opposition, not to Christianity, but merely to the external form which Christianity assumed. So long as our clergy confine themselves to the beneficent duties of their calling, to the alleviation of pain and distress, either bodily or mental, so long will we respect them as the ministers of peace and of charity. But if they should ever again entrench on the rights of the laity,—if they should ever again interfere with an authoritative voice in the government of the state, —it will then be for the people to inquire, whether the time has not come to effect a revision of the ecclesiastical constitution of the country. This, therefore, is the manner in which we now view these things. What we think of the clergy will depend upon themselves; but will have no connexion with what we think of Christianity. We look on the clergy as a body of men who, notwithstanding their disposition to intolerance, and notwithstanding a certain narrowness incidental to their profession, do undoubtedly form part of a vast and noble institution, by which the manners of men have been softened, their sufferings assuaged, their distresses relieved. As long as this institution performs its functions, we are well content to let it stand. If, however, it should be out of repair, or if it should be found inadequate to the shifting circumstances of an advancing society, we retain both the power and the right of remedying its faults; we may, if need be,

remove some of its parts; but we would not, we dare not, tamper with those great religious truths which are altogether independent of it; truths which comfort the mind of man, raise him above the instincts of the hour, and infuse into him those lofty aspirations which, revealing to him his own immortality, are the measure and the symptom of a future life.

Unfortunately, this was not the way in which these matters were considered in France. The government of that country, by investing the clergy with great immunities, by treating them as if there were something sacred about their persons, and by punishing as heresy the attacks which were made on them, had established in the national mind an indissoluble connexion between their interests and the interests of Christianity. The consequence was, that when the struggle began, the ministers of religion, and religion itself, were both assailed with equal zeal. The ridicule, and even the abuse, heaped on the clergy, will surprise no one who is acquainted with the provocation that had been received. And although, in the indiscriminate onslaught which soon followed, Christianity was, for a time, subjected to a fate which ought to have been reserved for those who called themselves her ministers; this, while it moves us to regret, ought by no means to excite our astonishment. The destruction of Christianity in France was the necessary result of those opinions which bound up the destiny of the national priesthood with the destiny of the national religion. If both were connected by the same origin, both should fall in the same ruin. If that which is the tree of life, were, in reality, so corrupt that it could only bear poisonous fruits, then it availed little to lop off the boughs and cut down the branches; but it were better, by one mighty effort, to root it up from the ground, and secure the health of society by stopping the very source of the contagion.

These are reflections which must make us pause before we censure the deistical writers of the eighteenth century. So perverted, however, are the reasonings to

which some minds are accustomed, that those who judge them most uncharitably are precisely those whose conduct forms their best excuse. Such are the men who, by putting forth the most extravagant claims in favour of the clergy, are seeking to establish the principle, by the operation of which the clergy were destroyed. Their scheme for restoring the old system of ecclesiastical authority depends on the supposition of its divine origin; a supposition which, if inseparable from Christianity, will at once justify the infidelity which they hotly attack. The increase of the power of the clergy is incompatible with the interests of civilization. If, therefore, any religion adopts as its creed the necessity of such an increase, it becomes the bounden duty of every friend to humanity to do his utmost, either to destroy the creed, or, failing in that, to overturn the religion. If pretensions of this sort are an essential part of Christianity, it behoves us at once to make our choice; since the only option can be, between abjuring our faith or sacrificing our liberty. Fortunately, we are not driven to so hard a strait; and we know that these claims are as false in theory, as they would be pernicious in practice. It is, indeed, certain, that if they were put into execution, the clergy, though they might enjoy a momentary triumph, would have consummated their own ruin, by preparing the way among us for scenes as disastrous as those which occurred in France.

The truth is, that what is most blamed in the great French writers, was the natural consequence of the development of their age. Never was there a more striking illustration of the social law already noticed, that, if government will allow religious scepticism to run its course, it will issue in great things, and will hasten the march of civilization; but that, if an attempt is made to put it down with a strong hand, it may, no doubt, be repressed for a time, but eventually will rise with such force as to endanger the foundation of society. In England, we adopted the first of these courses; in France, they adopted the second. In England, men were allowed to exercise

their own judgment on the most sacred subjects; and, as soon as the diminution of their credulity had made them set bounds to the power of the clergy, toleration immediately followed, and the national prosperity has never been disturbed. In France, the authority of the clergy was increased by a superstitious king; faith usurped the place of reason, not a whisper of doubt was allowed to be heard, and the spirit of inquiry was stifled, until the country fell to the brink of ruin. If Louis XIV. had not interfered with the natural progress, France, like England, would have continued to advance. After his death, it was, indeed, too late to save the clergy, against whom all the intellect of the nation was soon arrayed. But the force of the storm might still have been broken, if the government of Louis XV. had conciliated what it was impossible to resist; and, instead of madly attempting to restrain opinions by laws, had altered the laws to suit the opinions. If the rulers of France, instead of exerting themselves to silence the national literature, had yielded to its suggestions, and had receded before the pressure of advancing knowledge, the fatal collision would have been avoided; because the passions which caused the collision would have been appeased. In such case, the church would have fallen somewhat earlier; but the state itself would have been saved. In such case, France would, in all probability, have secured her liberties, without increasing her crimes; and that great country, which, from her position and resources, ought to be the pattern of European civilization, might have escaped the ordeal of those terrible atrocities, through which she was compelled to pass, and from the effects of which she has not yet recovered.

It must, I think, be admitted that, during, at all events, the first half of the reign of Louis XV., it was possible, by timely concessions, still to preserve the political institutions of France. Reforms there must have been; and reforms too of a large and uncompromising character. So far, however, as I am able to understand the real history of that period, I make no doubt that, if these had been granted in a frank and ungrudging spirit, every thing

could have been retained necessary for the only two objects at which government ought to aim, namely, the preservation of order, and the prevention of crime. But, by the middle of the reign of Louis XV., or, at all events, immediately afterwards, the state of affairs began to alter; and, in the course of a few years, the spirit of France became so democratic, that it was impossible even to delay a revolution, which, in the preceding generation, might have been altogether averted. This remarkable change is connected with that other change already noticed, by virtue of which, the French intellect began, about the same period, to direct its hostility against the state, rather than, as heretofore, against the church. As soon as this, which may be called the second epoch of the eighteenth century, had been fairly entered, the movement became irresistible. Event after event followed each other in rapid succession; each one linked to its antecedent, and the whole forming a tendency impossible to withstand. It was in vain that the government, yielding some points of real importance, adopted measures by which the church was controlled, the power of the clergy diminished, and even the order of the jesuits suppressed. It was in vain that the crown now called to its councils, for the first time, men imbued with the spirit of reform; men, like Turgot and Necker, whose wise and liberal proposals would, in calmer days, have stilled the agitation of the popular mind. It was in vain that promises were made to equalize the taxes, to redress some of the most crying grievances, to repeal some of the most obnoxious laws. It was even in vain that the states-general were summoned; and that thus, after the lapse of a hundred and seventy years, the people were again admitted to take part in the management of their own affairs. All these things were in vain; because the time for treaty had gone by, and the time for battle had come. The most liberal concessions that could possibly have been devised would have failed to avert that deadly struggle, which the course of preceding events made inevitable. For the measure of that age was now full. The upper classes, intoxicated by the long possession of power,

had provoked the crisis; and it was needful that they should abide the issue. There was no time for mercy; there was no pause, no compassion, no sympathy. The only question that remained was, to see whether they who had raised the storm could ride the whirlwind; or, whether it was not rather likely that they should be the first victims of that frightful hurricane, in which, for a moment, laws, religion, morals, all perished, the lowest vestiges of humanity were effaced, and the civilization of France not only submerged, but, as it then appeared, irretrievably ruined.

To ascertain the successive changes of this, the second epoch of the eighteenth century, is an undertaking full of difficulty; not only on account of the rapidity with which the events occurred, but also on account of their extreme complication, and of the way in which they acted and reacted upon each other. The materials, however, for such an inquiry are very numerous; and, as they consist of evidence supplied by all classes and all interests, it has appeared to me possible to reconstruct the history of that time, according to the only manner in which history deserves to be studied; that is to say, according to the order of its social and intellectual development. In the concluding chapter of the present volume, I shall, therefore, attempt to trace the antecedents of the French Revolution during that remarkable period, in which the hostility of men, slackening in regard to the abuses of the church, was, for the first time, turned against the abuses of the state. But, before entering into this, which may be distinguished as the political epoch of the eighteenth century, it will be necessary, according to the plan which I have sketched, to examine the changes that occurred in the method of writing history, and to indicate the way in which those changes were affected by the tendencies of the earlier, or, as it may be termed, the ecclesiastical epoch. In this manner, we shall the more easily understand the activity of that prodigious movement which led to the French Revolution; because we shall see that it not

only affected the opinions of men in regard to what was passing under their eyes, but that it also biased their speculative views in regard to the events of preceding ages; and thus gave rise to that new school of historical literature, the formation of which is by no means the least of the many benefits which we owe to the great thinkers of the eighteenth century.

CHAPTER XIII.

STATE OF HISTORICAL LITERATURE IN FRANCE FROM THE END OF THE SIXTEENTH TO THE END OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

It may be easily supposed, that those vast movements in the intellect of France, which I have just traced, could not fail to produce a great change in the method of writing history. That bold spirit with which men were beginning to estimate the transactions of their own time, was sure to influence their opinions respecting those of a former age. In this, as in every branch of knowledge, the first innovation consisted in recognizing the necessity of doubting what had hitherto been believed; and this feeling, when once established, went on increasing, destroying at each step some of those monstrous absurdities by which, as we have seen, even the best histories were disfigured. The germs of the reform may be discerned in the fourteenth century, though the reform itself did not begin until late in the sixteenth century. During the seventeenth century, it advanced somewhat slowly; but in the eighteenth century it received a sudden accession of strength, and, in France in particular, it was hastened by that fearless and inquisitive spirit which characterized the age, and which, purging history of innumerable follies, raised its standard, and conferred on it a dignity hitherto unknown. The rise of historical scepticism, and the extent to which it spread, do indeed form such curious features in the annals of the European intellect, as to make it surprising that no one should have attempted to examine a movement to which a great department of

modern literature owes its most valuable peculiarities. In the present chapter, I hope to supply this deficiency so far as France is concerned; and I shall endeavour to mark the different steps by which the progress was effected, in order that, by knowing the circumstances most favourable to the study of history, we may with the greater ease inquire into the probability of its future improvement.

There is, in reference to this subject, a preliminary consideration well worthy of notice. This is, that men seem always to have begun to doubt in matters of religion, before they ventured to do so in matters of history. It might have been expected that the reproaches, and, in a superstitious age, the dangers, to which heresy is exposed, would have intimidated inquirers, and would have induced them to prefer the safer path of directing their scepticism upon questions of literary speculation. Such, however, is by no means the course which the human mind has adopted. In an early stage of society, when the clergy had universal influence, a belief in the unpardonable criminality of religious error is so deeply rooted, that it engrosses the attention of all; it forces every one who thinks, to concentrate upon theology his reflections and his doubts, and it leaves no leisure for topics which are conceived to be of inferior importance.[1] Hence, during many centuries, the subtlest intellects of Europe exhausted their strength on the rights and dogmas of Christianity; and while upon these matters they often showed the greatest ability, they, upon other subjects, and espepecially upon history, displayed that infantine credulity, of which I have already given several examples.

[1] See some very just remarks in *Whewell's Philos. of the Induc. Sciences*, vol. ii. p. 143. In *Neander's Hist. of the Church*, vol. iv. pp. 41, 128, there are two curious illustrations of the universal interest which theological discussions once inspired in Europe; and on the former subservience of philosophy to theology, compare *Hamilton's Discussions on Philosophy*, p. 197. But no one has treated this subject so ably as M. Auguste Comte, in his great work, *Philosophie Positive*. The service which the metaphysicians rendered to the church by their development of the doctrine of transubstantiation (*Blanco White's Evidence against Catholicism*, pp. 256-258) is a striking instance of this subordination of the intellect to ecclesiastical dogmas.

But when, in the progress of society, its theological element begins to decay, the ardour with which religious disputes were once conducted becomes sensibly weakened. The most advanced intellects are the first to feel the growing indifference, and, therefore, they are also the first to scrutinize real events with that inquisitive eye which their predecessors had reserved for religious speculations. This is a great turning-point in the history of every civilized nation. From this moment theological heresies become less frequent,[2] and literary heresies become more common. From this moment the spirit of inquiry and of doubt fastens itself upon every department of knowledge, and begins that great career of conquest, in which by every succeeding discovery the power and dignity of man are increased, while at the same time most of his opinions are disturbed, and many of them are destroyed: until, in the march of this vast but noiseless revolution, the stream of tradition is, as it were, interrupted, the influence of ancient authority is subverted, and the human mind, waxing in strength, learns to rely upon its own resources, and to throw off incumbrances by which the freedom of its movements had long been impaired.

The application of these remarks to the history of France, will enable us to explain some interesting phenomena in the literature of that country. During the whole of the Middle Ages, and I may say till the end of the sixteenth century, France, though fertile in annalists and chroniclers, had not produced a single historian, because she had not produced a single man who presumed to doubt what was generally believed. Indeed, until the publication of Du Haillan's history of the kings of France,

[2] M. Tocqueville says, what I am inclined to think is true, that an increasing spirit of equality lessens the disposition to form new religious creeds. *Democratie en Amérique*, vol. iv. pp. 16, 17. At all events, it is certain that increasing knowledge has this effect; for those great men whose turn of mind would formerly have made them heretics, are now content to confine their innovations to other fields of thought. If St. Augustin had lived in the seventeenth century, he would have reformed or created the physical sciences. If Sir Isaac Newton had lived in the fourth century, he would have organized a new sect, and have troubled the church with his originality.

no one had even attempted a critical digest of the materials which were known to be extant. This work appeared in 1576;[3] and the author, at the conclusion of his labours, could not disguise the pride which he felt at having accomplished so great an undertaking. In his dedication to the king he says, 'I am, sire, the first of all the French who have written the history of France, and, in a polite language, shown the grandeur and dignity of our kings; for before there was nothing but the old rubbish of chronicles which spoke of them.' He adds in the preface: 'Only I will say, without presumption and boasting, that I have done a thing which had not been done before, or seen by any of our nation, and have given to the history of France a dress it never appeared in before.'[4] Nor were these the idle boasts of an obscure man. His work went through numerous editions; was translated into Latin, and was reprinted in foreign countries. He himself was looked upon as one of the glories of the French nation, and was rewarded by the favour of the king, who conferred on him the office of secretary of finance.[5] From his work, we may, therefore, gain some notion of what was then the received standard of historical literature; and with this view, it is natural to inquire what the materials were which he chiefly employed. About sixty years earlier, an Italian named Paulus Emilius had published a gossiping compilation on 'the Actions of the French.'[6] This book, which is full of extravagant fables, was taken by Du Haillan as the basis of his famous history of the

[3] *Biog. Univ.* vol. xix. pp. 315, 316; where it is said, 'l'ouvrage de Du Haillan est remarquable, en ce que c'est le premier corps d'histoire de France qui ait paru dans notre langue.' See also *Dacier*, *Rapport sur les Progrès de l'Histoire*, p. 170; and *Des Réaux*, *Historiettes*, vol. x. p. 185.

[4] *Bayle*, article *Haillan*, note L.

[5] *Mercure François*, in *Bayle*, article *Haillan*, note D.

[6] *De Rebus gestis Francorum*, which appeared about 1516. *Biog. Univ.* vol. xiii. p. 119. Compare, respecting the author, *Mézéray*, *Hist. de France*, vol. ii. p. 363, with *Audigier*, *l'Origine des François*, vol. ii. p. 118, who complains of his opinion about Clovis, 'quoy qu'il fasse profession de relever la gloire des François.' Even the superficial Boulainvilliers (*Hist. de l'Ancien Gouvernement*, vol. ii. p. 166) contemptuously notices 'les rétoriciens postérieurs, tels que Paul Emile.'

kings of France; and from it he unhesitatingly copies those idle stories which Emilius loved to relate. This will give us some idea of the credulity of a writer, who was reckoned by his contemporaries to be, beyond all comparison, the greatest historian France had produced. But this is not all. Du Haillan, not content with borrowing from his predecessor every thing that was most incredible, gratifies his passion for the marvellous by some circumstances of his own invention. He begins his history with a long account of a council which, he says, was held by the celebrated Pharamond, in order to determine whether the French should be governed by a monarchy or by an aristocracy. It is, indeed, doubtful if any such person as Pharamond ever existed; and it is certain that, if he did exist, all the materials had long perished from which an opinion could be formed respecting him.[7] But Du Haillan, regardless of these little difficulties, gives us the fullest information touching the great chieftain; and, as if determined to tax to the utmost the credulity of his readers, mentions, as members of the council of Pharamond, two persons, Charamond and Quadrek, whose very names are invented by the historian.[8]

[7] Compare *Sismondi, Hist. des Français,* vol. i. pp. 176, 177, with *Montlosier, Monarchie Française,* vol. i. pp. 43, 44. Philippe de Comines, though superior to Sismondi and Montlosier in point of ability, lived in the middle ages, and therefore had no idea of doubting, but simply says, 'Pharamond fut esleu roy, l'an 420, et regna dix ans.' *Mém. de Comines,* livre viii. chap. xxvii. vol. iii. p. 232. But De Thou, coming a hundred years after Comines, evidently suspected that it was not all quite right, and therefore puts it on the authority of others. 'Pharamond, qui *selon nos historiens* a porté le premier la couronne des François.' *De Thou, Hist. Univ.* vol. x. p. 530. See a singular passage on Pharamond in *Mém. de Duplessis Mornay,* vol. ii. p. 405.

[8] Sorel (*La Bibliothèque Françoise,* Paris, 1667, p. 373) says of Du Haillan, 'On lui peut reprocher d'avoir donné un commencement fabuleux à son histoire, qui est entièrement de son invention, ayant fait tenir un conseil entre Pharamond et ses plus fidelles conseillers, pour sçauoir si ayant la puissance en main il deuoit reduire les François au gouvernement aristocratique ou monarchique, et faisant faire une harangue à chacun d'eux pour soustenir son opinion. On y voit les noms de Charamond et de Quadrek, personnages imaginaires.' Sorel, who had a glimmering notion that this was not exactly the way to write history, adds, 'C'est une chose fort surprenante. On est fort peu asseuré si Pharamond fut jamais au monde, et quoy qu'on sçache qu'il y ait esté, c'est une terrible hardiesse d'en raconter des choses qui n'ont aucun appuy.'

Such was the state of historical literature in France early in the reign of Henry III. A great change was, however, at hand. The remarkable intellectual progress made by the French towards the close of the sixteenth century was, as I have shown, preceded by that sceptism which appears to be its necessary precursor. The spirit of doubt, which had begun with religion, was communicated to literature. The impulse was immediately felt in every department of knowledge, and now it was that history first emerged from a debasement in which it had for centuries been sunk. On this subject, a mere statement of dates may be of service to those persons who, from a dislike to general reasoning, would otherwise deny the connexion which I wish to establish. In 1588 was published the first sceptical book ever written in the French language.[9] In 1598, the French government, for the first time, ventured upon a great public act of religious toleration. In 1604, De Thou published that celebrated work, which is allowed by all critics to be the first great history composed by a Frenchman.[10] And at the very moment when these things were passing, another eminent Frenchman, the illustrious Sully,[11] was collecting the materials for his historical work, which, though hardly equal to that of De Thou, comes immediately after it in ability, in importance, and in reputation. Nor can we fail to remark, that both these great historians, who left all their predecessors immeasurably behind them, were the confidential ministers and intimate friends of Henry IV., the first king of France whose memory is stained by the imputation of heresy, and the first who dared to change his religion, not in conse-

[9] 'Die erste Regung des skeptischen Geistes finden wir in den Versuchen des Michael von Montaigne.' *Tennemann, Gesch. der Philos.* vol. ix. p. 443.

[10] The first volume appeared in 1604. See *Le Long, Bibliothèque Historique de la France,* vol. ii. p. 375; and preface to *De Thou, Hist. Univ.* vol. i. p. iv.

[11] Sismondi has scarcely done justice to Sully; but the reader will find a fuller account of him in *Capefigue, Hist. de la Réforme,* vol. viii. p. 101-117; and a still better one in *Blanqui, Histoire de l'Economie Politique,* vol. i. pp. 347-361.

quence of any theological arguments, but on the broad and notorious ground of political expediency.[12]

But it was not merely over such eminent historians as these that the sceptical spirit displayed its influence. The movement was now becoming sufficiently active to leave its marks in the writings of far inferior men. There were two particulars in which the credulity of the earlier historians was very striking. These consisted in the uncritical manner in which, by blindly copying their predecessors, they confused the dates of different events; and in the readiness with which they believed the most improbable statements, upon imperfect evidence, and often upon no evidence at all. It is surely a singular proof of that intellectual progress which I am endeavouring to trace, that, within a very few years, both these sources of error were removed. In 1597, Serres was appointed historiographer of France; and, in the same year, he published his history of that country.[13] In this work, he insists upon the necessity of carefully recording the date of each event; and the example, which he first set, has, since his time, been generally followed.[14] The importance of this change will be willingly acknowledged by those who are aware of the confusion into which history has been

[12] According to D'Aubigné, the king, on his conversion, said, 'Je ferai voir à tout le monde que je n'ai esté persuadé par autre théologie que la nécessité de l'estat.' *Smedley's Reformed Religion in France*, vol. ii. p. 362. That Henry felt this is certain; and that he expressed it to his friends is probable; but he had a difficult game to play with the Catholic church; and in one of his edicts we find 'une grande joye de son retour à l'église, dont il attribuoit la cause à la grace du Tout-Puissant, et aux prières de ses fidèles sujets.' *De Thou, Hist. Univ.* vol. xii. pp. 105, 106. Compare, at pp. 468, 469, the message he sent to the pope.

[13] *Marchand, Dictionnaire Historique*, vol. ii. pp. 205, 209, La Haye, 1758, folio. This curious and learned work, which is much less read than it deserves, contains the only good account of Serres I have been able to meet with; vol. ii. pp. 197-213.

[14] 'On ne prenoit presque aucun soin de marquer les dates des événemens dans les ouvrages historiques . . . . De Serres reconnut ce défaut; et pour y remédier, il rechercha avec beaucoup de soin les dates des événemens qu'il avoit à employer, et les marqua dans son histoire le plus exactement qu'il lui fut possible. Cet exemple a été imité depuis par la plûpart de ceux qui l'ont suivi; et c'est à lui qu'on est redevable de l'avantage qu'on tire d'une pratique si nécessaire et si utile.' *Marchand, Dict. Historique*, vol. ii. p. 206.

thrown by the earlier writers having neglected, what now seems, so obvious a precaution. Scarcely had this innovation been established, when it was followed, in the same country, by another of still greater moment. This was the appearance, in 1621, of a history of France, by Scipio Dupleix; in which, for the first time, the evidence for historical facts was published with the facts themselves.[15] It is needless to insist upon the utility of a step which, more than any other, has taught historians to be industrious in collecting their authorities, and careful in scrutinizing them.[16] To this may be added, that Dupleix was also the first Frenchman who ventured to publish a system of philosophy in his own language.[17] It is true, that the system itself is intrinsically of little value;[18] but, at the time it appeared, it was an unprecedented, and, on that account, a profane attempt, to unfold the mysteries of philosophy in the vulgar speech; and, in this point of view, supplies evidence of the increasing diffusion of a spirit bolder and more inquisitive than any formerly known. It is not, therefore, surprising, that, almost at the

[15] 'Il est le premier historien qui ait cité en marge ses autorités; précaution absolument nécessaire quand on n'écrit pas l'histoire de son temps, à moins qu'on ne s'en tienne aux faits connus.' *Œuvres de Voltaire*, vol. xix. p. 95. And the *Biog. Univ.* vol. xii. p. 277, says, 'On doit lui faire honneur d'avoir cité en marge les auteurs dont il s'est servi; précaution indispensable, que l'on connaissait peu avant lui, et que les historiens modernes négligent trop aujourd'hui.' Bassompierre, who had a quarrel with Dupleix, has given some curious details respecting him and his History; but they are, of course, not to be relied on. *Mém. de Bassompierre*, vol. iii. pp. 356, 357. Patin speaks favourably of his history of Henry IV. *Lettres de Patin*, vol. i. p. 17: but compare *Sully, Œconomies Royales*, vol. ix. pp. 121, 249.

[16] The ancients, as is well known, rarely took this trouble. *Mure's Hist. of Greek Literature*, vol. iv. pp. 197, 306, 307. But what is much more curious is, that, even in scientific works, there was an equal looseness; and Cuvier says, that, in the sixteenth century, 'on se bornait à dire, d'une manière générale, Aristote a dit telle chose, sans indiquer ni le passage ni le livre dans lequel la citation se trouvait.' *Cuvier, Hist. des Sciences*, part ii. p. 63; and at p. 88, 'suivant l'usage de son temps, Gessner n'indique pas avec précision les endroits d'où il a tiré ses citations:' see also p. 214.

[17] 'Le premier ouvrage de philosophie publié dans cette langue.' *Biog. Univ.* vol. xii. p. 277.

[18] So it seemed to me, when I turned over its leaves a few years ago. However, Patin says, 'sa philosophie françoise n'est pas mauvaise.' *Lettres de Patin*, vol. iii. p. 357. On the dialectic powers of Dupleix, see a favourable judgment in *Hamilton's Discuss. on Philos.* p. 119.

same moment, there should be made, in the same country, the first systematic attempt at historical scepticism. The system of philosophy by Dupleix appeared in 1602; and in 1599, La Popelinière published at Paris what he calls the *History of Histories*, in which he criticizes historians themselves, and examines their works with that sceptical spirit, to which his own age was deeply indebted.[19] This able man was also the author of a *Sketch of the New History of the French;* containing a formal refutation of that fable, so dear to the early historians, according to which the monarchy of France was founded by Francus, who arrived in Gaul after the conclusion of the siege of Troy.[20]

It would be useless to collect all the instances in which this advancing spirit of scepticism now began to purge history of its falsehoods. I will only mention two or three more of those which have occurred in my reading. In 1614, De Rubis published at Lyons a work on the European monarchies; in which he not only attacks the long-established belief respecting the descent from Francus, but boldly asserts, that the Franks owe their name to their ancient liberties.[21] In 1620, Gomberville, in a dissertation on history, refutes many of those idle stories respecting the antiquity of the French, which had been universally received until his time.[22] And, in 1630,

[19] *Biog. Univ.* vol. xxxv. p. 402. Sorel (*Bibliothèque Françoise*, p. 165), who is evidently displeased at the unprecedented boldness of La Popelinière, says, 'il dit ses sentimens en bref des historiens de toutes les nations, et de plusieurs langues, et particulièrement des historiens françois, dont il parle avec beaucoup d'asseurance.'

[20] 'Il refute l'opinion, alors fort accréditée, de l'arrivée dans les Gaules de Francus et des Troyens.' *Biog. Univ.* vol. xxxv. p. 402. Compare *Le Long, Bibliothèque Historique de la France*, vol. ii. p. 39. Patin says that De Thou was much indebted to him: 'M. de Thou a pris hardiment de la Popelinière.' *Lettres de Patin*, vol. i. p. 222. There is a notice of Popelinière, in connexion with Richer, in *Mém. de Richelieu*, vol. v. p. 349.

[21] 'Il refute les fables qu'on avançoit sur l'origine des François, appuyées sur le témoignage du faux Bérose. Il dit que leur nom vient de leur ancienne franchise.' *Le Long, Bibliothèque Historique*, vol. ii. p. 750.

[22] Compare *Sorel, Bibliothèque Françoise*, p. 298, with *Du Fresnoy, Méthode pour étudier l'Histoire*, vol. x. p. 4, Paris, 1772. There is an account of Gomberville in *Les Historiettes de Tallemant des Réaux*, vol. viii. pp. 15-19; a singularly curious book, which is, for the seventeenth century, what

Berthault published at Paris the 'French Florus,' in which he completely upsets the old method; since he lays it down as a fundamental principle, that the origin of the French must only be sought for in those countries where they were found by the Romans.[23]

All these, and similar productions, were, however, entirely eclipsed by Mezeray's History of France; the first volume of which was published in 1643, and the last in 1651.[24] It is, perhaps, hardly fair to his predecessors, to call him the first general historian of France;[25] but there can be no doubt that his work is greatly superior to any that had yet been seen. The style of Mezeray is admirably clear and vigorous, rising, at times, to considerable eloquence. Besides this, he has two other merits much more important. These are, an indisposition to believe strange things, merely because they have hitherto been believed; and an inclination to take the side of the people, rather than that of their rulers.[26] Of these principles, the first was too common among the ablest Frenchmen of that time to excite much attention.[27] But the other prin-

Brantome is for the sixteenth. I ought to have mentioned earlier the inimitable ridicule with which Rabelais treats the habit historians had of tracing the genealogies of their heroes back to Noah. *Œuvres de Rabelais,* vol. i. pp. 1-3, and vol. ii. pp. 10-17: see also, at vol. v. pp. 171, 172, his defence of the antiquity of Chinon.

[23] 'L'auteur croit qu'il ne faut pas la chercher ailleurs que dans le pays où ils ont été connus des Romains, c'est-à-dire entre l'Elbe et le Rhin.' *Le Long, Bibliothèque Historique,* vol. ii. p. 56. This work of Berthault's was, for many years, a text-book in the French colleges. *Biog. Univ.* vol. iv. p. 347.

[24] The first volume in 1643; the second in 1646; and the last in 1651. *Biog. Univ.* vol. xxviii. p. 510.

[25] 'The French have now their first general historian, Mezeray.' *Hallam's Literature of Europe,* vol. iii. p. 228; and see *Stephen's Lectures on the History of France,* 1851, vol. i. p. 10.

[26] Bayle says, that Mezeray is, 'de tous les historiens celui qui favorise le plus les peuples contre la cour.' *Le Long, Bibliothèque Historique,* vol. iii. p. lxxxvi.

[27] Though it did not prevent him from believing that sudden tempests, and unusual appearances in the heavens, were aberrations, due to supernatural interference, and, as such, were the prognosticators of political change. *Mezeray, Hist. de France,* vol. i. pp. 202, 228, 238, 241, 317, 792, vol. ii. pp. 485, 573, 1120, vol. iii. pp. 31, 167, 894; instructive passages, as proving that, even in powerful minds, the scientific and secular method was still feeble.

ciple enabled Mezeray to advance an important step before all his contemporaries. He was the first Frenchman who, in a great historical work, threw off that superstitious reverence for royalty which had long troubled the minds of his countrymen, and which, indeed, continued to haunt them for another century. As a necessary consequence, he was also the first who saw that a history, to be of real value, must be a history, not only of kings, but of nations. A steady perception of this principle led him to incorporate into his book matters which, before his time, no one cared to study. He communicates all the information he could collect respecting the taxes which the people had paid; the sufferings they had undergone from the griping hands of their governors; their manners, their comforts, even the state of the towns which they inhabited; in a word, what affected the interests of the French people, as well as what affected the interests of the French monarchy.[28] These were the subjects which Mezeray preferred to insignificant details respecting the pomp of courts and the lives of kings. These were the large and comprehensive matters on which he loved to dwell, and on which he expatiated; not, indeed, with so much fulness as we could desire, but still with a spirit and an accuracy which entitles him to the honour of being the greatest historian France produced before the eighteenth century.

This was, in many respects, the most important change which had yet been effected in the manner of writing history. If the plan begun by Mezeray had been completed by his successors, we should possess materials, the absence of which no modern researches can possibly compensate. Some things, indeed, we should, in that case, have lost. We should know less than we now know of courts and of camps. We should have heard less of the peerless beauty

[28] What he did on these subjects is most remarkable, considering that some of the best materials were unknown, and in manuscript, and that even De Thou gives scarcely any information respecting them; so that Mezeray had no model. See, among other passages which have struck me in the first volume, pp. 145-147, 204, 353, 356, 362-365, 530, 531, 581, 812, 946, 1039. Compare his indignant expressions at vol. ii. p. 721.

of French queens, and of the dignified presence of French kings. We might even have missed some of the links of that evidence by which the genealogies of princes and nobles are ascertained, and the study of which delights the curiosity of antiquaries and heralds. But, on the other hand, we should have been able to examine the state of the French people during the latter half of the seventeenth century; while, as things now stand, our knowledge of them, in that most important period, is inferior in accuracy and in extent to the knowledge we possess of some of the most barbarous tribes of the earth.[29] If the example of Mezeray had been followed, with such additional resources as the progress of affairs would have supplied, we should not only have the means of minutely tracing the growth of a great and civilized nation, but we should have materials that would suggest or verify those original principles, the discovery of which constitutes the real use of history.

But this was not to be. Unhappily for the interests of knowledge, the march of French civilization was, at this period, suddenly checked. Soon after the middle of the seventeenth century, that lamentable change took place in France, which gave a new turn to the destinies of the nation. The reaction which the spirit of inquiry underwent, and the social and intellectual circumstances which, by bringing the Fronde to a premature close, prepared the way for Louis XIV., have been described in a former part of this volume, where I have attempted to indicate the general effects of the disastrous movement. It now remains for me to point out how this retrogressive tendency opposed obstacles to the improvement of historical literature, and prevented authors, not only from relating

[29] Those who have studied the French memoirs of the seventeenth century, know how little can be found in them respecting the condition of the people; while the fullest private correspondence, such as the letters of Sevigné and De Maintenon, are equally unsatisfactory. The greater part of the evidence now extant has been collected by M. Monteil, in his valuable work, *Histoire des divers Etats*: but whoever will put all this together must admit, that we are better informed as to the condition of many savage tribes than we are concerning the lower classes of France during the reign of Louis XIV.

with honesty what was passing around them, but also from understanding events which had occurred before their time.

The most superficial students of French literature must be struck by the dearth of historians during that long period in which Louis XIV. held the reins of government.[30] To this, the personal peculiarities of the king greatly contributed. His education had been shamefully neglected; and as he never had the energy to repair its deficiencies, he all his life remained ignorant of many things with which even princes are usually familiar.[31] Of the course of past events he knew literally nothing, and he took no interest in any history except the history of his own exploits. Among a free people, this indifference on the part of the sovereign could never have produced injurious results; indeed, as we have already seen, the absence of royal patronage is, in a highly civilized country, the most favourable condition of literature. But at the accession of Louis XIV. the liberties of the French were still too young, and the habits of independent thought too recent, to enable them to bear up against that combination of the crown and the church, which was directed against them. The French, becoming every day more servile, at length sunk so low, that, by the end of the seventeenth century, they seemed to have lost even the wish of resistance. The king, meeting no opposition, endeavoured to exercise over the intellect of the country an authority equal to that with which he conducted its government.[32]

30 This is noticed in *Sismondi, Hist. des Français*, vol. xxvii. pp. 181, 182; also in *Villemain, Littérature Française*, vol. ii. pp. 29, 30. Compare *D'Argenson, Réflexions sur les Historiens François*, in *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, vol. xxviii. p. 627, with *Boulainvilliers, Ancien Gouvernement de la France*, vol. i. p. 174.

31 'Le jeune Louis XIV n'avait reçu aucune éducation intellectuelle.' *Capefigue's Richelieu, Mazarin et la Fronde*, vol. ii. p. 245. On the education of Louis XIV., which was as shamefully neglected as that of our George III., see *Lettres inédites de Maintenon*, vol. ii. p. 369; *Duclos, Mém. Secrets*, vol. i. pp. 167, 168; *Mém. de Brienne*, vol. i. pp. 391-393.

32 On his political maxims, see *Lemontey, Etablissement de Louis XIV*, pp. 325-327, 407, 408. The eloquent remarks made by M. Ranke upon an Italian despotism, are admirably applicable to his whole system: 'Sonderbare Gestalt menschlichen Dinge! Die Kräfte des Landes bringen den Hof

In all the great questions of religion and of politics, the spirit of inquiry was stifled, and no man was allowed to express an opinion unfavourable to the existing state of things. As the king was willing to endow literature, he naturally thought that he had a right to its services. Authors, who were fed by his hand, were not to raise their voices against his policy. They received his wages, and they were bound to do the bidding of him who paid them. When Louis assumed the government, Mezeray was still living; though I need hardly say that his great work was published before this system of protection and patronage came into play. The treatment to which he, the great historian of France, was now subjected, was a specimen of the new arrangement. He received from the crown a pension of four thousand francs; but when he, in 1668, published an abridgment of his History,[33] it was intimated to him, that some remarks upon the tendency of taxation were likely to cause offence in high quarters. As, however, it was soon found that Mezeray was too honest and too fearless to retract what he had written, it was determined to have recourse to intimidation, and half of his pension was taken from him.[34] But as this did not produce a proper effect, another order was issued, which deprived him of the remaining half; and thus early, in this bad reign, there

hervor, der Mittelpunkt des Hofes ist der Fürst, das letzte Product des gesammten Lebens ist zuletzt das Selbstgefühl des Fürsten.' *Die Päpste*, vol. ii. p. 266.

[33] His *Abrégé Chronologique* was published in 1668, in three volumes quarto. *Biog. Univ.* vol. xxviii. p. 510. Le Long (*Bibliothèque Historique*, vol. iii. p. lxxxv.) says, that it was only allowed to be published in consequence of a 'privilège' which Mezeray had formerly obtained. But there seems to have been some difficulty, of which these writers are not aware: for Patin, in a letter dated Paris, 23 December 1664, speaks of it as being then in the press: 'on imprime ici en grand-in-quarto un Abrégé de l'Histoire de France, par M. Mezeray.' *Lettres de Patin*, vol. iii. p. 503: compare p. 665. It long remained an established school-book: see D'Argenson's Essay, in *Mém. de l'Académie*, vol. xxviii. p. 635; and *Works of Sir William Temple*, vol. iii. p. 70.

[34] *Barrière, Essai sur les Mœurs du Dix-septième Siècle*, prefixed to *Mém. de Brienne*, vol. i. pp. 129, 130, where reference is made to his original correspondence with Colbert. This treatment of Mezeray is noticed, but imperfectly, in *Boulainvilliers, Hist. de l'Ancien Gouvernement*, vol. i. p. 196; in *Lemontey, Etablissement de Louis*, p. 331; and in *Palissot, Mém. pour l'Hist. de Lit.* vol. ii. p. 161.

was set an example of punishing a man for writing with honesty upon a subject in which, of all others, honesty is the first essential.[35]

Such conduct as this showed what historians were to expect from the government of Louis XIV. Several years later, the king took another opportunity of displaying the same spirit. Fénelon had been appointed preceptor to the grandson of Louis, whose early vices his firmness and judgment did much to repress.[36] But a single circumstance was thought sufficient to outweigh the immense service which Fénelon thus rendered to the royal family, and, if his pupil had come to the throne, would have rendered prospectively to the whole of France. His celebrated romance, *Telemachus*, was published in 1699, as it appears, without his consent.[37] The king suspected that, under the guise of a fiction, Fénelon intended to reflect on the conduct of government. It was in vain that the author denied so dangerous an imputation. The indignation of the king was not to be appeased. He banished Fénelon from the court; and would never again admit to his presence a man whom he suspected of even insinuating a criticism upon the measures adopted by the administration of the country.[38]

If the king could, on mere suspicion, thus treat a great writer, who had the rank of an archbishop and the reputation of a saint, it was not likely that he would deal more tenderly with inferior men. In 1681, the Abbé Primi, an

[35] In 1685 was published at Paris what was called an improved edition of Mezeray's History; that is, an edition from which the honest remarks were expunged. See *Le Long, Bibliothèque Historique*, vol. ii. p. 53, vol. iv. p. 381; and *Brunet, Manuel du Libraire*, vol. iii. p. 383, Paris, 1843. Hampden, who knew Mezeray, has recorded an interesting interview he had with him in Paris, when the great historian lamented the loss of the liberties of France. See *Calamy's Life of Himself*, vol. i. pp. 392, 393.

[36] *Sismondi, Hist. des Français*, vol. xxvi. pp. 240, 241.

[37] 'Par l'infidélité d'un domestique chargé de transcrire le manuscrit.' *Biog. Univ.* vol. xiv. p. 289; and see *Peignot, Dict. des Livres condamnés*, vol. i. pp. 134, 135. It was suppressed in France, and appeared in Holland in the same year, 1699. *Lettres de Sevigné*, vol. vi. pp. 434, 435 note.

[38] 'Louis XIV prit le Télémaque pour une personnalité. . . Comme il (Fénelon) avait déplu au roi, il mourut dans l'exil.' *Lerminier, Philos. du Droit*, vol. ii. pp. 219, 220; and see *Siècle de Louis XIV*, chap. xxxii., in *Œuvres de Voltaire*, vol. xx. p. 307.

Italian, then residing at Paris, was induced to write a history of Louis XIV. The king, delighted with the idea of perpetuating his own fame, conferred several rewards upon the author: and arrangements were made that the work should be composed in Italian, and immediately translated into French. But when the history appeared, there were found in it some circumstances which it was thought ought not to have been disclosed. On this account, Louis caused the book to be suppressed, the papers of the author to be seized, and the author himself to be thrown into the Bastille.[39]

Those, indeed, were dangerous times for independent men; times when no writer on politics or religion was safe, unless he followed the fashion of the day, and defended the opinions of the court and the church. The king, who had an insatiable thirst for what he called glory,[40] laboured to degrade contemporary historians into mere chroniclers of his own achievements. He ordered Racine and Boileau to write an account of his reign; he settled a pension upon them, and he promised to supply them with the necessary materials.[41] But even Racine and Boileau, poets though they were, knew that they would fail in satisfying his morbid vanity; they, therefore, received the pension, but omitted to compose the work for which the pension was conferred. So notorious was the unwillingness of able men to meddle with history, that it was thought advisable to beat up literary recruits from foreign countries. The case of the Abbé Primi has

[39] These circumstances are related in a letter from Lord Preston, dated Paris, 22 July 1682, and printed in *Dalrymple's Memoirs*, pp. 141, 142, appendix to vol. i. The account given by M. Peignot (*Livres condamnés*, vol. ii. pp. 52, 53) is incomplete, he being evidently ignorant of the existence of Lord Preston's letter.

[40] An able writer has well called him 'glorieux plutôt qu'appréciateur de la vraie gloire.' *Flassan, Histoire de la Diplomatie Française*, vol. iv. p. 399.

[41] In 1677, Madame de Sevigné writes from Paris respecting the king: 'Vous savez bien qu'il a donné deux mille écus de pension à Racine et à Despréaux, en leur commandant de travailler à son histoire, dont il aura soin de donner des Mémoires.' *Lettres de Sevigné*, vol. iii. p. 362. Compare *Eloge de Valincourt*, in *Œuvres de Fontenelle*, vol. vi. p. 383; and *Hughes's Letters*, edit. 1773, vol. ii. pp. 74, 75.

just been mentioned; he was an Italian, and only one year later a similar offer was made to an Englishman. In 1683, Burnet visited France, and was given to understand that he might receive a pension, and that he might even enjoy the honour of conversing with Louis himself, provided he would write a history of the royal affairs; such history, it was carefully added, being on the 'side' of the French king.[42]

Under such circumstances as these, it is no wonder that history, so far as its great essentials are concerned, should have rapidly declined during the power of Louis XIV. It became, as some think, more elegant; but it certainly became more feeble. The language in which it was composed was worked with great care, the periods neatly arranged, the epithets soft and harmonious. For that was a polite and obsequious age, full of reverence, of duty, and of admiration. In history, as it was then written, every king was a hero, and every bishop was a saint. All unpleasant truths were suppressed; nothing harsh or unkind was to be told. These docile and submissive sentiments being expressed in an easy and flowing style, gave to history that air of refinement, that gentle, unobtrusive gait, which made it popular with the classes that it flattered. But even so, while its form was polished, its life was extinct. All its independence was gone, all its honesty, all its boldness. The noblest and the most difficult department of knowledge, the study of the movements of the human race, was abandoned to every timid and creeping intellect that cared to cultivate it. There were Boulainvilliers, and Daniel, and Maimbourg, and Varillas, and Vertot, and numerous others, who in the reign of Louis XIV. were believed to be historians; but whose histories have scarcely any merit, except that of enabling us to appreciate the period in which such productions were

[42] Burnet relates this with delightful simplicity: 'Others more probably thought that the king, hearing I was a writer of history, had a mind to engage me to write on his side. I was told a pension would be offered me. But I made no steps towards it; for though I was offered an audience of the king, I excused it, since I could not have the honour to be presented to that king by the minister of England.' *Burnet's Own Time*, vol. ii. p. 385.

admired, and the system of which they were the representatives.

To give a complete view of the decline of historical literature in France, from the time of Mezeray until early in the eighteenth century, would require a summary of every history which was written; for all of them were pervaded by the same spirit. But, as this would occupy much too large a space, it will probably be thought sufficient if I confine myself to such illustrations as will bring the tendency of the age most clearly before the reader; and for this purpose, I will notice the works of two historians I have not yet mentioned; one of whom was celebrated as an antiquary, the other as a theologian. Both possessed considerable learning, and one was a man of undoubted genius; their works are, therefore, worth attention, as symptoms of the state of the French intellect late in the seventeenth century. The name of the antiquary was Audigier; the name of the theologian was Bossuet: and from them we may learn something respecting the way in which, during the reign of Louis XIV., it was usual to contemplate the transactions of past ages.

The celebrated work of Audigier, on the Origin of the French, was published at Paris in 1676.[43] It would be unjust to deny that the author was a man of great and careful reading. But his credulity, his prejudices, his reverence for antiquity, and his dutiful admiration for every thing established by the church and the court, warped his judgment to an extent which, in our time, seems incredible; and, as there are probably few persons in England who have read his once famous book, I will give an outline of its leading views.

In this great history we are told, that 3464 years after the creation of the world, and 590 years before the birth of Christ, was the exact period at which Sigovese, nephew to the king of the Celts, was first sent into Germany.[44]

[43] During many years it enjoyed great reputation; and there is no history written in that period respecting which Le Long gives so many details. See his *Bibliothèque Historique de la France*, vol. ii. pp. 13, 14. Compare *La Bibliothèque de Leber*, vol. ii. p. 110, Paris, 1839.

[44] *Audigier, L'Origine des François*, Paris, 1676, vol. i. p. 5. See also

Those who accompanied him were necessarily travellers; and as, in the German language, *wandeln* means *to go*, we have here the origin of the Vandals.[45] But the antiquity of the Vandals is far surpassed by that of the French. Jupiter, Pluto, and Neptune, who are sometimes supposed to be gods, were in reality kings of Gaul.[46] And, if we look back a little further, it becomes certain that Gallus, the founder of Gaul, was no other than Noah himself; for in those days the same man frequently had two names.[47] As to the subsequent history of the French, it was fully equal to the dignity of their origin. Alexander the Great, even in all the pride of his victories, never dared to attack the Scythians, who were a colony sent from France.[48] It is from these great occupiers of France that there have proceeded all the gods of Europe, all the fine arts, and all the sciences.[49] The English themselves are merely a colony of the French, as must be evident to whoever considers the similarity of the words Angles and Anjou;[50] and to this fortunate descent the natives of the British islands are indebted for such bravery and politeness as they still possess.[51] Several other points are cleared up by this great critic with equal facility. The Salian Franks were so called from the rapidity of their flight;[52] the Bretons

p. 45, where he congratulates himself on being the first to clear up the history of Sigovese.

[45] *Audigier*, vol. i. p. 7. Other antiquaries have adopted the same preposterous etymology. See a note in *Kemble's Saxons in England*, vol. i. p. 41.

[46] 'Or le plus ancien Jupiter, le plus ancien Neptune, et le plus ancien Pluton, sont ceux de Gaule; ils la divisèrent les premiers en Celtique, Aquitaine et Belgique, et obtinrent chacun une de ces parties en partage. Jupiter, qu'on fait régner au ciel, eut la Celtique. . . . Neptune, qu'on fait régner sur les eaux, et sur les mers, eut l'Aquitaine, qui n'est appellée de la sorte qu'à cause de l'abondance de ses eaux, et de la situation sur l'océan.' *Audigier, L'Origine des François*, vol. i. pp. 223, 224.

[47] See his argument, vol. i. pp. 216, 217, beginning, 'le nom de Noé, que portèrent les Galates, est Gallus;' and compare vol. ii. p. 109, where he expresses surprise that so little should have been done by previous writers towards establishing this obvious origin of the French.

[48] *Audigier*, vol. i. pp. 196, 197, 255, 256.

[49] 'Voilà donc les anciennes divinitez d'Europe, originaires de Gaule, aussi bien que les beaux arts et les hautes sciences.' *Audigier*, vol. i. p. 234.

[50] *Ibid.* vol. i. pp. 73, 74. He sums up, 'c'en est assez pour relever l'Anjou, à qui cette gloire appartient légitimement.'

[51] Vol. i. pp. 265, 266.

[52] Vol. i. p. 149.

were evidently Saxons;[53] and even the Scotch, about whose independence so much has been said, were vassals to the kings of France.[54] Indeed, it is impossible to exaggerate the dignity of the crown of France; it is difficult even to conceive its splendour. Some have supposed that the emperors are superior to the kings of France, but this is the mistake of ignorant men; for an emperor means a mere military ruler, while the title of king includes all the functions of supreme power.[55] To put the question, therefore, on its real footing, the great king Louis XIV. is an emperor, as have been all his predecessors, the illustrious rulers of France, for fifteen centuries.[56] And it is an undoubted fact, that Antichrist, about whom so much anxiety is felt, will never be allowed to appear in the world until the French empire has been destroyed. This, says Audigier, it would be idle to deny; for it is asserted by many of the saints, and it is distinctly foreshadowed by St. Paul, in his second epistle to the Thessalonians.[57]

Strange as all this appears, there was nothing in it to revolt the enlightened age of Louis XIV. Indeed, the French, dazzled by the brilliancy of their prince, must have felt great interest in learning how superior he was to all other potentates, and how he had not only been preceded by a long line of emperors, but was in fact an emperor himself. They must have been struck with awe at the information communicated by Audigier respecting the arrival of Antichrist, and the connexion between that important event and the fate of the French monarchy. They must have listened with pious wonder to the illustration of these matters from the writings of the fathers, and from the epistle to the Thessalonians. All this they would easily receive; because to worship the king, and venerate the church, were the two cardinal maxims of that

[53] Vol. ii. pp. 179, 180.
[54] Vol. ii. p. 269.
[55] Vol. ii. p. 124.
[56] Vol. ii. pp. 451-454.
[57] 'A quoy nous pourrions ioindre un autre monument fort authentique, c'est le résultat de certains pères, et de certains docteurs de l'église, qui tiennent que l'Ante-christ ne viendra point au monde, qu'après la discection, c'est-à-dire après la dissipation de nostre empire. Leur fondement est dans la seconde épistre de saint Paul aux Thessaloniciens.' *Audigier*, vol. ii. p. 462.

age. To obey, and to believe, were the fundamental ideas of a period, in which the fine arts did for a time flourish,—in which the perception of beauty, though too fastidious, was undoubtedly keen,—in which taste and the imagination, in its lower departments, were zealously cultivated,—but in which, on the other hand, originality and independence of thought were extinguished, the greatest and the largest topics were forbidden to be discussed, the sciences were almost deserted, reforms and innovations were hated, new opinions were despised, and their authors punished, until at length, the exuberance of genius being tamed into sterility, the national intellect was reduced to that dull and monotonous level which characterizes the last twenty years of the reign of Louis XIV.

In no instance can we find a better example of this reactionary movement, than in the case of Bossuet, bishop of Meaux. The success, and indeed the mere existence, of his work on Universal History, becomes, from this point of view, highly instructive. Considered by itself, the book is a painful exhibition of a great genius cramped by a superstitious age. But considered in reference to the time in which it appeared, it is invaluable as a symptom of the French intellect; since it proves, that towards the end of the seventeenth century, one of the most eminent men, in one of the first countries of Europe, could willingly submit to a prostration of judgment, and could display a blind credulity, of which, in our day, even the feeblest minds would be ashamed; and that this, so far from causing scandal, or bringing a rebuke on the head of the author, was received with universal and unqualified applause. Bossuet was a great orator, a consummate dialectician, and an accomplished master of those vague sublimities by which most men are easily affected. All these qualites he, a few years later, employed in the production of what is probably the most formidable work ever directed against Protestantism.[58] But when he, leaving these matters, entered

[58] This is the opinion of Mr. Hallam respecting Bossuet's History of the Variations of Protestant Churches. *Const. Hist.* vol. i. p. 486: compare *Lerminier, Philos. du Droit,* vol. ii. p. 86. Attempts have been made by

the vast field of history, he could think of no better way of treating his new subject, than by following the arbitrary rules peculiar to his own profession.[59] His work is an audacious attempt to degrade history to a mere handmaid of theology.[60] As if, on such matters, doubt were synonymous with crime, he, without the slightest hesitation, takes every thing for granted which the church had been accustomed to believe. This enables him to speak with perfect confidence respecting events which are lost in the remotest antiquity. He knows the exact number of years which have elapsed since the moment when Cain murdered his brother; when the deluge overwhelmed the world; and when Abraham was summoned to his mission.[61] The dates of these, and similar occurrences, he fixes with a precision, which might almost make us believe that they had taken place in his own time, if not under his own eyes.[62] It is true, that the Hebrew books on which he willingly relied, supply no evidence of the slightest value

Protestant theologians to retort against the Catholics the arguments of Bossuet, on the ground that religious variations are a necessary consequence of the honest pursuit of religious truth. See *Blanco White's Evidence against Catholicism*, pp. 109-112; and his *Letters from Spain, by Doblado*, p. 127. With this I fully agree; but it would be easy to show that the argument is fatal to all ecclesiastical systems with strictly defined creeds, and, therefore, strikes as heavily against the Protestant churches as against the Catholic. Beausobre, in his acute and learned work on Manichæism, seems to have felt this; and he makes the dangerous admission, 'que si l'argument de M. de Meaux vaut quelque chose contre la Réformation, il a la même force contre le Christianisme.' *Hist. de Manichée*, vol. i. p. 526. On Bossuet as a controversialist, see *Stäudlin, Geschichte der theologischen Wissenschaften*, vol. ii. pp. 43-45; and for a contemporary opinion of his great work, see a characteristic passage in *Lettres de Sevigné*, vol. v. p. 409.

[59] His method is fairly stated by Sismondi, *Hist. des Français*, vol. xxv. p. 427.

[60] See, on this attempt of Bossuet's, some good remarks in *Stäudlin, Geschichte der theologischen Wissenschaften*, vol. ii. p. 198: 'Kirche und Christenthum sind für diesen Bischoff der Mittelpunct der ganzen Geschichte. Aus diesem Gesichtspuncte betrachtet er nicht nur die Patriarchen und Propheten, das Judenthum und die alten Weissagungen, sondern auch die Reiche der Welt.'

[61] *Bossuet, Discours sur l'Histoire Universelle*, pp. 10, 11, 16, 17; see also, at p. 90, a curious specimen of his chronological calculations.

[62] He says, that if the ordinarily received dates of the Pentateuch and the Prophets are not true, then the miracles must fall, and the writings themselves are not inspired. *Hist. Univ.* p. 360. It would be hard to find, even in the works of Bossuet, a more rash assertion than this.

concerning the chronology even of their own people; while the information they contain respecting other countries is notoriously meagre and unsatisfactory.[63] But so narrow were the views of Bossuet upon history, that with all this he, in his own opinion, had no concern. The text of the Vulgate declared, that these things had happened at a particular time; and a number of holy men, calling themselves the council of the church, had, in the middle of the sixteenth century, pronounced the Vulgate to be authentic, and had taken upon themselves to place it above all other versions.[64] This theological opinion was accepted by Bossuet as an historical law; and thus the decision of a handful of cardinals and bishops, in a superstitious and uncritical age, is the sole authority for that early chronology, the precision of which is, to an uninformed reader, a matter of great admiration.[65]

In the same way, because Bossuet had been taught that the Jews are the chosen people of God, he, under the title of Universal History, almost confines his attention to them, and treats this obstinate and ignorant race as if they formed the pivot upon which the affairs of the universe had been made to turn.[66] His idea of an universal his-

[63] Indeed the Jews have no consecutive chronology before Solomon. See *Bunsen's Egypt*, vol. i. pp. viii. xxv. 170, 178, 185, vol. ii. p. 399.

[64] Doing this, as they did everything else, on account, not of reason, but of dogma; for, as a learned writer says, 'l'Église a bien distingué certains livres en apocryphes et en orthodoxes; elle s'est prononcée d'une manière formelle sur le choix des ouvrages canoniques; néanmoins sa critique n'a jamais été fondée sur un examen raisonné, mais seulement sur la question de savoir si tel ou tel écrit était d'accord avec les dogmes qu'elle enseignait.' *Maury, Légendes Pieuses*, p. 224.

[65] Theologians have always been remarkable for the exactness of their knowledge on subjects respecting which nothing is known; but none of them have surpassed the learned Dr. Stukeley. In 1730, this eminent divine writes: 'But according to the calculations I have made of this matter, I find God Almighty ordered Noah to get the creatures into the ark on Sunday the 12th of October, the very day of the autumnal equinox that year; and on this present day, on the Sunday se'nnight following (the 19th of October), that terrible catastrophe began, the moon being past her third quarter.' *Nichols's Illustrations of the Eighteenth Century*, vol. ii. p. 792.

[66] 'Premièrement, ces empires ont pour la plupart une liaison nécessaire avec l'histoire du peuple de Dieu. Dieu s'est servi des Assyriens et des Babyloniens pour châtier ce peuple; des Perses pour le rétablir; d'Alexandre et de ses premiers successeurs pour le protéger; d'Antiochus l'Illustre et de ses successeurs pour l'exercer; des Romains pour soutenir sa liberté contre

tory excludes those nations who were the first to reach civilization, and to some of whom the Hebrews owed the scanty knowledge which they subsequently acquired.[67] He says little of the Persians, and less of the Egyptians; nor does he even mention that far greater people between the Indus and the Ganges, whose philosophy formed one of the elements of the school of Alexandria, whose subtle speculations anticipated all the efforts of European metaphysics, and whose sublime inquiries, conducted in their own exquisite language, date from a period when the Jews, stained with every variety of crime, were a plundering and vagabond tribe, wandering on the face of the earth, raising their hand against every man and every man raising his hand against them.

When he enters the more modern period, he allows himself to be governed by the same theological prejudices. So contracted is his view, that he considers the whole history of the church as the history of providential interference; and he takes no notice of the manner in which, contrary to the original scheme, it has been affected by foreign events.[68] Thus, for example, the most important fact relating to the early changes in Christianity, is the extent to which its doctrines have been influenced by the African form of the Platonic philosophy.[69] But this, Bos-

les rois de Syrie, que ne songeaient qu'à le détruire.' *Bossuet, Hist. Univ.* p. 382. Well may M. Lerminier say (*Philos. du Droit*, vol. ii. p. 87), that Bossuet 'a sacrifié toutes les nations au peuple juif.'

67 On the extraordinary and prolonged ignorance of the Jews, even to the time of the Apostles, see *Mackay's Progress of the Intellect*, vol. i. pp. 13 seq.; a work of profound learning.

68 The original scheme of Christianity, as stated by its Great Author (*Matthew* x. 6, and xv. 24), was merely to convert the Jews; and if the doctrines of Christ had never extended beyond that ignorant people, they could not have received those modifications which philosophy imposed upon them. The whole of this subject is admirably discussed in *Mackay's Progress of the Intellect in Religious Development*, vol. ii. pp. 382 seq.; and on the 'universalism,' first clearly announced 'by the Hellenist Stephen,' see p. 484. Neander makes a noticeable attempt to evade the difficulty caused by the changes in Christianity from 'various outward causes:' see his *History of the Church*, vol. iii. p. 125.

69 Neander (*Hist. of the Church*, vol. ii. p. 42) even thinks that Cerinthus, whose views are remarkable as being the point where Gnosticism and Judaism touch each other, borrowed his system from Alexandria. But this, though not unlikely, seems only to rest on the authority of Theodoret. On

suet never mentions; nor does he even hint that any such thing had occurred. It suited his views to look upon the church as a perpetual miracle, and he therefore omits the most important event in its early history.[70] To descend a little later: every one acquainted with the progress of civilization will allow, that no small share of it is due to those gleams of light, which, in the midst of surrounding darkness, shot from the great centres of Cordova and Bagdad. These, however, were the work of Mohammedanism; and as Bossuet had been taught that Mohammedanism is a pestilential heresy, he could not bring himself to believe that Christian nations had derived anything from so corrupt a source. The consequence is, that he says nothing of that great religion, the noise of which has filled the world;[71] and having occasion to mention its founder, he treats him with scorn, as an impudent impostor, whose pretensions it is hardly fitting to notice.[72] The great apostle, who diffused among millions of idolaters the sublime verity of one God, is spoken of by Bossuet with supreme contempt; because Bossuet, with the true spirit of his profession, could see nothing to admire in those whose opinions differed

the influence of the Platonism of Alexandria in developing the idea of the Logos, see *Neander*, vol. ii. pp. 304, 306-314. Compare *Sharpe's Hist. of Egypt*, vol. ii. pp. 152 seq.

[70] And having to mention Clemens Alexandrinus, who was more deeply versed in the philosophy of Alexandria than were any of the other fathers, Bossuet merely says, p. 98, 'à peu près dans le même temps, le saint prêtre Clément Alexandrin déterra les antiquités du paganisme pour le confondre.'

[71] About the time that Bossuet wrote, a very learned writer calculated that the area of the countries which professed Mohammedanism, exceeded, by one fifth, those where Christianity was believed. See *Brerewood's Inquiries touching the Diversity of Languages and Religions*, Lond. 1674, pp. 144, 145. The estimate of Southey (*Vindiciæ Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*, London, 1826, p. 48), is very vague; but it is much easier to judge of the extent of Mohammedan countries than of the extent of their population. On this latter point we have the most conflicting statements. In the nineteenth century, there are, according to Sharon Turner (*Hist. of England*, vol. iii. p. 485, edit. 1839), eighty million Mohammedans; according to Dr. Elliotson (*Human Physiology*, p. 1055, edit. 1840), more than a hundred and twenty-two million; while, according to Mr. Wilkin (note in *Sir Thomas Browne's Works*, vol. ii. p. 37, edit. 1835), there are a hundred and eighty-eight million.

[72] 'Le faux prophète donna ses victoires pour toute marque de sa mission.' *Bossuet*, p. 125.

from his own.[73] But when he has occasion to mention some obscure member of that class to which he himself belonged, then it is that he scatters his praises with boundless profusion. In his scheme of universal history, Mohammed is not worthy to play a part. He is passed by; but the truly great man, the man to whom the human race is really indebted, is—Martin, bishop of Tours. He it is, says Bossuet, whose unrivalled actions filled the universe with his fame, both during his lifetime and after his death.[74] It is true, that not one educated man in fifty has ever heard the name of Martin, bishop of Tours. But Martin performed miracles, and the church had made him a saint; his claims, therefore, to the attention of historians must be far superior to the claims of one who, like Mohammed, was without these advantages. Thus it is that, in the opinion of the only eminent writer on history during the power of Louis XIV., the greatest man Asia has ever produced, and one of the greatest the world has ever seen, is considered in every way inferior to a mean and ignorant monk, whose most important achievement was the erection of a monastery, and who spent the best part of his life in useless solitude, trembling before the superstitious fancies of his weak and ignoble nature.[75]

[73] The greatest Mohammedan writers have always expressed ideas regarding the Deity more lofty than those possessed by the majority of Christians. The Koran contains noble passages on the oneness of God; and for the views of their ordinary theologians, I may refer to an interesting Mohammedan sermon, in *Transactions of the Bombay Society*, vol. i. pp. 146-158. See also, in vol. iii. pp. 398-448, an Essay by Vans Kennedy; and compare a remarkable passage, considering the quarter from which it comes, in *Autobiography of the Emperor Jehangueir*, p. 44. Those who are so thoughtless as to believe that Mohammed was a hypocrite, had better study the admirable remarks of M. Comte (*Philos. Pos.* vol. v. pp. 76, 77), who truly says, 'qu'un homme vraiment supérieur n'a jamais pu exercer aucune grande action sur ses semblables sans être d'abord lui-même intimement convaincu.'

[74] 'Saint Martin fut fait évêque de Tours, et remplit tout l'univers du bruit de sa sainteté et de ses miracles, durant sa vie, et après sa mort.' *Bossuet, Hist. Univ.* p. 111.

[75] The Benedictines have written the life of Martin in their *Hist. Lit. de la France*, vol. i. part ii. pp. 413-417, Paris, 1733, 4to. They say that he erected the first monastery in Gaul: 'Martin, toujours passionné pour la solitude, érigea un monastère qui fut le premier que l'on eût encore vû dans les Gaules.' p. 414. At p. 415, they make the unnecessary admission, that

Such was the narrow spirit with which the great facts of history were contemplated by a writer, who, when he was confined to his own department, displayed the most towering genius. This contracted view was the inevitable consequence of his attempt to explain the complicated movements of the human race by principles which he had generalized from his own inferior studies.[76] Nor need any one be offended, that, from a scientific point of view, I assign to the pursuits of Bossuet a rank lower than that in which they are sometimes placed. It is certain that religious dogmas do, in many cases, influence the affairs of men. But it is equally certain, that as civilization advances, such influence decreases, and that even when the power of those dogmas was at its height, there were many other motives by which the actions of mankind were also governed. And since the study of history is the study of the aggregate of these motives, it is evident that history must be superior to theology; just as the whole is superior to a part. A neglect of this simple consideration has, with a few eminent exceptions, led all ecclesiastical authors into serious errors. It has induced in them a disposition to disregard the immense variety of external events, and to suppose that the course of affairs is regulated by some principles which theology alone can detect. This, indeed, is only the result of a general law of the mind, by which those who have any favourite profession, are apt to exaggerate its capacity; to explain events by its maxims, and as it were, to refract through its medium the occurrences

the saint 'n'avoit point étudié les sciences profanes.' I may add, that the miracles of Martin are related by Fleury, who evidently believes that they were really performed. *Fleury, Hist. Ecclésiastique,* livre xvi. no. 31, vol. iv. pp. 215-217, Paris, 1758, 12mo. Neander, having the advantage of living a hundred years later than Fleury, is content to say, 'the veneration of his period denominated him a worker of miracles.' *Hist. of the Church,* vol. iv. p. 494. There is a characteristic anecdote of him, from Sulpitius Severus, in *Mosheim's Eccles. Hist.* vol. i. p. 123.

[76] At pp. 479, 480, Bossuet gives a sort of summary of his historical principles; and if they are true, history is evidently impossible to be written. On this account, though fully recognizing the genius of Bossuet, I cannot agree with the remarks made upon him by M. Comte, *Philos. Pos.* vol. iv. p. 280, vol. vi. pp. 316, 317.

of life.[77] Among theologians, however, such prejudices are more dangerous than in any other profession, because among them alone are they fortified by that bold assumption of supernatural authority on which many of the clergy willingly rely.

These professional prejudices, when supported by theological dogmas, in a reign like that of Louis XIV.,[78] are sufficient to account for the peculiarities which mark the historical work of Bossuet. Besides this, in his case, the general tendency was aggravated by personal characteristics. His mind was remarkable for a haughtiness, which we find constantly breaking out into a general contempt for mankind.[79] At the same time his amazing eloquence, and the effects which it never failed to produce, seemed to justify the overweening confidence that he felt in his own powers. There is, indeed, in some of his greatest efforts, so much of the fire and majesty of genius, that we are reminded of those lofty and burning words with which the prophets of antiquity thrilled their hearers. Bossuet, thus standing, as he supposed, on an eminence which raised him above the ordinary weaknesses of men, loved to taunt them with their follies, and to deride every aspiration of their genius. Every thing like intellectual boldness seemed to gall his own superiority.[80] It was this boundless arrogance with which he was filled, which gives to his works some of their most marked peculiarities. It was this, that made

[77] And then, as M. Charles Comte well says, they call this prejudice their moral sense, or their moral instinct. *Comte, Traité de Législation,* vol. i. p. 116.

[78] The connection between the opinions of Bossuet and the despotism of Louis XIV. is touched on by Montlosier, who, however, has probably laid too much stress on the influence which the civil law exercised over both. *Montlosier, Monarchie Française,* vol. ii. p. 90.

[79] He belonged to a class of historians, described by a celebrated writer in a single sentence: 'dans leurs écrits l'auteur paraît souvent grand, mais l'humanité est toujours petite.' *Tocqueville, Démocratie,* vol. iv. p. 139.

[80] Hardly any one acquainted with the writings and the history of Bossuet will require evidence of his singular arrogance. But the reader may consult *Sismondi, Hist. des Franç.* vol. xxvi. p. 247; and on his treatment of Fénelon, which was the most shameful transaction of his life, compare *Burnet's Own Time,* vol. iv. p. 384, with *Capefigue's Louis XIV,* vol. ii. p. 58; where there is printed one of the many epigrams to which the conduct of Bossuet gave rise.

him strain every nerve to abase and vilify those prodigious resources of the human understanding, which are often despised by men who are ignorant of them; but which in reality are so great, that no one has yet arisen able to scan them in the whole of their gigantic dimensions. It was this same contempt for the human intellect, that made him deny its capacity to work out for itself the epochs through which it has passed; and, consequently, made him recur to the dogma of supernatural interference. It was this, again, that, in those magnificent orations which are among the greatest wonders of modern art, caused him to exhaust the language of eulogy, not upon intellectual eminence, but upon mere military achievements, upon great conquerors, those pests and destroyers of men, who pass their lives in discovering new ways of slaying their enemies, and in devising new means of aggravating the miseries of the world. And, to descend still lower, it was this same contempt for the dearest interests of mankind, which made him look with reverence upon a king, who considered all those interests as nothing; but who had the merit of enslaving the mind of France, and of increasing the power of that body of men, among whom Bossuet himself was the most distinguished.

In the absence of sufficient evidence respecting the general state of the French at the end of the seventeenth century, it is impossible to ascertain to what extent such notions as these had penetrated the popular mind. But, looking at the manner in which government had broken the spirit of the country, I should be inclined to suppose that the opinions of Bossuet were very acceptable to his own generation. This, however, is a question rather of curiosity than of importance; for only a few years later there appeared the first symptoms of that unprecedented movement, which not merely destroyed the political institutions of France, but effected a greater and more permanent revolution in every department of the national intellect. At the death of Louis XIV., in literature, as well as in politics, in religion, and in morals, every thing was ripe for reaction. The materials still existing are so

ample, that it would be possible to trace with considerable minuteness the steps of this great process; but it will, I think, be more agreeable to the general scheme of this Introduction, if I pass over some of the intermediate links, and confine myself to those salient instances in which the spirit of the age is most strikingly portrayed.

There is, indeed, something extraordinary in the change which, in France, one generation was able to effect in the method of writing history. The best way, perhaps, to form an idea of this, will be to compare the works of Voltaire with those of Bossuet; because these great authors were probably the most able, and were certainly the most influential, Frenchmen during the period they respectively represented. The first great improvement which we find in Voltaire, as compared with Bossuet, is an increased perception of the dignity of the human intellect. In addition to the circumstances already noticed, we must remember that the reading of Bossuet lay in a direction which prevented him from feeling this. He had not studied those branches of knowledge where great things have been achieved; but he was very conversant with the writings of the saints and fathers, whose speculations are by no means calculated to give us a high opinion of the resources of their own understanding. Thus accustomed to contemplate the workings of the mind in what is, on the whole, the most puerile literature Europe has ever produced, the contempt which Bossuet felt for mankind went on increasing; until it reached that inordinate degree which, in his later works, is painfully conspicuous. But Voltaire, who paid no attention to such things as these, passed his long life in the constant accumulation of real and available knowledge. His mind was essentially modern. Despising unsupported authority, and heedless of tradition, he devoted himself to subjects in which the triumph of the human reason is too apparent to be mistaken. The more his knowledge advanced, the more he admired those vast powers by which the knowledge had been created. Hence his admiration for the intellect of man, so far from diminishing, grew with his growth; and,

just in the same proportion, there was strengthened his love of humanity, and his dislike to the prejudices which had long obscured its history. That this, in the march of his mind, was the course it actually followed, will be evident to any one who considers the different spirit of his works, in reference to the different periods of life in which they were produced.

The first historical work of Voltaire was a life of Charles XII., in 1728.[81] At this time his knowledge was still scanty, and he was still influenced by the servile traditions of the preceding generation. It is not, therefore, wonderful, that he should express the greatest respect for Charles, who, among the admirers of military fame, will always preserve a certain reputation; though his only merits are, that he ravaged many countries and killed many men. But we find little sympathy with his unfortunate subjects, the accumulations of whose industry supported the royal armies;[82] nor is there much pity for those nations who were oppressed by this great robber in the immense line of his conquests from Sweden to Turkey. Indeed, the admiration of Voltaire for Charles is unbounded. He calls him the most extraordinary man the world had ever seen;[83] he declares him to be a prince full of honour;[84] and while he scarcely blames his infa-

[81] He says that he wrote it in 1728. *Œuvres de Voltaire*, vol. xxii. p. 5, but, according to M. Lepan (*Vie de Voltaire*, p. 382), 'il parut en 1731.' Both statements may be accurate, as Voltaire frequently kept his works for some time in manuscript.

[82] Sir A. Alison, who certainly cannot be accused of want of respect for military conquerors, says of Sweden, 'the attempt which Charles XII. made to engage her in long and arduous wars, so completely drained the resources of the country, that they did not recover the loss for half a century.' *Hist. of Europe*, vol. x. p. 504. See also, on the effects produced by the conscriptions of Charles XII., *Laing's Sweden*, p. 59; *Koch, Tableau des Révolutions*, vol. ii. p. 63; and above all, a curious passage in *Duclos, Mém. Secrets*, vol. i. p. 448. Several of the soldiers of Charles XII. who were taken prisoners, were sent into Siberia, where Bell fell in with them early in the eighteenth century. *Bell's Travels in Asia*, edit. Edinb. 1788, vol. i. pp. 223-224.

[83] Charles XII, l'homme le plus extraordinaire peut-être qui ait jamais été sur la terre, qui a réuni en lui toutes les grandes qualités de ses aïeux, et qui n'a eu d'autre défaut ni d'autre malheur que de les avoir toutes outrées.' *Hist. de Charles XII*, livre i., in *Œuvres de Voltaire*, vol. xxii. p. 30.

[84] 'Plein d'honneur.' *Ibid.* in *Œuvres*, vol. xxii. p. 63.

mous murder of Patkul,[85] he relates with evident emotion how the royal lunatic, at the head of forty servants, resisted an entire army.[86] In the same way, he says, that after the battle of Narva, all the attempts of Charles were unable to prevent medals from being struck at Stockholm in celebration of that event;[87] although Voltaire well knew that a man of such extravagant vanity must have been pleased by so durable a homage, and although it is quite certain that if he had not been pleased, the medals would never have been struck: for who would venture, without an object, to offend, in his own capital, one of the most arbitrary and revengeful of princes?

So far, it might appear that little had been gained in the method of writing history.[88] But, even thus early, we find one vast improvement. In Voltaire's life of Charles XII., faulty as it is, there are none of those assumptions of supernatural interference in which Bossuet delighted, and which were natural to the reign of Louis XIV. The absence of this marks the first great stage in the French school of history in the eighteenth century; and we find

[85] Which Burke, not without justice, compares to the murder of Monaldeschi by Christina. *Burke's Works*, vol. i. p. 412. See some remarks on the murder of Patkul, in *Vattel, Droit des Gens*, vol. i. p. 230; and an account of it, from Swedish authorities, in *Somer's Tracts*, vol. xiii. pp. 879-881. For Voltaire's version see his *Œuvres*, vol. xxii. pp. 136, 137; which may be contrasted with *Crichton and Wheaton's History of Scandinavia*, Edinb. 1838, vol. ii. p. 127.

[86] *Œuvres de Voltaire*, vol. xxii. pp. 250-260. It may interest some persons to hear, that the litter in which this madman 'was borne from the battle of Pultava' is still preserved at Moscow. *Kohl's Russia*, p. 220. It was also seen by M. Custine. *Custine's Russia*, vol. iii. p. 263.

[87] 'Sa modestie ne put empêcher qu'on ne frappât à Stockholm plusieurs médailles pour perpétuer la mémoire de ces événements.' *Charles XII*, livre ii., in *Œuvres*, vol. xxii. p. 70.

[88] Even some of its geographical details are said to be inaccurate. Compare *Villemain, Littérature au XVIII^e Siècle*, vol. ii. p. 33, with *Kohl's Russia*, p. 505. However, as M. Villemain says, this must always be the case, when writers, who only know a country from maps, attempt to enter into details respecting military geography. In regard to style, it canno be too highly praised; and a well-known critic, Lacretelle, calls it 'le modèle le plus accompli de narration qui existe dans notre langue.' *Lacretelle, Dix-huitième Siècle*, vol. ii. p. 42. In 1843 it was still used as a text-book in the French royal colleges. See *Report on Education in France*, in *Journal of Stat. Soc.* vol. vi. p. 308. Further information respecting this work may be found in *Longchamp et Wagnière, Mém. sur Voltaire*, vol. ii. p. 494; and in *Mém. de Genlis*, vol. viii. p. 224, vol. x. p. 304.

the same peculiarity in all the subsequent historians, none of whom recurred to a method, which, though suitable for the purposes of theologians, is fatal to all independent inquiries, since it not only prescribes the course the inquirer is bound to take, but actually sets up a limit beyond which he is forbidden to proceed.

That Voltaire should have infringed upon this ancient method only thirteen years after the death of Louis XIV., and that he should have done this in a popular work, abounding with such dangerous adventures as are always found to tempt the mind to an opposite course, is a step of no common merit, and becomes still more worthy of remark, if taken in connexion with another fact of considerable interest. This is, that the life of Charles XII. represents the first epoch, not only in the eighteenth century, but also in the intellect of Voltaire himself.[89] After it was published, this great man turned awhile from history, and directed his attention to some of the noblest subjects: to mathematics, to physics, to jurisprudence, to the discoveries of Newton, and to the speculations of Locke. In these things he perceived those capabilities of the human mind, which his own country had formerly witnessed, but of which during the authority of Louis XIV. the memory had been almost lost. Then it was that, with extended knowledge and sharpened intellect, he returned to the great field of history.[90] The manner in which he

[89] It is evident, from Voltaire's correspondence, that he afterwards became somewhat ashamed of the praises he had bestowed on Charles XII. In 1735, he writes to De Formont, 'si Charles XII n'avait pas été excessivement grand, malheureux, et fou, je me serais bien donné de garde de parler de lui.' *Œuvres de Voltaire*, vol. lvi. p. 462. In 1758, advancing still further, he says of Charles, 'voilà, monsieur, ce que les hommes de tous les temps et de tous les pays appellent un héros; mais c'est le vulgaire de tous les temps et de tous les pays qui donne ce nom à la soif du carnage.' *Ibid.* vol. lx. p. 411. In 1759, he writes, that he was then engaged on the history of Peter the Great: 'mais je doute que cela soit aussi amusant que la vie de Charles XII; car ce Pierre n'était qu'un sage extraordinaire, et Charles un fou extraordinaire, qui se battait, comme Don Quichotte, contre des moulins à vent.' vol. lxi. p. 23: see also p. 350. These passages prove the constant progress Voltaire was making in his conception of what history ought to be, and what its uses were.

[90] In 1741, he mentions his increasing love of history. *Corresp.* in *Œuvres de Voltaire*, vol. li. p. 96.

now treated his old subject, showed the change that had come over him. In 1752, appeared his celebrated work on Louis XIV.,[91] the very title of which is suggestive of the process through which his mind had passed. His former history was an account of a king; this is an account of an age. To the production of his youth he gave the title of a *History of Charles XII.*; this he called the *Age of Louis XIV.* Before, he had detailed the peculiarities of a prince; now, he considered the movements of a people. Indeed, in the introduction to the work, he announces his intention to describe, 'not the actions of a single man, but the character of men.'[92] Nor, in this point of view, is the execution inferior to the design. While he is contented with giving a summary of military achievements, on which Bossuet hung with delight, he enters at great length into those really important matters which, before his time, found no place in the history of France. He has one chapter on commerce and internal government;[93] another chapter on finances;[94] another on the history of science;[95] and three chapters on the progress of the fine arts.[96] And though Voltaire did not attach much value to theological disputes, still he knew that they have often played a great part in the affairs of men; he therefore, gives several distinct chapters to a relation of ecclesiastical matters during the reign of

[91] Lord Brougham, in his life of Voltaire, says that it appeared in 1751. *Lives of Men of Letters*, vol. i. p. 106. But 1752 is the date given in *Biog. Univ.* xlix. 478; in *Quérard, France Lit.* vol. x. p. 355; and in *Lepan, Vie de Voltaire*, p. 382.

[92] 'On veut essayer de peindre à la postérité, non les actions d'un seul homme, mais l'esprit des hommes dans le siècle le plus éclairé qui fut jamais.' *Siècle de Louis XIV*, in *Œuvres de Voltaire*, vol. xix. p. 213. And in his correspondence respecting his work on Louis XIV., he carefully makes the same distinction. See vol. lvi. pp. 453, 488, 489, 500, vol. lvii. pp. 337, 342-344, vol. lix. p. 103.

[93] Chap. xxix., in *Œuvres de Voltaire*, vol. xx. pp. 234-267.

[94] Chap. xxx., in *Œuvres*, vol. xx. pp. 267-291. This chapter is praised in *Sinclair's Hist. of the Public Revenue*, vol. iii. appendix, p. 77; an indifferent work, but the best we have on the important subject to which it refers.

[95] Chap. xxxi., in *Œuvres*, vol. xx. pp. 291-299; necessarily a very short chapter, because of the paucity of materials.

[96] Chapters xxxii. to xxxiv., in *Œuvres*, vol. xx. pp. 299-338.

Louis.[97] It is hardly necessary to observe the immense superiority which a scheme like this possessed, not only over the narrow views of Bossuet, but even over his own earlier history. Still it cannot be denied, that we find in it prejudices from which it was difficult for a Frenchman, educated in the reign of Louis XIV., to be entirely free. Not only does Voltaire dwell at needless length upon those amusements and debaucheries of Louis, with which history can have little concern, but he displays an evident disposition to favour the king himself, and to protect his name from the infamy with which it ought to be covered.[98]

But the next work of Voltaire showed that this was a mere personal feeling, and did not affect his general views as to the part which the acts of princes ought to occupy in history. Four years after the appearance of the Age of Louis XIV., he published his important treatise on the *Morals, Manners, and Character of Nations*.[99] This is not only one of the greatest books which appeared during the eighteenth century, but it still remains the best on the subject to which it refers. The mere reading it displays is immense;[100] what, however, is far more admir-

[97] *Œuvres*, vol. xx. pp. 338-464.

[98] This disposition to favour Louis XIV. is noticed by Condorcet, who says it was the only early prejudice which Voltaire was unable to shake off: 'c'est le seul préjugé de sa jeunesse qu'il ait conservé.' *Condorcet, Vie de Voltaire*, in *Œuvres de Voltaire*, vol. i. p. 286. See also, on this defect, *Grimm et Diderot, Corresp. Lit.* vol. ii. p. 182; *Lemontey, Etablissement Monarchique*, pp. 451, 452; *Mém. de Brissot*, vol. ii. pp. 88, 89. It is interesting to observe, that Voltaire's earlier opinions were still more favourable to Louis XIV. than those which he afterwards expressed in his history. See a letter which he wrote in 1740 to Lord Harvey, printed in *Œuvres de Voltaire*, vol. lviii. pp. 57-63.

[99] Mr. Burton, in his interesting work, *Life and Correspondence of Hume*, vol. ii. p. 129, says it was 'first published in 1756;' and the same date is given by Quérard (*France Littéraire*, vol. x. p. 359), who is a very accurate bibliographer; so that Condorcet (*Vie de Voltaire*, p. 199) and Lord Brougham (*Men of Letters*, vol. i. p. 98) are probably in error in assigning it to 1757. In regard to its title, I translate 'Mœurs' as 'morals and manners;' for M. Tocqueville uses 'mœurs' as equivalent to the Latin word 'mores.' *Tocqueville, Démocratie en Amérique*, vol. iii. pp. 50, 84.

[100] Superficial writers are so much in the habit of calling Voltaire superficial, that it may be well to observe, that his accuracy has been praised, not only by his own countrymen, but by several English authors of admitted learning. For three remarkable instances of this, from men whom no one

able, is the skill with which the author connects the various facts, and makes them illustrate each other, sometimes by a single remark, sometimes only by the order and position in which they are placed. Indeed, considered solely as a work of art, it would be difficult to praise it too highly; while, as a symptom of the times, it is important to observe, that it contains no traces of that adulation of royalty which characterized Voltaire in the period of his youth, and which is found in all the best writers during the power of Louis XIV. In the whole of this long and important work, the great historian takes little notice of the intrigues of courts, or of the changes of ministers, or of the fate of kings; but he endeavours to discover and develop the different epochs through which Man has successively passed. 'I wish,' he says, 'to write a history, not of wars, but of society; and to ascertain how men lived in the interior of their families, and what were the arts which they commonly cultivated.'[101] For, he adds, 'my object is the history of the human mind, and not a mere detail of petty facts; nor am I concerned with the history of great lords, who made war upon French kings; but I want to know what were the steps by which men passed from barbarism to civilization.'[102]

will accuse of leaning towards his other opinions, see *notes to Charles V.*, in *Robertson's Works*, pp. 431, 432; *Barrington's Observations on the Statutes*, p. 293; and *Warton's Hist. of English Poetry*, vol. i. p. xvi. Even Sir W. Jones, in his preface to the *Life of Nader Shah*, says, that Voltaire is 'the best historian' the French have produced. *Works of Sir William Jones*, vol. v. p. 542; and compare the preface to his *Persian Grammar*, in *Works*, vol. ii. p. 123.

[101] 'Je voudrais découvrir quelle était alors la société des hommes, comment on vivait dans l'intérieur des familles, quels arts étaient cultivés, plutôt que de répéter tant de malheurs et tant de combats, funestes objets de l'histoire, et lieux communs de la méchanceté humaine.' *Essai sur les Mœurs*, chap. lxxxi., in *Œuvres*, vol. xvi. p. 381.

[102] 'L'objet était l'histoire de l'esprit humain, et non pas le détail des faits presque toujours défigurés; il ne s'agissait pas de rechercher, par exemple, de quelle famille était le seigneur de Puiset, ou le seigneur de Montlhéri, qui firent la guerre à des rois de France; mais de voir par quels degrés on est parvenu de la rusticité barbare de ces temps à la politesse du notre.' Supplement to *Essai sur les Mœurs*, in *Œuvres*, vol. xviii. p. 435. Compare *Fragments sur l'histoire*, vol. xxvii. p. 214, with two letters in vol. lx. pp. 153, 154, vol. lxv. p. 370.

It was in this way that Voltaire taught historians to concentrate their attention on matters of real importance, and to neglect those idle details with which history had formerly been filled. But what proves this to be a movement arising as much from the spirit of the age as from the individual author, is, that we find precisely the same tendency in the works of Montesquieu and Turgot, who were certainly the two most eminent of the contemporaries of Voltaire; and both of whom followed a method similar to his, in so far as, omitting descriptions of kings, courts, and battles, they confined themselves to points which illustrate the character of mankind, and the general march of civilization. And such was the popularity of this change in the old routine, that its influence was felt by other historians of inferior, but still of considerable, ability. In 1755, Mallet[103] published his interesting, and, at the time it was written, most valuable work, on the history of Denmark;[104] in which he professes himself a pupil of the new school. 'For why,' he says, 'should history be only a recital of battles, sieges, intrigues, and negotiations? And why should it contain merely a heap of petty facts and dates, rather than a great picture of the opinions, customs, and even inclinations of a people?'[105] Thus too, in 1765, Mably published the first part of his celebrated work on the history of France;[106] in the preface to which, he complains that historians 'have neglected the origin of laws

[103] Mallet, though born in Geneva, was a Frenchman in the habits of his mind: he wrote in French, and is classed among French historians, in the report presented to Napoleon by the Institut. *Dacier, Rapport sur les Progrès de l'Histoire*, p. 173.

[104] Göthe, in his Autobiography, mentions his obligations to this work, which, I suspect, exercised considerable influence over the early associations of his mind: 'Ich hatte die Fabeln der Edda schon längst aus der Vorrede zu Mallet's Dänischer Geschichte kennen gelernt, und mich derselben sogleich bemächtigt; sie gehörten unter diejenigen Mährchen, die ich, von einer Gesellschaft aufgefordert, am liebsten erzählte.' *Wahrheit u. Dichtung*, in *Goethe's Werke*, vol. ii. part ii. p. 169. Percy, a very fair judge, thought highly of Mallet's history, part of which, indeed, he translated. See a letter from him, in *Nichols's Illustrations of the Eighteenth Century*, vol. vii. p. 719.

[105] *Mallet's Northern Antiquities*, edit. Blackell, 1847, p. 78.

[106] The first two volumes were published in 1765; the other two in 1790. *Biog. Univ.* vol. xxvi. pp. 9, 12.

and customs, in favour of sieges and battles.'[107] In the same spirit, Velly and Villaret, in their voluminous history of France, express regret that historians should usually relate what happens to the sovereign, in preference to what happens to the people, and should omit the manners and characteristics of a nation, in order to study the acts of a single man.[108] Duclos, again, announces that his history is not of war, nor of politics, but of men and manners:[109] while, strange to say, even the courtly Hénault declares that his object was to describe laws and manners, which he calls the soul of history, or rather history itself.[110]

Thus it was, that historians began to shift, as it were, the scene of their labours, and to study subjects connected with those popular interests, on which the great writers under Louis XIV. disdained to waste a thought. I need hardly observe, how agreeable such views were to the general spirit of the eighteenth century, and how well they harmonized with the temper of men who were striving to lay aside their former prejudices, and despise what had once been universally admired. All this was but part of that vast movement, which prepared the way for the Revolution, by unsettling ancient opinions, by encouraging a certain mobility and restlessness of mind, and, above all, by the disrespect it showed for those powerful individuals, hitherto regarded as gods rather than as

[107] *Mably, Observ. sur l'Hist. de France*, vol. i. p. ii.; and compare vol. iii. p. 289: but this latter passage was written several years later.

[108] 'Bornés à nous apprendre les victoires ou les défaites du souverain, ils ne nous disent rien ou presque rien des peuples qu'il a rendus heureux ou malheureux. On ne trouve dans leurs écrits que longues descriptions de siéges et de batailles; nulle mention des mœurs et de l'esprit de la nation. Elle y est presque toujours sacrifiée à un seul homme.' *Histoire de France par Velly*, Paris, 1770, 4to, vol. i. p. 6; and see, to the same effect, the *Continuation by Villaret*, vol. v. p. vi.

[109] 'Si l'histoire que j'écris, n'est ni militaire, ni politique, ni économique, du moins dans le sens que je conçois pour ces différentes parties, on me demandera quelle est donc celle que je me propose d'écrire. C'est l'histoire des hommes et des mœurs.' *Duclos, Louis XIV et Louis XV*, vol. i. p. xxv.

[110] 'Je voulois connoître nos loix, nos mœurs, et tout ce qui est l'âme de l'histoire, ou plutôt l'histoire même.' *Hénault, Nouvel Abrégé chronologique de l'Histoire de France*, edit. Paris, 1775, vol. i. p. i.

men, but who now, for the first time, were neglected by the greatest and most popular historians, who passed over even their prominent actions, in order to dwell upon the welfare of nations, and the interests of the people at large.

To return, however, to what was actually effected by Voltaire, there is no doubt that, in his case, this tendency of the time was strengthened by a natural comprehensiveness of mind, which predisposed him to large views, and made him dissatisfied with that narrow range to which history had been hitherto confined.[111] Whatever may be thought of the other qualities of Voltaire, it must be allowed that, in his intellect, every thing was on a great scale.[112] Always prepared for thought, and always ready to generalize, he was averse to the study of individual actions, unless they could be made available for the establishment of some broad and permanent principle. Hence his habit of looking at history with a view to the stages through which the country had passed, rather than with a view to the character of the men by whom the country had been governed. The same tendency appears in his lighter works; and it has been well observed,[113] that, even in his dramas, he endeavours to portray, not so much the passions of individuals, as the spirit of epochs. In *Mahomet*, his subject is a great religion; in *Alzire*, the conquest of America; in *Brutus*, the formation of the Roman power; in the *Death of Cæsar*, the rise of the empire upon the ruins of that power.[114]

[111] In 1763, he writes to D'Argental: 'il y a environ douze batailles dont je n'ai point parlé, Dieu merci, parceque j'écris l'histoire de l'esprit humain, et non une gazette.' *Œuvres de Voltaire*, vol. lxiii. p. 51. See also his letter to Tabareau (*Lettres inédites de Voltaire*, vol. ii p. 585): 'Personne ne lit les détails des combats et des siéges; rien n'est plus ennuyeux que la droite et la gauche, les bastions et la contrescarpe.'

[112] M. Lamartine characterizes him as 'ce génie non pas le plus haut, mais le plus vaste de la France.' *Hist. des Girondins*, vol. i. p. 180.

[113] *Biog. Univ.* vol. xlix. p. 493. His *Orphelin de la Chine* is taken from Chinese sources: see *Davis's China*, vol. ii. p. 258.

[114] The surprising versatility of Voltaire's mind is shown by the fact, unparalleled in literature, that he was equally great as a dramatic writer and as an historian. Mr. Forster, in his admirable *Life of Goldsmith*, 1854, says (vol. i. p. 119), 'Gray's high opinion of Voltaire's tragedies is shared

By this determination to look upon the course of events as a great and connected whole, Voltaire was led to several results, which have been complacently adopted by many authors, who, even while using them, revile him from whom they were taken. He was the first historian who, rejecting the ordinary method of investigation, endeavoured, by large general views, to explain the origin of feudality; and, by indicating some of the causes of its decline in the fourteenth century,[115] he laid the foundation for a philosophic estimate of that important institution.[116] He was the author of a profound remark, afterwards adopted by Constant, to the effect, that licentious religious ceremonies have no connexion with licentious national morals.[117] Another observation of his, which has been

by one of our greatest authorities on such a matter now living, Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, whom I have often heard maintain the marked superiority of Voltaire over all his countrymen in the knowledge of dramatic art, and the power of producing theatrical effects.' Compare *Correspondence of Gray and Mason*, edit. Mitford, 1855, p. 44.

[115] *Essai sur les Mœurs*, chap. lxxxv., in *Œuvres*, vol. xvi. p. 412, and elsewhere.

[116] During the eighteenth century, and, I may say, until the publication in 1818 of Hallam's Middle Ages, there was in the English language no comprehensive account of the feudal system; unless, perhaps, we except that given by Robertson, who in this, as in many other matters of history, was a pupil of Voltaire. Not only Dalrymple, and writers of his kind, but even Blackstone, took so narrow a view of this great institution, that they were unable to connect it with the general state of society to which it belonged. Some of our historians gravely traced it back to Moses, in whose laws they found the origin of allodial lands. See a charming passage in *Barry's History of the Orkney Islands*, p. 219. On the spirit of feudality, there are some remarks well worth reading in *Comte's Philos. Posit.* vol. v. pp. 393-413.

[117] Constant, in his work on Roman polytheism, says, 'des rites indécens peuvent être pratiqués par un peuple religieux avec une grande pureté de cœur. Mais quand l'incrédulité atteint ces peuples, ces rites sont pour lui la cause et le prétexte de la plus révoltante corruption.' This passage is quoted by Mr. Milman, who calls it 'extremely profound and just.' *Milman's History of Christianity*, 1840, vol. i. p. 28. And so it is—extremely profound and just. But it happens that precisely the same remark was made by Voltaire, just about the time that Constant was born. Speaking of the worship of Priapus, he says (*Essai sur les Mœurs*, chap. cxliii., in *Œuvres de Voltaire*, vol. xvii. p. 341), 'nos idées de bienséance nous portent à croire qu'une cérémonie qui nous paraît si infâme n'a été inventée que par la débauche; mais il n'est guère croyable que la dépravation des mœurs ait jamais chez aucun peuple établi des cérémonies religieuses. Il est probable, au contraire, que cette coutume fut d'abord introduite dans les temps de simplicité, et qu'on ne pensa d'abord qu'à honorer la Divinité

only partly used by writers on ecclesiastical history, is pregnant with instruction. He says, that one of the reasons why the bishops of Rome acquired an authority so superior to that of the eastern patriarchs, was the greater subtlety of the Greek mind. Nearly all the heresies proceeded from the east; and, with the exception of Honorius I., not a single pope adopted a system condemned by the church. This gave to the papal power an unity and consolidation, which the patriarchal power was unable to reach; and thus the Holy See owes part of its authority to the early dullness of the European fancy.[118]

It would be impossible to relate all the original remarks of Voltaire, which, when he made them, were attacked as dangerous paradoxes, and are now valued as sober truths. He was the first historian who recommended universal freedom of trade; and, although he expresses himself with great caution,[119] still the mere announcement of the idea in a popular history forms an epoch in the progress of the French mind. He is the originator of that important distinction between the increase of population and the

dans le symbole de la vie qu'elle nous a donnée. Une telle cérémonie a dû inspirer la licence à la jeunesse, et paraître ridicule aux esprits sages, dans les temps plus raffinés, plus corrompus, et plus éclairés.' Compare the remarks on the indecency of the Spartan customs, in *Thirlwall's Hist. of Greece*, vol. i. pp. 326, 327.

[118] *Essai sur les Mœurs*, chaps. xiv. and xxxi., in *Œuvres*, vol. xv. pp. 391, 514. Neander observes, that in the Greek church there were more heresies than in the Latin church, because the Greeks thought more; but he has failed to perceive how this favoured the authority of the popes. *Neander's History of the Church*, vol. ii. pp. 198, 199, vol. iii. pp. 191, 492, vol. iv. p. 90, vol. vi. p. 293, vol. viii. p. 257.

[119] In his account of the trade of Archangel, he says, 'les Anglais obtinrent le privilége d'y commercer sans payer aucun droit; et c'est ainsi que toutes les nations devraient peut-être négocier ensemble.' *Hist. de Russie*, part i. chap. i., in *Œuvres*, vol. xxiii. p. 35. Remarkable words to have been written by a Frenchman, born at the end of the seventeenth century; and yet they have, so far as I am aware, escaped the attention of all the historians of political economy. Indeed, on this, as on most matters, sufficient justice has not been done to Voltaire, whose opinions were more accurate than those of Quesnay and his followers. However, Mr. M'Culloch, in noticing one of the economical errors of Voltaire, honestly admits that his 'opinions on such subjects are, for the most part, very correct.' *M'Culloch's Principles of Political Economy*, p. 530. For proof of his sympathy with Turgot's efforts to establish free trade, compare *Lettres inédites de Voltaire*, vol. ii. pp. 367, 403, 423, with *Longchamp, Mém. sur Voltaire*, vol. i. pp. 376, 378.

increase of food, to which political economy has been greatly indebted;[120] a principle adopted several years later by Townsend, and then used by Malthus as the basis of his celebrated work.[121] He has, moreover, the merit of being the first who dispelled the childish admiration with which the Middle Ages had been hitherto regarded, and which they owed to those dull and learned writers, who, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, were the principal investigators of the early history of Europe. These industrious compilers had collected extensive materials, which Voltaire turned to good account, and by their aid overthrew the conclusions at which the authors had themselves arrived. In his works, the Middle Ages are, for the first time, represented as what they really were,—a period of ignorance, ferocity, and licentiousness; a period when injuries were unredressed, crime unpunished, and superstition unrebuked. It may be said, with some show of justice, that Voltaire, in the picture he drew, fell into the opposite extreme, and did not sufficiently recognize the merit of those truly great men, who, at long intervals, stood here and there, like solitary beacons, whose light only made the surrounding darkness more visible. Still, after every allowance for that exaggeration which a reac-

120 'The idea of the different ratios by which population and food increase, was originally thrown out by Voltaire; and was picked up and expanded into many a goodly volume by our English political economists in the present century.' *Laing's Notes*, second series, p. 42.

121 It is often said that Malthus was indebted to Townsend's writings for his views on population; but this obligation has been too strongly stated, as, indeed, is always the case when charges of plagiarism are brought against great works. Still, Townsend is to be considered as the precursor of Malthus; and if the reader is interested in tracing the paternity of ideas, he will find some interesting economical remarks in *Townsend's Journey through Spain*, vol. i. pp. 379, 383, vol. ii. pp. 85, 337, 387-393; which must be compared with *M'Culloch's Literature of Political Economy*, pp. 259, 281-3. Voltaire having preceded these authors, has, of course, fallen into errors which they avoided; but nothing can be better than the way in which he opposes the ignorant belief of his own time, that every thing should be done to increase population. 'Le point principal n'est pas d'avoir du superflu en hommes, mais de rendre ce que nous en avons le moins malheureux qu'il est possible,' is the summing-up of his able remarks, in *Dict. Philos.*, article *Population*, sect. 2, in *Œuvres*, vol. xli. p. 466. Godwin, in his notice of the history of these opinions, is evidently ignorant of what was done by Voltaire. *Sinclair's Corresp.* vol. i. p. 396.

tion of opinions always causes, it is certain that his view of the Middle Ages is not only far more accurate than that of any preceding writer, but conveys a much juster idea of the time than can be found in those subsequent compilations which we owe to the industry of modern antiquaries; a simple and plodding race, who admire the past because they are ignorant of the present, and who, spending their lives amid the dust of forgotten manuscripts, think themselves able, with the resources of their little learning, to speculate on the affairs of men, to trace the history of different periods, and even to assign to each the praise it ought to receive.

With such writers as these, Voltaire was always at war; and no one has done so much to lessen the influence they once exercised over even the highest branches of knowledge. There was also another class of dictators, whose authority this great man was equally successful in reducing, namely, the old class of classical scholars and commentators, who, from the middle of the fourteenth till early in the eighteenth century, were the chief dispensers of fame, and were respected as being by far the most distinguished men Europe had ever produced. The first great assaults made upon them were late in the seventeenth century, when two controversies sprung up, of which I shall hereafter give an account,—one in France, and one in England,—by both of which their power was considerably damaged. But their two most formidable opponents were, undoubtedly, Locke and Voltaire. The immense services rendered by Locke in lessening the reputation of the old classical school, will be examined in another part of this work; at present we are only concerned with the steps taken by Voltaire.

The authority wielded by the great classical scholars rested not only on their abilities, which are undeniable, but also on the supposed dignity of their pursuits. It was generally believed that ancient history possessed some inherent superiority over modern history; and this being taken for granted, the inference naturally followed, that the cultivators of the one were more praiseworthy than

the cultivators of the other; and that a Frenchman, for instance, who should write the history of some Greek republic, displayed a nobler turn of mind than if he had written the history of his own country. This singular prejudice had for centuries been a traditional notion; which men accepted, because they had received it from their fathers, and which it would have been almost an impiety to dispute. The result was, that the few really able writers on history devoted themselves chiefly to that of the ancients; or, if they published an account of modern times, they handled their theme, not according to modern ideas, but according to ideas gathered from their more favourite pursuit. This confusion of the standard of one age with the standard of another, caused a double evil. Historians, by adopting this plan, injured the originality of their own minds; and, what was far worse, they set a bad example to the literature of their country. For every great nation has a mode of expression, and of thought, peculiar to itself, and with which its sympathies are intimately connected. To introduce any foreign model, however admirable it may be, is to violate this connexion, and to impair the value of literature by limiting the scope of its action. By such a course, the taste may possibly be refined, but the vigour will certainly be weakened. Indeed, the refinement of the taste may well be doubted, when we see what has taken place in our country, where our great scholars have corrupted the English language by a jargon so uncouth, that a plain man can hardly discern the real lack of ideas which their barbarous and mottled dialect strives to hide.[122] At all events, it is

[122] With the single exception of Porson, not one of the great English scholars has shown an appreciation of the beauties of his native language; and many of them, such as Parr (in all his works) and Bentley (in his mad edition of Milton), have done every thing in their power to corrupt it. And there can be little doubt, that the principal reason why well-educated women write and converse in a purer style than well-educated men, is because they have not formed their taste according to those ancient classical standards, which, admirable as they are in themselves, should never be introduced into a state of society unfitted for them. To this may be added, that Cobbett, the most racy and idiomatic of all our writers, and Erskine, by far the greatest of our forensic orators, knew little or nothing of any ancient lan-

certain, that every people worthy of being called a nation, possess in their own language ample resources for expressing the highest ideas they are able to form; and although, in matters of science, it may be convenient to coin such words as are more easily understood in foreign countries, it is a grave offence to depart on other subjects from the vernacular speech; and it is a still graver one, to introduce notions and standards for action, suited perhaps to former times, but which the march of society has left far behind, and with which we have no real sympathy, though they may excite that sickly and artificial interest which the classical prejudices of early education still contrive to create.

It was against these evils that Voltaire entered the field. The wit and the ridicule with which he attacked the dreaming scholars of his own time, can only be appreciated by those who have studied his works. Not, as some have supposed, that he used these weapons as a substitute for argument, still less that he fell into the error of making ridicule a test for truth. No one could reason more closely than Voltaire, when reasoning suited his purpose. But he had to deal with men impervious to argument; men whose inordinate reverence for antiquity had only left them two ideas, namely, that every thing old is right, and that every thing new is wrong. To argue against these opinions would be idle indeed; the only other resource was, to make them ridiculous, and weaken their influence, by holding up their authors to contempt. This was one of the tasks Voltaire set himself to perform; and he did it well.[123] He, therefore, used

guage; and the same observation applies to Shakespeare. On the supposed connexion between the improvement of taste and the study of classical models, there are some remarks worth attending to in *Rey's Théorie et Pratique de la Science Sociale*, vol. i. pp. 98-101.

[123] 'We can best judge, from the Jesuitical rage with which he was persecuted, how admirably he had delineated the weaknesses and presumption of the interpreters of the ancients, who shone in the schools and academies, and had acquired great reputation by their various and copiously exhibited learning.' *Schlosser's Eighteenth Century*, vol. i. p. 120. At p. 270, M. Schlosser says, 'And it was only a man of Voltaire's wit and talents, who could throw the light of an entirely new criticism upon the darkness of those grubbing and collecting pedants.'

ridicule, not as the test of truth, but as the scourge of folly. And with such effect was the punishment administered, that not only did the pedants and theologians of his own time wince under the lash, but even their successors feel their ears tingle when they read his biting words; and they revenge themselves by reviling the memory of that great writer, whose works are as a thorn in their side, and whose very name they hold in undisguised abhorrence.

These two classes have, indeed, reasons enough for the hatred with which they still regard the greatest Frenchman of the eighteenth century. For, Voltaire did more than any other man to sap the foundation of ecclesiastical power, and to destroy the supremacy of classical studies. This is not the place for discussing the theological opinions which he attacked; but of the state of classical opinions an idea may be formed, by considering some of those circumstances which were recorded by the ancients respecting their history, and which, until the appearance of Voltaire, were implicitly believed by modern scholars, and through them by the people at large.

It was believed that, in ancient times, Mars ravished a virgin, and that the offspring of the intrigue were no other than Romulus and Remus, both of whom it was intended to put to death; but they were fortunately saved by the attentions of a she-wolf and a woodpecker; the wolf giving them suck, and the woodpecker protecting them from insects. It was, moreover, believed that Romulus and Remus, when grown up to man's estate, determined to build a city, and that, being joined by the descendants of the Trojan warriors, they succeeded in erecting Rome. It was believed that both brothers came to an untimely end; Remus being murdered, and Romulus being taken up to heaven by his father, who descended for that purpose in the midst of a tempest. The great scholars then proceeded to relate the succession of several other kings; the most remarkable of whom was Numa, whose only communications with his wife were carried on in a sacred grove. Another of the sovereigns of Rome was Tullus

Hostilius, who, having offended the clergy, perished from the effects of their anger; his death being caused by lightning, and preceded by pestilence. Then again, there was one Servius Tullius, who was also a king, and whose greatness was prognosticated by the appearance of flames round his head as he was sleeping in his cradle. After this, it was but a slight matter that the ordinary laws of mortality should be suspended; we were, therefore, assured that those ignorant barbarians, the early Romans, passed two hundred and forty-five years under the government of only seven kings, all of whom were elected in the prime of life, one of whom was expelled the city, and three of whom were put to death.

These are a few of the idle stories in which the great scholars took intense delight, and which, during many centuries, were supposed to form a necessary part of the annals of the Latin empire. Indeed, so universal was the credulity, that, until they were destroyed by Voltaire, there were only four writers who had ventured openly to attack them. Cluverius, Perizonius, Pouilly, and Beaufort were the names of these bold innovators; but by none of them was any impression made on the public mind. The works of Cluverius and Perizonius, being composed in Latin, were addressed entirely to a class of readers who, infatuated with a love of antiquity, would listen to nothing that diminished the reputation of its history. Pouilly and Beaufort wrote in French; both of them, and especially Beaufort, were men of considerable ability; but their powers were not versatile enough to enable them to extirpate prejudices which were so strongly protected, and which had been fostered by the education of many successive generations.

The service, therefore, rendered by Voltaire in purging history of these foolish conceits, is, not that he was the first by whom they were attacked, but that he was the first to attack them with success; and this because he was also the first who mingled ridicule with argument, thus not only assailing the system, but also weakening the authority of those by whom the system was

supported. His irony, his wit, his pungent and telling sarcasms, produced more effect than the gravest arguments could have done; and there can be no doubt that he was fully justified in using those great resources with which nature had endowed him, since by their aid he advanced the interests of truth, and relieved men from some of their most inveterate prejudices.

It is not, however, to be supposed that ridicule was the only means employed by Voltaire in effecting this important object. So far from that, I can say with confidence, after a careful comparison of both writers, that the most decisive arguments advanced by Niebuhr against the early history of Rome, had all been anticipated by Voltaire; in whose works they may be found, by whoever will take the trouble of reading what this great man has written, instead of ignorantly railing against him. Without entering into needless detail, it is enough to mention that, amidst a great variety of very ingenious and very learned discussion, Niebuhr has put forward several views with which later critics have been dissatisfied; but that there are three, and only three, principles which are fundamental to his history, and which it is impossible to refute. These are:—I. That, on account of the inevitable intermixture of fable essential to a rude people, no nation can possess trustworthy details respecting its own origin. II. That even such early documents as the Romans might have possessed, had been destroyed before they were incorporated into a regular history. III. That ceremonies established in honour of certain events alleged to have taken place in former times, were a proof, not that the events had happened, but that they were believed to have happened. The whole fabric of the early history of Rome at once fell to pieces, as soon as these three principles were applied to it. What, however, is most remarkable, is, that not only are all three laid down by Voltaire, but their bearing upon Roman history is distinctly shown. He says that no nation is acquainted with its own origin; so that all primitive history is necessarily an invention.[124]

[124] 'C'est l'imagination seule qui a écrit les premières histoires. Non

He remarks, that since even such historical works as the Romans once possessed, were all destroyed when their city was burned, no confidence can be placed in the accounts which, at a much later period, are given by Livy and other compilers.[125] And, as innumerable scholars busied themselves in collecting evidence respecting ceremonies instituted in celebration of certain events, and then appealed to the evidence in order to prove the events, Voltaire makes a reflection which now seems very obvious, but which these learned men had entirely overlooked. He notices, that their labour is bootless, because the date of the evidence is, with extremely few exceptions, much later than the date of the event to which it refers. In such cases, the existence of a festival, or of a monument, proves, indeed, the belief which men entertain, but by no means proves the reality of the occurrence concerning which the belief is held.[126] This simple, but important maxim, is, even in our own days, constantly lost sight of, while before the eighteenth century it was universally neglected. Hence it was that historians were able to accumulate fables which were believed without examination;[127] it

seulement chaque peuple inventa son origine, mais il inventa aussi l'origine du monde entier.' *Dict. Philos.* article *Histoire*, sec. 2, in *Œuvres*, vol. xl. p. 195. See also his article on Chronology, vol. xxxviii. p. 77, for the application of this to the history of Rome, where he says, 'Tite Live n'a garde de dire en quelle année Romulus commença son prétendu règne.' And at vol. xxxvi. p. 86, 'tous les peuples se sont attribués des origines imaginaires; et aucun n'a touché à la véritable.'

125 'Qu'on fasse attention que la république romaine a été cinq cents ans sans historiens; que Tite Live lui-même déplore la perte des autres monuments qui périrent presque tous dans l'incendie de Rome,' &c. *Dict. Philos.* in *Œuvres*, vol. xl. p. 202. At p. 188, 'ce peuple, si récent en comparaison des nations asiatiques, a été cinq cents années sans historiens. Ainsi, il n'est pas surprenant que Romulus ait été le fils de Mars, qu'une louve ait été sa nourrice, qu'il ait marché avec mille hommes de son village de Rome contre vingt-cinq mille combattants du village des Sabins.'

126 'Par quel excès de démence, par quel opiniâtreté absurde, tant de compilateurs ont-ils voulu prouver dans tant de volumes énormes, qu'une fête publique établie en mémoire d'un événement était une démonstration de la vérité de cet événement?' *Essai sur les Mœurs*, in *Œuvres*, vol. xv. p. 109. See also the same remark applied to monuments, in chap. cxcvii., *Œuvres*, vol. xviii. pp. 412-414; and again, in vol. xl. pp. 203, 204.

127 'La plupart des histoires ont été crues sans examen, et cette créance est un préjugé. Fabius Pictor raconte que, plusieurs siècles avant lui, une vestale de la ville d'Albe, allant puiser de l'eau dans sa cruche, fut violée,

being altogether forgotten, that fables, as Voltaire says, begin to be current in one generation, are established in the second, become respectable in the third, while in the fourth generation temples are raised in honour of them.[128]

I have been the more particular in stating the immense obligations history is under to Voltaire, because in England there exists against him a prejudice, which nothing but ignorance, or something worse than ignorance, can excuse;[129] and because, taking him on the whole, he is probably the greatest historian Europe has yet produced. In reference, however, to the mental habits of the eigh-

qu'elle accoucha de Romulus et de Rémus, qu'ils furent nourris par une louve, etc. Le peuple romain crut cette fable; il n'examina point si dans ce temps-là il y avait des vestales dans le Latium, s'il était vraisemblable que la fille d'un roi sortît de son couvent avec sa cruche, s'il était probable qu'une louve allaitât deux enfants au lieu de les manger; le préjugé s'établit.' *Dict. Philos.* article *Préjugés*, in *Œuvres*, vol. xli. pp. 488, 489.

[128] 'Les amateurs du merveilleux disaient: Il faut bien que ces faits soient vrais, puisque tants de monuments en sont la preuve. Et nous disions: Il faut bien qu'ils soient faux, puisque le vulgaire les a crus. Une fable a quelque cours dans une génération; elle s'établit dans la seconde; elle devient respectable dans la troisième; la quatrième lui élève des temples.' *Fragments sur l'Histoire*, article i. in *Œuvres*, vol. xxvii. pp. 158, 159.

[129] In this case, as in many others, ignorance has been fortified by bigotry; for, as Lord Campbell truly says of Voltaire, 'since the French Revolution, an indiscriminate abuse of this author has been in England the test of orthodoxy and loyalty.' *Campbell's Chief-Justices*, vol. ii. p. 335. Indeed, so extensively has the public mind been prejudiced against this great man, that, until a very few years ago, when Lord Brougham published a life of him, there was no book in the English language containing even a tolerable account of one of the most influential writers France has produced. This work of Lord Brougham's, though a middling performance, is at least an honest one, and, as it harmonizes with the general spirit of our time, it has probably had considerable weight. In it he says of Voltaire, 'nor can any one since the days of Luther be named, to whom the spirit of free inquiry, nay, the emancipation of the human mind from spiritual tyranny, owes a more lasting debt of gratitude.' *Brougham's Life of Voltaire*, p. 132. It is certain, that the better the history of the eighteenth century is understood, the more the reputation of Voltaire will increase; as was clearly foreseen by a celebrated writer nearly a generation ago. In 1831, Lerminier wrote these remarkable, and, as the result has proved, prophetic words: 'Il est temps de revenir à des sentimens plus respectueux pour la mémoire de Voltaire. . . . Voltaire a fait pour la France ce que Leibnitz a fait pour l'Allemagne; pendant trois-quarts de siècle il a représenté sons pays, puissant à la manière de Luther et de Napoléon; il est destiné à survivre à bien des gloires, et je plains ceux qui se sont oubliés jusqu'à laisser tomber des paroles dédaigneuses sur le génie de cet homme.' *Lerminier, Philosophie du Droit*, vol. i. p. 199. Compare the glowing eulogy in *Longchamp et Wagnière, Mémoires sur Voltaire*, vol. ii. pp. 388, 389, with the remarks of Saint-Lambert, in *Mém. d'Epinay*, vol. i. p. 263.

teenth century, it is important to show, that in the same period similar comprehensiveness was being displayed by other French historians; so that in this case, as in all others, we shall find that a large share of what is effected, even by the most eminent men, is due to the character of the age in which they live.

The vast labours of Voltaire towards reforming the old method of writing history, were greatly aided by those important works which Montesquieu put forward during the same period. In 1734,[130] this remarkable man published what may be truly called the first book in which there can be found any information concerning the real history of Rome; because it is also the first in which the affairs of the ancient world are treated in a large and comprehensive spirit.[131] Fourteen years later, there appeared, by the same author, the *Spirit of Laws;* a more famous production, but, as it seems to me, not a greater one. The immense merit of the *Spirit of Laws* is, indeed, incontestable, and cannot be affected by the captious attempts made to diminish it by those minute critics, who seem to think that when they detect the occasional errors of a great man, they in some degree reduce him to their own level. It is not such petty cavilling which can destroy an European reputation; and the noble work of Montesquieu will long survive all attacks of this kind, because its large and suggestive generalizations would retain their value even if the particular facts of which the illustrations consist were all unfounded.[132] Still, I am

[130] *Vie de Montesquieu*, p. xiv., prefixed to his works.

[131] Before Montesquieu, the only two great thinkers who had really studied Roman history were Macchiavelli and Vico: but Macchiavelli did not attempt any thing approaching the generalizations of Montesquieu, and he suffered, moreover, from the serious deficiency of being too much occupied with the practical utility of his subject. Vico, whose genius was perhaps even more vast than that of Montesquieu, can hardly be considered his rival; for, though his *Scienza Nova* contains the most profound views on ancient history, they are rather glimpses of truth, than a systematic investigation of any one period.

[132] Which M. Guizot (*Civilisation en France*, vol. iv. p. 36), in his remarks on the *Esprit des Lois*, does not take sufficiently into consideration. A juster appreciation of Montesquieu will be found in *Cousin, Hist. de la Philosophie*, part ii. vol. i. p. 182; and in *Comte, Philosophie Positive*, vol. iv. pp. 243-252,

inclined to believe, that in point of original thought it is barely equal to his earlier work, though it is unquestionably the fruit of much greater reading. Without, however, instituting a comparison between them, our present object is merely to consider the contributions they jointly contain towards a right understanding of history, and the way in which those contributions are connected with the general spirit of the eighteenth century.

In this point of view, there are, in the works of Montesquieu, two leading peculiarities. The first is, the complete rejection of those personal anecdotes, and those trivial details respecting individuals, which belong to biography, but with which, as Montesquieu clearly saw, history has no concern. The other peculiarity is, the very remarkable attempt which he first made to effect an union between the history of man and those sciences which deal with the external world. As these are the two great characteristics of the method adopted by Montesquieu, it will be necessary to give some account of them, before we can understand the place he really occupies, as one of the founders of the philosophy of history.

We have already seen that Voltaire had strongly insisted on the necessity of reforming history, by paying more attention to the history of the people, and less attention to that of their political and military rulers. We have also seen, that this great improvement was so agreeable to the spirit of the time, that it was generally and quickly adopted, and thus became an indication of those democratic tendencies, of which it was in reality a result. It is not, therefore, surprising that Montesquieu should have taken the same course, even before the movement had been clearly declared; since he, like most great thinkers, was a representative of the intellectual condition, and a satisfier of the intellectual wants, of the age in which he lived.

But, what constitutes the peculiarity of Montesquieu

261. Compare *Charles Comte, Traité de Législation*, vol. i. p. 125, with *Meyer, Esprit des Institutions Judiciaires*, vol. i. p. lxi., respecting the vast innovations he introduced.

in this matter, is, that with him a contempt for those details respecting courts, ministers, and princes, in which ordinary compilers take great delight, was accompanied by an equal contempt for other details which are really interesting, because they concern the mental habits of the few truly eminent men who, from time to time, have appeared on the stage of public life. This was because Montesquieu perceived that, though these things are very interesting, they are also very unimportant. He knew, what no historian before him had even suspected, that in the great march of human affairs, individual peculiarites count for nothing; and that, therefore, the historian has no business with them, but should leave them to the biographer, to whose province they properly belong. The consequence is, that not only does he treat the most powerful princes with such disregard as to relate the reigns of six emperors in two lines,[133] but he constantly enforces the necessity, even in the case of eminent men, of subordinating their special influence to the more general influence of the surrounding society. Thus, many writers had ascribed the ruin of the Roman Republic to the ambition of Cæsar and Pompey, and particularly to the deep schemes of Cæsar. This, Montesquieu totally denies. According to his view of history, no great alteration can be effected, except by virtue of a long train of antecedents, where alone we are to seek the cause of what to a superficial eye is the work of individuals. The republic, therefore, was overthrown, not by Cæsar and Pompey, but by that state of things which made the success of Cæsar and Pompey possible.[134] It is thus that the events which ordinary historians relate are utterly valueless. Such events, instead of being causes, are merely the

[133] He says of the emperor Maximin, 'il fut tué avec son fils par ses soldats. Les deux premiers Gordiens périrent en Afrique. Maxime, Balbin, et le troisième Gordien furent massacrés.' *Grandeur et Décadence des Romains*, chap. xvi., in *Œuvres de Montesquieu*, p. 167.

[134] *Ibid.* chap. xi., in *Œuvres de Montesquieu*, pp. 149-153. Compare a similar remark, respecting Charles XII., in *Esprit des Lois*, livre x. chap xiii. *Œuvres*, p. 260.

occasions on which the real causes act.[135] They may be called the accidents of history; and they must be treated as subservient to those vast and comprehensive conditions, by which alone the rise and fall of nations are ultimately governed.[136]

This, then, was the first great merit of Montesquieu, that he effected a complete separation between biography and history, and taught historians to study, not the peculiarities of individual character, but the general aspect of the society in which the peculiarities appeared. If this remarkable man had accomplished nothing further, he would have rendered an incalculable service to history, by pointing out how one of its most fertile sources of error might be safely removed. And although, unhappily, we have not yet reaped the full benefit of his example, this is because his successors have rarely had the capacity of rising to so high a generalization: it is, however, certain, that since his time, an approximation towards such elevated views may be noticed, even among those inferior writers who, for want of sufficient grasp, are unable to adopt them to their full extent.

In addition to this, Montesquieu made another great advance in the method of treating history. He was the first who, in an inquiry into the relations between the social conditions of a country and its jurisprudence, called in the aid of physical knowledge, in order to ascertain how the character of any given civilization is modified by the action of the external world. In his work on the *Spirit of Laws*, he studies the way in which both the civil and political legislation of a people are naturally connected with

[135] On the difference between cause and occasion, see *Grandeur et Décad.* chap. i. p. 126.

[136] 'Il y a des causes générales, soit morales, soit physiques, qui agissent dans chaque monarchie, l'élèvent, la maintiennent, ou la précipitent; tous les accidents sont soumis à ces causes; et si le hasard d'une bataille, c'est-à-dire une cause particulière, a ruiné un état, il y avoit une cause générale qui faisoit que cet état devoit périr par une seule bataille. En un mot, l'allure principale entraîne avec elle tous les accidents particuliers.' *Grand. et Décad. des Romains*, chap. xviii. p. 172.

their climate, soil, and food.[137] It is true, that in this vast enterprise he almost entirely failed; but this was because meteorology, chemistry, and physiology, were still too backward to admit of such an undertaking. This, however, affects the value only of his conclusions, not of his method; and here, as elsewhere, we see the great thinker tracing the outline of a plan, which, in the then state of knowledge, it was impossible to fill up, and the completion of which he was obliged to leave to the riper experience and more powerful resources of a later age. Thus to anticipate the march of the human intellect, and, as it were, forestal its subsequent acquisitions, is the peculiar prerogative of minds of the highest order; and it is this which gives to the writings of Montesquieu a certain fragmentary and provisional appearance, which was the necessary consequence of a profoundly speculative genius dealing with materials that were intractable, simply because science had not yet reduced them to order by generalizing the laws of their phenomena. Hence it is, that many of the inferences drawn by Montesquieu are untenable; such, for instance, as those regarding the effect of diet in stimulating population by increasing the fecundity of women,[138] and the effect of climate in altering the proportion between the births of the sexes.[139] In other cases, an increased acquaintance with barbarous nations has sufficed to correct his conclusions, particularly those concerning the effect which he supposed climate to produce on individual character; for we have now the most decisive evidence, that he was wrong in asserting[140] that hot climates make people unchaste and cowardly, while cold climates make them virtuous and brave.

These, indeed, are comparatively trifling objections, because, in all the highest branches of knowledge, the main

[137] *De l'Esprit des Lois*, books xiv. to xviii. inclusive; in *Œuvres*, pp. 300-336.

[138] *Ibid.* livre xxiii. chap. xiii. p. 395. Compare *Burdach, Traité de Physiologie*, vol. ii. p. 116.

[139] *Ibid.* livre xvi. chap. iv., and livre xxiii. chap. xii. pp. 317, 395.

[140] *Ibid.* livre xiv. chap. ii., livre xvii. chap. ii., and elsewhere.

difficulty is, not to discover facts, but to discover the true method according to which the laws of the facts may be ascertained.[141] In this, Montesquieu performed a double service, since he not only enriched history, but also strengthened its foundation. He enriched history by incorporating with it physical inquiries; and he strengthened history by separating it from biography, and thus freeing it from details which are always unimportant, and often unauthentic. And although he committed the error of studying the influence of nature over men considered as individuals,[142] rather than over men considered as an aggregate society, this arose principally from the fact that, in his time, the resources necessary for the more complicated study had not yet been created. Those resources, as I have shown, are political economy and statistics; political economy supplying the means of connecting the laws of physical agents with the laws of the inequality of wealth, and, therefore, with a great variety of social disturbances; while statistics enable us to verify those laws in their widest extent, and to prove how completely the volition of individual men is controlled by their antecedents, and by the circumstances in which they are placed. It was, therefore, not only natural, but inevitable, that Montesquieu should fail in his magnificent attempt to unite the laws of the human mind with the laws of external nature. He failed, partly because the sciences of external nature were too backward, and partly because those other branches of knowledge which connect nature with man were still unformed. For, as to political economy, it had no existence as a science until the publication of the *Wealth of Nations* in 1776, twenty-one years after the death of Montesquieu.

141 On the supreme importance of method, see my defence of Bichat in the next chapter.

142 How completely futile this was, as regards results, is evident from the fact, that a hundred years after he wrote, we, with all our increased knowledge, can affirm nothing positively respecting the direct action of climate, food, and soil, in modifying individual character; though it has, I trust, appeared in the second chapter of this Introduction, that something can be ascertained respecting their indirect action, that is, their action on individual minds through the medium of social and economical organization.

As to statistics, their philosophy is a still more recent creation, since it is only during the last thirty years that they have been systematically applied to social phenomena; the earlier statisticians being merely a body of industrious collectors, groping in the dark, bringing together facts of every kind without selection or method, and whose labours were consequently unavailable for those important purposes to which they have been successfully applied during the present generation.

Only two years after the publication of the *Spirit of Laws*, Turgot delivered those celebrated lectures, of which it has been said, that in them he created the philosophy of history.[143] This praise is somewhat exaggerated; for in the most important matters relating to the philosophy of his subject, he takes the same view as Montesquieu; and Montesquieu, besides preceding him in point of time, was his superior certainly in learning, perhaps in genius. Still, the merit of Turgot is immense; and he belongs to that extremely small class of men who have looked at history comprehensively, and have recognized the almost boundless knowledge needed for its investigation. In this respect, his method is identical with that of Montesquieu, since both of these great men excluded from their scheme the personal details which ordinary historians accumulate, and concentrated their attention upon those large general causes, by the operation of which the destinies of nations are permanently affected. Turgot clearly perceived, that, notwithstanding the variety of events produced by the play of human passions, there is amid this apparent confusion a principle of order, and a regularity of march, not to be mistaken by those whose grasp is firm enough to seize the history of man as a complete and single whole.[144]

[143] 'Il a créé en 1750 la philosophie de l'histoire dans ses deux discours prononcés en Sorbonne.' *Cousin, Hist. de la Philosophie,* I. série, vol. i. p. 147. There is a short notice of these striking productions in *Condorcet, Vie de Turgot,* pp. 11-16.

[144] Nothing can be better than his summary of this vast conception: 'Tous les âges sont enchaînés par une suite de causes et d'effets qui lient l'état du monde à tous ceux qui l'ont précédé.' *Second Discours en Sorbonne,* in *Œuvres de Turgot,* vol. ii. p. 52. Every thing Turgot wrote on

It is true that Turgot, subsequently engaged in political life, never possessed sufficient leisure to fill up the splendid outline of what he so successfully sketched: but though in the execution of his plan he fell short of Montesquieu, still the analogy between the two men is obvious, as also is their relation to the age in which they lived. They, as well as Voltaire, were the unconscious advocates of the democratic movement, inasmuch as they discountenanced the homage which historians had formerly paid to individuals, and rescued history from being a mere recital of the deeds of political and ecclesiastical rulers. At the same time, Turgot, by the captivating prospects which he held out of future progress,[145] and by the picture which he drew of the capacity of society to improve itself, increased the impatience which his countrymen were beginning to feel against that despotic government, in whose presence amelioration seemed to be hopeless. These, and similar speculations, which now for the first time appeared in French literature, stimulated the activity of the intellectual classes, cheered them under the persecutions to which they were exposed, and emboldened them to the arduous enterprise of leading on the people to attack the institutions of their native land. Thus it was, that in France every thing tended to the same result. Every thing indicated the approach of some sharp and terrible struggle, in which the spirit of the present should war with the spirit of the past; and in which it should be finally settled, whether the people of France could free themselves from the chains in which they had long been

history is a development of this pregnant sentence. That he understood the necessity of an historian being acquainted with physical science, and with the laws of the configuration of the earth, climate, soil, and the like, is evident in his fragment, *La Géographie Politique*, in *Œuvres*, vol. ii. pp. 166-208. It is no slight proof of his political sagacity, that in 1750 he distinctly foretold the freedom of the American colonies. Compare *Œuvres de Turgot*, vol. ii. p. 66, with *Mém. sur Turgot*, vol. i. p. 139.

145 A confidence which is apparent in his economical as well as in his historical works. In 1811, Sir James Mackintosh writes, that Turgot 'had more comprehensive views of the progress of society than any man since Bacon:' *Mem. of Mackintosh*, vol. ii. p. 133; and see a similar remark by Dugald Stewart, in his *Philos. of the Mind*, vol. i. p. 246.

held, or whether, missing their aim, they were doomed to sink still lower in that ignominious vassalage, which makes even the most splendid periods of their political history a warning and a lesson to the civilized world.

CHAPTER XIV.

PROXIMATE CAUSES OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION AFTER THE MIDDLE OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

In the last chapter but one, I have attempted to ascertain what those circumstances were which, almost immediately after the death of Louis XIV., prepared the way for the French Revolution. The result of the inquiry has been, that the French intellect was stimulated into activity by the examples and teachings of England; and that this stimulus caused, or at all events encouraged, a great breach between the government of France and its literature;—a breach the more remarkable, because during the reign of Louis XIV. the literature, notwithstanding its temporary brilliancy, had been invariably submissive, and had intimately allied itself with the government, which was always ready to reward its services. We have also seen that, this rupture having arisen between the governing classes and the intellectual classes, it followed, that the former, true to their ancient instincts, began to chastize that spirit of inquiry to which they were unaccustomed: hence those persecutions which, with hardly a single exception, were directed against every man of letters, and hence too those systematic attempts to reduce literature to a subserviency similar to that in which it had been held under Louis XIV. It has, moreover, appeared, that the great Frenchmen of the eighteenth century, though smarting from the injuries constantly inflicted on them by the government and the church, abstained from attacking the government, but directed all their hostility against the church. This apparent anomaly, of the religious institutions being assailed,

and the political institutions being spared, has been shown to be a perfectly natural circumstance, arising out of the antecedents of the French nation; and an attempt has been made to explain what those antecedents were, and how they acted. In the present chapter, I purpose to complete this inquiry by examining the next great stage in the history of the French mind. It was needful that, before both church and state could fall, men should change the ground of their hostility, and should attack political abuses with the zeal they had hitherto reserved for religious ones. The question, therefore, now arises, as to the circumstances under which this change took place, and the period when it actually occurred.

The circumstances which accompanied this great change are, as we shall presently see, very complicated; and, as they have never yet been studied in connexion with each other, I shall, in the remaining part of this volume, examine them at considerable length. On this point it will, I think, be practicable to arrive at some precise and well-defined results respecting the history of the French Revolution. But the other point, namely, the time at which the change took place, is not only much more obscure, but by its nature will never admit of complete precision. This, however, is a deficiency it possesses in common with every other change in the history of man. The circumstances of each change may always be known, provided the evidence is ample and authentic. But no amount of evidence can enable us to fix the date of the change itself. That to which attention is usually drawn by the compilers of history is, not the change, but is merely the external result which follows the change. The real history of the human race is the history of tendencies which are perceived by the mind, and not of events which are discerned by the senses. It is on this account that no historical epoch will ever admit of that chronological precision familiar to antiquaries and genealogists. The death of a prince, the loss of a battle, and the change of a dynasty, are matters which fall entirely within the province of the senses; and the moment in which they

happen can be recorded by the most ordinary observers. But those great intellectual revolutions upon which all other revolutions are based, cannot be measured by so simple a standard. To trace the movements of the human mind, it is necessary to contemplate it under several aspects, and then coördinate the results of what we have separately studied. By this means we arrive at certain general conclusions, which, like the ordinary estimate of averages, increase in value in proportion as we increase the number of instances from which they are collected. That this is a safe and available method, appears not only from the history of physical knowledge,[1] but also from the fact, that it is the basis of the empirical maxims by which all men of sound understanding are guided in those ordinary transactions of life to which the generalizations of science have not yet been applied. Indeed such maxims, which are highly valuable, and which in their aggregate form what is called common sense, are never collected with any thing like the precautions that the philosophic historian ought to feel himself bound to employ.

The real objection, therefore, to generalizations respecting the development of the intellect of a nation is, not that they want certainty, but that they lack precision. This is just the point at which the historian diverges from the annalist. That the English intellect, for example, is gradually becoming more democratic, or, as it is termed, more liberal, is as certain as that the crown of this country is worn by Queen Victoria. But though both these statements are equally certain, the latter statement is more precise. We can tell the very day on which the Queen ascended the throne; the moment of her death will be known with equal precision; and there can be no doubt that many other particulars respecting her will be minutely and accurately preserved. In tracing, however, the growth of English liberalism, all such exactness deserts us. We can point out the year in which the Reform Bill

[1] For a popular but able view of the value of averages in scientific inquiries, see *Herschel's Disc. on Nat. Philos.* pp. 215-219.

was passed; but who can point out the year in which the Reform Bill first became necessary? In the same way, that the Jews will be admitted into parliament, is as certain as that the Catholics have been admitted. Both these measures are the inevitable result of that increasing indifference to theological disputes, which must now be obvious to every man who does not wilfully shut his eyes. But while we know the hour in which the bill for Catholic emancipation received the assent of the crown, there is no one now living who can tell even the year in which similar justice will be granted to the Jews. Both events are equally certain, but both events are not equally precise.

This distinction between certainty and precision I have stated at some length, because it seems to be little understood,[2] and because it is intimately connected with the subject now before us. The fact of the French intellect having, during the eighteenth century, passed through two totally distinct epochs, can be proved by every description of evidence; but it is impossible to ascertain the precise time when one epoch succeeded the

[2] As we see in the pretensions set forth by mathematicians, who often suppose that an amount of certainty can be attained in their own pursuits not to be found in any other. This error has probably arisen, as Locke suggests, from confusing clearness with certainty. *Essay on Human Understanding*, book iv. chap. ii. secs. 9 and 10, in *Works*, vol. ii. pp. 73, 74. See also *Comte, Philos. Pos.* vol. i. p. 103, where it is justly observed, that all branches of knowledge capable of being generalized into sciences admit of equal certainty, but not of equal precision: 'si, d'après l'explication précédente, les diverses sciences doivent nécessairement présenter une précision très-inégale, il n'en est nullement ainsi de leur certitude.' This is handled unsatisfactorily by Montucla (*Hist. des Mathémat.* vol. i. p. 33), who says, that the principal cause of the peculiar certainty reached by the mathematician is, that 'd'une idée claire il ne déduit que des conséquences claires et incontestables.' Similarly, Cudworth (*Intellect. System*, vol. iii. p. 377): 'nay the very essence of truth here is this clear perceptibility, or intelligibility.' On the other hand, Kant, a far deeper thinker, avoided this confusion, by making mathematical clearness the mark of a *kind* of certainty rather than of a *degree* of it: 'Die mathematische Gewissheit heisst auch Evidenz, weil ein intuitives Erkenntniss klärer ist, als ein discursives. Obgleich also beides, das mathematische und das philosophische Vernunfterkenntniss, an sich gleich gewiss ist, so ist doch die Art der Gewissheit in beiden verschieden.' *Logik, Einleitung*, sec. 9, in *Kant's Werke*, vol. i. p. 399. On the opinions of the ancients respecting certainty, compare *Matter, Hist. de l'Ecole d'Alexandrie*, vol. i. p. 195, with *Ritter's Hist. of Ancient Philos.* vol. ii. p. 46, vol. iii. pp. 74, 426, 427, 484, 614.

other. All that we can do is, to compare the different indications which the history of that age presents, and arrive at an approximation which may guide future inquirers. It would perhaps be more prudent to avoid making any particular statement; but as the employment of dates seems necessary to bring such matters clearly before the mind, I will, by way of provisional hypothesis, fix on the year 1750, as the period when those agitations of society which caused the French Revolution entered into their second and political stage.

That this was about the period when the great movement, hitherto directed against the church, began to be turned against the state, is an inference which many circumstances seem to warrant. We know on the best authority, that towards the year 1750, the French began their celebrated inquiries respecting political economy,[3] and that, in their attempt to raise it to a science, they were led to perceive the immense injury which the interference of government had produced on the material interests of the country.[4] Hence a conviction arose that, even in regard to the accumulation of wealth, the authority possessed by the rulers of France was mischievous, since it enabled them, under the notion of protecting commerce, to trouble the freedom of individual action, and to prevent trade from running into those profitable channels which

[3] 'Vers 1750, deux hommes de génie, observateurs judicieux et profonds, conduits par une force d'attention très-soutenue à une logique rigoureuse, animés d'un noble amour pour la patrie et pour l'humanité, M. Quesnay et M. de Gournay, s'occupèrent avec suite de savoir si la nature des choses n'indiquerait pas une science de l'économie politique, et quels seraient les principes de cette science.' *Additions aux Œuvres de Turgot*, vol. iii. p. 310. M. Blanqui (*Hist. de l'Economie Politique*, vol. ii. p. 78) also says, 'vers l'année 1750;' and Voltaire (*Dict. Philos.* article *Blé*, in *Œuvres*, vol. xxxvii. p. 384) says, 'vers l'an 1750, la nation, rassasiée de vers, de tragédies, de comédies, d'opéra, de romans, d'histoires romanesques, de réflexions morales plus romanesques encore, et de disputes théologiques sur la grace et sur les convulsions, se mit enfin à raisonner sur les blés.'

[4] The revolutionary tendency of this economical movement is noticed in *Alison's Europe*, vol. i. pp. 184, 185; where, however, its commencement is erroneously assigned to 'about the year 1761.' See also, on the hostility this caused against government, *Mém. de Campan*, vol. i. pp. 7, 8; *Mem. of Mallet du Pan*, vol i. p. 32; and *Barruel, Hist. du Jacobinisme*, vol. i. p. 193, vol. ii. p. 152.

traders are best able to select for themselves. Scarcely had a knowledge of this important truth been diffused, when its consequences were quickly seen in the national literature, and in the habits of national thought. The sudden increase in France of works relating to finance and to other questions of government, is, indeed, one of the most remarkable features of that age. With such rapidity did the movement spread, that we are told that, soon after 1755, the economists effected a schism between the nation and the government;[5] and Voltaire, writing in 1759, complains that the charms of lighter literature were entirely neglected amidst the general zeal for these new studies.[6] It is not necessary to follow the subsequent history of this great change; nor need I trace the influence exercised shortly before the Revolution by the later economists, and particularly by Turgot, the most eminent of their leaders.[7] It is enough to say, that within

[5] 'D'ailleurs la nation s'étoit accoutumée à se séparer toujours de plus en plus de son gouvernement, en raison même de ce que ses écrivains avoient commencé à aborder les études politiques. C'étoit l'époque où la secte des économistes se donnoit le plus de mouvement, depuis que le marquis de Mirabeau avoit publié, en 1755, son *Ami des Hommes.*' *Sismondi, Hist. des Franç.* vol. xxix. p. 269. Compare *Tocqueville, Règne de Louis XV,* vol. ii. p. 58. In this same year, 1755, Goldsmith was in Paris, and was so struck by the progress of insubordination, that he foretold the freedom of the people; though I need hardly say that he was not a man to understand the movement of the economists. *Prior's Life of Goldsmith,* vol. i. pp. 198, 199; *Forster's Life of Goldsmith,* vol. i. p. 60.

[6] In February 1759, he writes to Madame du Boccage: 'Il me paraît que les graces et le bon goût sont bannis de France, et ont cédé la place à la métaphysique embrouillée, à la politique des cerveaux creux, à des discussions énormes sur les finances, sur le commerce, sur la population, qui ne mettront jamais dans l'état ni un écu, ni un homme de plus.' *Œuvres de Voltaire,* vol. lx. p. 485. In 1763 (vol. lxiii. p. 204): 'Adieu nos beaux arts, si les choses continuent comme elles sont. La rage des remontrances et des projets sur les finances a saisi la nation.' Many of the ablest men being thus drawn off from mere literary pursuits, there began, about twenty years before the Revolution, a marked deterioration in style, particularly among prose writers. Compare *Lettres de Dudeffand à Walpole,* vol. ii. p. 358, vol. iii. pp. 163, 299; *Mém. de Genlis,* vol. ii. p. 374, vol. v. p. 123, vol. viii. pp. 180, 275; *Mercier sur Rousseau,* vol. ii. p. 151.

[7] Georgel, who hated Turgot, says of him: 'son cabinet et ses bureaux se transformèrent en ateliers où les économistes forgeoient leur système et leurs spéculations.' *Mém. de Georgel,* vol. i. p. 406: see also *Blanqui, Hist. de l'Econ. Politique,* vol. ii. pp. 96-112; *Condorcet, Vie de Turgot,* pp. 32-35; *Twiss, Progress of Political Econ.* pp. 142 seq.

about twenty years after the movement was first clearly seen, the taste for economical and financial inquiries became so common, that it penetrated those parts of society where habits of thought are not very frequent; since we find that, even in fashionable life, the conversation no longer turned upon new poems and new plays, but upon political questions, and subjects immediately connected with them.[8] Indeed, when Necker, in 1781, published his celebrated Report on the Finances of France, the eagerness to obtain it was beyond all bounds; six thousand copies were sold the first day; and the demand still increasing, two presses were kept constantly at work in order to satisfy the universal curiosity.[9] And what makes the democratic tendency of all this the more obvious is, that Necker was at that time one of the servants of the crown; so that his work, looking at its general spirit, has been truly called an appeal to the people against the king by one of the ministers of the king himself.[10]

This evidence of the remarkable change which, in or about 1750, the French mind underwent, and which formed what I term the second epoch of the eighteenth century, might be easily strengthened by a wider survey of the literature of that time. Immediately after the middle

[8] Sismondi, under the year 1774, notices 'les écrits innombrables que chaque jour voyoit éclore sur la politique, et qui avoient désormais remplacé dans l'intérêt des salons ces nouveautés littéraires, ces vers, ces anecdotes galantes, dont peu d'années auparavant le public étoit uniquement occupé.' *Hist. des Français*, vol. xxix. p. 495; and a similar remark in *Schlosser's Eighteenth Century*, vol. ii. p. 126.

[9] See the account, written in Feb. 1781, in *Grimm, Corr. Lit.* vol. xi. 260, where it is said of Necker's *Compte Rendu*, 'La sensation qu'a faite cet ouvrage est, je crois, sans exemple; il s'en est débité plus de six mille exemplaires le jour même qu'il a paru, et depuis, le travail continuel de deux imprimeries n'a pu suffire encore aux demandes multipliées de la capitale, des provinces, et des pays étrangers.' Ségur (*Souvenirs*, vol. i. p. 138) mentions, that Necker's work was 'dans la poche de tous les abbés, et sur la toilette de toutes les dames.' The daughter of Necker, Madame de Staël, says of her father's work, *Administration des Finances*, 'on en vendit quatre-vingt mille exemplaires.' *De Staël sur la Révolution*, vol. i. p. 111.

[10] The expression of the Baron de Montyon: see *Adolphus's History of George III.* vol. iv. p. 290; and on the revolutionary tendency of Necker's financial works, *Soulavie, Règne de Louis XVI*, vol. ii. pp. xxxvii. xxxviii., vol. iv. pp. 18, 143. Necker published a justification of his book, 'malgré a défense du roi.' *Du Mesnil, Mém. sur Lebrun*, p. 108.

of the century, Rousseau published those eloquent works, which exercised immense influence, and in which the rise of the new epoch is very observable; for this most powerful writer abstained from those attacks on Christianity,[11] which unhappily had been too frequent, and exerted himself almost exclusively against the civil and political abuses of the existing society.[12] To trace the effects which this wonderful, but in some instances misguided, man produced on the mind of his own and of the succeeding generation, would occupy too large a share of this Introduction; though the inquiry is full of interest, and is one which it were to be wished some competent historian would undertake.[13]

[11] So far as I remember, there is not a single instance in any of his works; and those who assail him on this ground should adduce the passages on which they rely, instead of bringing vague general charges. Compare *Life of Rousseau*, in *Brougham's Men of Letters*, vol. i. p. 189; *Stäudlin, Gesch. der theolog. Wissenschaften*, vol. ii. p. 442; *Mercier sur Rousseau*, 1791, vol. i. pp. 27-32, vol. ii. pp. 279, 280.

[12] 'Rousseau, qui déjà en 1753 avoit touché aux bases mêmes de la société humaine, dans son *Discours sur l'origine de l'inégalité parmi les hommes.*' *Sismondi*, vol. xxix. p. 270. Schlosser (*Hist. of the Eighteenth Century*, vol. i. p. 138) notices 'the entirely new system of absolute democracy which was brought forward by J. J. Rousseau:' see also p. 289, and *Soulavie, Règne de Louis XVI*, vol. v. p. 208.

[13] Napoleon said to Stanislas Girardin respecting Rousseau, 'sans lui la France n'auroit pas eu de révolution.' *Holland's Foreign Reminiscences*, Lond. 1850, p. 261. This is certainly an exaggeration; but the influence of Rousseau was, during the latter half of the eighteenth century, most extraordinary. In 1765, Hume writes from Paris: 'It is impossible to express or imagine the enthusiasm of this nation in his favour; . . . no person ever so much engaged their attention as Rousseau. Voltaire and every body else are quite eclipsed by him.' *Burton's Life of Hume*, vol. ii. p. 299. A letter written in 1754 (in *Grimm, Correspond.* vol. i. p. 122) says that his Dijon Discourse 'fit une espèce de révolution à Paris.' The circulation of his works was unprecedented; and when *La Nouvelle Héloïse* appeared, 'les libraires ne pouvaient suffire aux demandes de toutes les classes. On louait l'ouvrage à tant par jour, ou par heure. Quand il parut, on exigeait douze sous par volume, en n'accordant que soixante minutes pour le lire.' *Musset Pathay, Vie de Rousseau*, vol. ii. p. 361. For further evidence of the effect produced by his works, see *Lerminier, Philos. du Droit*, vol. ii. p. 251; *Mém. de Roland*, vol. i. p. 196, vol. ii. pp. 337, 359; *Mém. de Genlis*, vol. v. p. 193, vol. vi. p. 14; *Alison's Europe*, vol. i. p. 170, vol. iii. p. 309, vol. iv. p. 376; *Mém. de Morellet*, vol. i. p. 116; *Longchamp, Mém. sur Voltaire*, vol. ii. p. 50; *Life of Romilly*, vol. i. p. 267; *Mem. of Mallet du Pan*, vol. i. p. 127; *Burke's Works*, vol. i. p. 482; *Cassagnac, Causes de la Rév.* vol. iii. p. 549; *Lamartine, Hist. des Girondins*, vol. ii. p. 38, vol. iv. p. 93, vol. viii. p. 125; *Wahrheit und Dichtung*, in *Göthe's Werke*, Stuttgart, 1837, vol. ii. part ii. pp. 83, 104; *Grimm, Correspond. Lit.* vol. xii. p. 222; *De Staël, Consid. sur la Rév.* vol. ii. p. 371.

Inasmuch, however, as the philosophy of Rousseau was itself only a single phase of a far larger movement, I shall at present pass over the individual, in order to consider the general spirit of an age in which he played a vast, but still a subsidiary part.

The formation of a new epoch in France, about the year 1750, may be further illustrated by three circumstances of considerable interest, all pointing in the same direction. The first circumstance is, that not a single great French writer attacked the political institutions of the country before the middle of the century; while, after that period, the attacks of the ablest men were incessant. The second circumstance is, that the only eminent Frenchmen who continued to assail the clergy, and yet refused to interfere in politics, were those who, like Voltaire, had already reached an advanced age, and had, therefore, drawn their ideas from the preceding generation, in which the church had been the sole object of hostility. The third circumstance, which is even more striking than the other two, is, that almost at the same moment there was seen a change in the policy of the government; since, singularly enough, the ministers of the crown displayed for the first time an open enmity against the church, just as the intellect of the country was preparing for its decisive onslaught on the government itself. Of these three propositions, the first two will probably be admitted by every student of French literature: at all events, if they are false, they are so exact and peremptory, that it will be easy to refute them by giving examples to the contrary. But the third proposition, being more general, is less susceptible of a negative, and will therefore require the support of that special evidence which I will now adduce.

The great French writers having by the middle of the eighteenth century succeeded in sapping the foundations of the church, it was natural that the government should step in and plunder an establishment which the course of events had weakened. This, which took place in France under Louis XV., was similar to what occurred in England under Henry VIII.; for in both cases a remarkable intel-

lectual movement, directed against the clergy, preceded and facilitated the attacks made on them by the crown. It was in 1749 that the French government took the first decisive step against the church. And what proves the hitherto backward state of the country in such matters is, that this consisted of an edict against mortmain, a simple contrivance for weakening the ecclesiastical power, which we in England had adopted long before. Machault, who had recently been raised to the office of controller-general, has the glory of being the originator of this new policy. In August 1749,[14] he issued that celebrated edict which forbade the formation of any religious establishment without the consent of the crown, duly expressed in letters-patent, and registered in parliament; effective precautions, which, says the great historian of France, show that Machault 'considered not only the increase, but even the existence of these ecclesiastical properties, as a mischief to the kingdom.'[15]

This was an extraordinary step on the part of the French government; but what followed showed that it was only the beginning of a much larger design.[16] Machault, so far from being discountenanced, was, the year after he had issued this edict, intrusted with the seals in addition to the controllership;[17] for, as Lacretelle observes, the court 'thought the time had now come to tax the property of the clergy.'[18] During the forty years which elapsed be-

[14] Sismondi (xxix. p. 20), Lacretelle (*XVIII^e Siècle*, vol. ii. p. 110), and Tocqueville (*Règne de Louis XV*, vol. ii. p. 103), give the date 1749; so that 1747, in *Biog. Univ.* vol. xxvi. p. 46, is apparently a misprint.

[15] 'Laissant voir dans toute cette loi, qui est assez longue, qu'il regardoit non-seulement l'accroissement, mais l'existence de ces propriétés ecclésiastiques, comme un mal pour le royaume.' *Sismondi, Hist. des Franç.* vol. xxix. p. 21. This, I suppose, is the edict mentioned by Turgot, who wished to push the principle still further. *Œuvres de Turgot*, vol. iii. pp. 254, 255; a bold and striking passage.

[16] Mably mentions the excitement caused by this proceeding of Machault, *Observations sur l'Histoire de France*, vol. ii. p. 415: 'On attaqua alors, dans plusieurs écrits, les immunités du clergé.' On the dislike felt by the clergy against the minister, see *Ségur, Souvenirs*, vol. i. p. 35; *Soulavie, Règne de Louis XVI*, vol. i. pp. 283, 310, vol. ii. p. 146.

[17] In 1750, 'Machault obtint les sceaux en conservant le contrôle-général.' *Biog. Univ.* vol. xxvi. p. 46.

[18] 'Croyait surtout que le temps était venu d'imposer les biens du

tween this period and the beginning of the revolution, the same anti-ecclesiastical policy prevailed. Among the successors of Machault, the only three of much ability were Choiseul, Necker, and Turgot, all of whom were strenuous opponents of that spiritual body, which no minister would have assailed in the preceding generation. Not only these eminent statesmen, but even such inferior men as Calonne, Malesherbes, and Terray, looked on it as a stroke of policy to attack privileges which superstition had consecrated, and which the clergy had hitherto reserved, partly to extend their own influence, and partly to minister to those luxurious and profligate habits, which in the eighteenth century were a scandal to the ecclesiastical order.

While these measures were being adopted against the clergy, another important step was taken in precisely the same direction. Now it was that the government began to favour that great doctrine of religious liberty, the mere defence of which it had hitherto punished as a dangerous speculation. The connexion between the attacks on the clergy and the subsequent progress of toleration, may be illustrated, not only by the rapidity with which one event succeeded the other, but also by the fact, that both of them emanated from the same quarter. Machault, who was the author of the edict of mortmain, was also the first minister who showed a wish to protect the Protestants against the persecutions of the Catholic priesthood.[19] In this he only partly succeeded; but the impetus thus given soon became irresistible. In 1760, that is only nine years later, there was seen a marked change in the administration of the laws; and the edicts against heresy, though not yet repealed, were enforced with unprecedented mildness.[20] The movement quickly spread from the capital

clergé.' *Lacretelle, XVIIIe Siècle*, vol. ii. p. 107. Nearly the same words are used in *Biog. Univ.* vol. xxvi. p. 46.

[19] On which account, he still further provoked the indignation of the Catholic clergy. See *Felice, Hist. of the Protest. of France*, pp. 401, 402; a letter written in 1751.

[20] 'The approach of the year 1760 witnessed a sensible relaxation of persecution. . . . The clergy perceived this with dismay; and, in their general assembly of 1760, they addressed urgent remonstrances to the king

to the remoter parts of the kingdom; and we are assured that, after the year 1762, the reaction was felt even in those provinces, which, from their backward condition, had always been most remarkable for religious bigotry.[21] At the same time, as we shall presently see, a great schism arose in the church itself, which lessened the power of the clergy, by dividing them into two hostile parties. Of these factions, one made common cause with the state, still further aiding the overthrow of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. Indeed, the dissensions became so violent, that the last great blow dealt to spiritual ascendency by the government of Louis XVI. proceeded not from the hands of a layman, but from one of the leaders of the church; a man who, from his standing, would, under ordinary circumstances, have protected the interests which he now eagerly attacked. In 1787, only two years before the Revolution, Brienne, archbishop of Toulouse,[22] who was then minister, laid before the parliament of Paris a royal edict, by which the discouragement hitherto thrown upon heresy was suddenly removed. By this law, the Protestants were invested with all those civil rights which the Catholic clergy had long held out as the reward of adherence to their own opinions.[23] It was, therefore, natural that the more orthodox party should condemn, as an impious innovation,[24] a measure which, by placing the two sects, in some degree, on the same footing, seemed to sanction the progress of error; and which certainly de-

against this remission of the laws.' *Felice, Protest. of France*, p. 422. Comp. an interesting letter from Nismes in 1776, in *Thicknesse's Journey through France*, London, 1777, vol. i. p. 66.

[21] Sismondi says of 1762, 'Dès lors, la réaction de l'opinion publique contre l'intolérance pénétra jusque dans les provinces les plus fanatiques.' *Hist. des Franç.* vol. xxix. p. 296. See also a letter to Damilaville, dated 6th of May 1765, in *Lettres inédites de Voltaire*, vol. i. p. 412; and two other letters in *Œuvres de Voltaire*, vol. lxiv. p. 225, vol. lxvi. p. 417.

[22] Of whom Hume, several years before, had formed a very high opinion. See *Burton's Life of Hume*, vol. ii. p. 497; a too favourable judgment, which should be contrasted with the opposite exaggerations, in *Mém. de Genlis*, vol. ix. pp. 360-363, and *Barruel, Hist. du Jacobinisme*, vol. i. pp. 87, 199.

[23] *Lavallée, Hist. des Franç.* iii. 516; *Biog. Univ.* xxiv. p. 656.

[24] *Georgel, Mémoires*, vol. ii. pp. 293, 294; a violent outbreak against 'l'irréligieux édit . . . . qui autorise tous les cultes.'

prived the French church of one of the chief attractions by which men had hitherto been induced to join her communion. Now, however, all these considerations were set at naught. Such was the prevailing temper, that the parliament, though then in a mood very refractory to the royal authority, did not hesitate to register the edict of the king; and this great measure became law; the dominant party being astonished, we are told, how any doubt could be entertained as to the wisdom of the principles on which it was based.[25]

These were omens of the coming storm; signs of the time, which those who run may read. Nor are there wanting other marks, by which the true complexion of that age may be clearly seen. In addition to what has been just related, the government, soon after the middle of the eighteenth century, inflicted a direct and fatal injury upon the spiritual authority. This consisted in the expulsion of the Jesuits; which is an event, important not only for its ultimate effects, but also as an evidence of the feelings of men, and of what could be peaceably accomplished by the government of him who was called 'the most Christian king.'[26]

The Jesuits, for at least fifty years after their institution, rendered immense services to civilization, partly by tempering with a secular element the more superstitious views of their great predecessors, the Dominicans and Franciscans, and partly by organizing a system of education far superior to any yet seen in Europe. In no

[25] 'Le parlement de Paris discutait l'édit sur les protestans. Vingt ans plus tôt, combien une telle résolution n'eût-elle pas agité et divisé les esprits? En 1787, on ne s'étonnait que d'une chose: c'était qu'il pût y avoir une discussion sur des principes évidens.' *Lacretelle, XVIIIe Siècle,* vol. iii. pp. 342, 343. In 1776, Malesherbes, who was then minister, wished to secure nearly the same privileges for the Protestants, but was prevented from doing so. *Dutens, Mémoires,* vol. ii. pp. 56-58. Dutens was himself concerned in the negotiation.

[26] Henry II. used to refer to this title, by way of justifying his persecution of the Protestants (*Ranke's Civil Wars in France,* vol. i. p. 241); and great account was made of it by that exemplary prince, Louis XV. *Soulavie, Règne de Louis XVI,* vol. i. p. 155. The French antiquaries trace it back to Pepin, the father of Charlemagne. *Barrington's Observations on the Statutes,* p. 168.

university could there be found a scheme of instruction so comprehensive as theirs; and certainly no where was displayed such skill in the management of youth, or such insight into the general operations of the human mind. It must, in justice, be added, that this illustrious society, notwithstanding its eager, and often unprincipled, ambition, was, during a considerable period, the steady friend of science, as well as of literature; and that it allowed to its members a freedom and a boldness of speculation which had never been permitted by any other monastic order.

As, however, civilization advanced, the Jesuits, like every spiritual hierarchy the world has yet seen, began to lose ground; and this not so much from their own decay, as from a change in the spirit of those who surrounded them. An institution admirably adapted to an early form of society, was ill suited to the same society in its maturer state. In the sixteenth century, the Jesuits were before their age; in the eighteenth century, they were behind it. In the sixteenth century, they were the great missionaries of knowledge; because they believed that, by its aid, they could subjugate the consciences of men. But, in the eighteenth century, their materials were more refractory; they had to deal with a perverse and stiff-necked generation; they saw in every country the ecclesiastical authority rapidly declining; and they clearly perceived that their only chance of retaining their old dominion was, by checking that knowledge, the progress of which they had formerly done much to accelerate.[27]

Under these circumstances, the statesmen of France, almost immediately after the middle of the eighteenth

[27] The Prince de Montbarey, who was educated by the Jesuits about 1740, says, that, in their schools, the greatest attention was paid to pupils intended for the church; while the abilities of those destined for secular professions were neglected. See this statement, which, coming from such a quarter, is very remarkable, in *Mémoires de Montbarey*, vol. i. pp. 12, 13. Montbarey, so far from being prejudiced against the Jesuits, ascribes the Revolution to their overthrow. *Ibid.* vol. iii. p. 94. For other evidence of the exclusive and unsecular character of their education in the eighteenth century, see *Schlosser's Eighteenth Century*, vol. iv. pp. 29, 30, 245.

century, determined to ruin an order which had long ruled the world, and which was still the greatest bulwark of the church. In this design they were aided by a curious movement which had taken place in the church itself, and which, being connected with views of much wider import, deserves the attention even of those for whom theological controversies have no interest.

Among the many points on which metaphysicians have wasted their strength, that of free-will has provoked the hottest disputes. And what has increased the acerbity of their language, is, that this, which is eminently a metaphysical question, has been taken up by theologians, who have treated it with that warmth for which they are remarkable.[28] From the time of Pelagius, if not earlier,[29] Christianity has been divided into two great sects, which, though in some respects uniting by insensible shades, have always preserved the broad features of their original difference. By one sect, the freedom of the will is virtually, and often expressly, denied; for it is asserted, not only that we cannot of our own will effect any thing meritorious, but that whatever good we may do will be useless, since the Deity has predestined some men to perdition, others to salvation. By the other sect, the freedom of the will is as strongly upheld; good works are declared essential to salvation; and the opposite party is accused of exaggerating that state of grace of which faith is a necessary accompaniment.[30]

[28] See some singular observations in Parr's first sermon on faith and morals (*Parr's Works*, vol. vi. p. 598), where we are told that, in the management of the feud between Calvinists and Arminians, 'the steadiness of defence should be proportionate to the impetuosity of assault;' unnecessary advice, so far as his own profession is concerned. However, the Mohammedan theologians are said to have been even keener than the Christians on this subject. See *Troyer's Discourse on the Dabistan*, vol. i. p. cxxxv.; an important work on the Asiatic religions.

[29] Neander (*Hist. of the Church*, vol. iv. p. 105) finds the germ of the Pelagian controversy in the dispute between Athanasius and Apollinaris. Compare, respecting its origin, a note in *Milman's Hist. of Christianity*, 1840, vol. iii. pp. 270, 271.

[30] No writer I have met with, has stated so fairly and clearly the theological boundaries of these doctrines, as Göthe. *Wahrheit und Dichtung*, in *Werke*, vol. ii. part ii. p. 200, Stuttgart, 1837.

These opposite principles, when pushed to their logical consequences, must lead the first sect into antinomianism,[31] and the second sect into the doctrine of supererogatory works.[32] But since on such subjects, men feel far more than they reason, it usually happens that they prefer following some common and accredited standard, or appealing to some ancient name:[33] and they, therefore, generally class themselves on the one side under Augustin, Calvin, and Jansenius; on the other side under Pelagius, Arminius, and Molina.

Now, it is an interesting fact, that the doctrines which in England are called Calvinistic, have been always connected with a democratic spirit; while those of Arminianism have found most favour among the aristocratic or protective party. In the republics of Switzerland, of North America, and of Holland, Calvinism was always the popular creed.[34] On the other hand, in those evil days, immediately after the death of Elizabeth, when our liberties were in imminent peril; when the church of England, aided by the crown, attempted to subjugate the consciences of men; and when the monstrous claim of the

[31] Compare *Butler's Mem. of the Catholics*, vol. iii. p. 224; *Copleston on Necessity and Predestination*, pp. 25, 26; *Mosheim's Eccles. History*, vol. ii. p. 254.

[32] Hence the theory of indulgences, constructed by the Church of Rome with perfect consistency, and against which most of the Protestant arguments are illogical.

[33] This seems to be the natural tendency, and has been observed by Neander in his instructive account of the Gnostics, *History of the Church*, vol. ii. p. 121: 'The custom with such sects to attach themselves to some celebrated name or other of antiquity.'

[34] The Dutch church was the first which adopted, as an article of faith, the doctrine of election held at Geneva. *Mosheim's Eccles. History*, vol. ii. p. 112. See also, on this doctrine in the Netherlands, *Sinclair's Corresp.* vol. ii. p. 199; *Coventry's Speech in* 1672, in *Parl. Hist.* vol. iv. p. 537; and *Staüdlin, Gesch. der theolog. Wissenschaften*, vol. i. p. 262: 'In den Niederlanden wurde der Calvinische Lehrbegriff zuerst in eine scholastische Form gebracht.'

As to the Calvinism of North America, compare *Bancroft's American Revolution*, vol. i. pp. 165, 173, 174, vol. ii. pp. 329, 363, vol. iii. p. 213; *Lyell's Second Visit to the United States*, 1849, vol. i. p. 51; and *Combe's Notes on the United States*, vol. i. pp. 35, 99, 223 vol. iii. pp. 88, 118, 219, 226.

divine right of episcopacy was first put forward;[35]—then it was that Arminianism became the cherished doctrine of the ablest and most ambitious of the ecclesiastical party.[36] And in that sharp retribution which followed, the Puritans and Independents, by whom the punishment was inflicted, were, with scarcely an exception, Calvinists:[37] nor should we forget, that the first open movement against Charles proceeded from Scotland, where the principles of Calvin had long been in the ascendant.

This different tendency of these two creeds is so clearly marked, that an inquiry into its causes becomes a necessary part of general history, and, as we shall presently see, is intimately connected with the history of the French Revolution.

The first circumstance by which we must be struck is, that Calvinism is a doctrine for the poor, and Arminianism for the rich. A creed which insists upon the necessity of faith, must be less costly than one which insists upon the necessity of works. In the former case, the sinner seeks salvation by the strength of his belief; in the latter case, he seeks it by the fullness of his contributions. And as those contributions, wherever the clergy have much power, always flow in the same direction, we find that in coun-

[35] It is sometimes said that this was advocated by Bancroft as early as 1588; but this assertion appears to be erroneous, and Mr. Hallam can find no instance before the reign of James I. *Const. Hist.* vol. i. p. 390. The dogma, though new in the Church of England, was of great antiquity. See, on its origin among the early Christians, *Klimrath, Hist. du Droit,* vol. i. p. 253.

[36] The spread of Arminianism was frequently noticed in Parliament during the reign of Charles I. *Parl. Hist.* vol. ii. pp. 444, 452, 455, 470, 484, 487, 491, 660, 947, 1368. On the decline of Calvinism at the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge early in the seventeenth century, see a curious letter from Beale, in *Boyle's Works,* vol. v. p. 483; and on this movement in the church after Elizabeth, compare *Yonge's Diary,* p. 93, edit. Camden Soc. 1848; *Orme's Life of Owen,* p. 32; *Harris's Lives of the Stuarts,* vol. i. pp. 154-156, vol. ii. pp. 208, 213, 214; *Hutchinson's Mem.* pp. 66, 77; *Hallam's Const. Hist.* vol. i. p. 466; *Des Maizeaux's Life of Chillingworth,* p. 112.

[37] Respecting the Calvinism of the opponents of the king, see *Clarendon's Rebellion,* pp. 36, 37; *Bulstrode's Memoirs,* pp. 8, 9; *Burton's Diary,* vol. iii. p. 206; *Carlyle's Cromwell,* vol. i. p. 68; and on its influence in the House of Commons in 1628, *Carwithen's Hist. of the Church of England,* vol. ii. p. 64.

tries which favour the Arminian doctrine of works, the priests are better paid, and the churches more richly ornamented, than they are where Calvinism has the upper hand. Indeed it is evident to the most vulgar calculation, that a religion which concentrates our charity upon ourselves, is less expensive than one which directs our charity to others.

This is the first great practical divergence of the two creeds: a divergence which may be verified by any one who is acquainted with the histories of different Christian nations, or who has even travelled in countries where the different tenets are professed. It is also observable, that the Church of Rome, whose worship is addressed mainly to the senses, and who delights in splendid cathedrals and pompous ceremonies, has always displayed against the Calvinists an animosity far greater than she has done against any other Protestant sect.[38]

Out of these circumstances, inevitably arose the aristocratic tendency of Arminianism, and the democratic tendency of Calvinism. The people love pomp and pageantry as much as the nobles do, but they do not love to pay for them. Their untutored minds are easily captivated by the array of a numerous priesthood, and by the gorgeousness of a well-appointed temple. Still, they know full well that these things absorb a large part of that wealth which would otherwise flow into their own cottages. On the other hand, the aristocracy, by their standing, their habits, and the traditions of their education, naturally contract a taste for expense, which makes them unite splendour with religion, and connect pomp with piety. Besides this, they have an intuitive and well-founded belief that their own interests are associated with

[38] Heber (*Life of Jeremy Taylor*, p. cxx.) says, that Calvinism is 'a system of all others the least attractive to the feelings of a Roman Catholic.' Philip II., the great Catholic champion, especially hated the Calvinists, and in one of his edicts called their sect 'détestable.' *De Thou, Hist.* vol. x. p. 705: compare vol. xi. p. 458. To give an earlier instance; when the Roman inquisition was revived in 1542, it was ordered that heretics, and in particular Calvinists, should not be tolerated: 'besonders Calvinisten.' *Ranke, Die Päpste*, vol. i. p. 211.

the interests of the priesthood, and that whatever weakens the one will hasten the downfall of the other. Hence it is, that every Christian democracy has simplified its external worship; every Christian aristocracy has embellished it. By a parity of reasoning, the more any society tends to equality, the more likely it is that its theological opinions will be Calvinistic; while the more a society tends towards inequality, the greater the probability of those opinions being Arminian.

It would be easy to push this contrast still further, and to show that Calvinism is more favourable to the sciences, Arminianism to the arts;[39] and that, on the same principle, the first is better suited to thinkers, the other to scholars.[40] But without pretending to trace the whole of this divergence, it is very important to observe, that the professors of the former religion are more likely to acquire habits of independent thinking than those of the latter. And this on two distinct grounds. In the first place, even the most ordinary of the Calvinistic party are, by the very terms of their creed, led, in religious matters, to fix their attention on their own minds rather than on the minds of others. They, therefore, as a body, are intellectually more narrow than their opponents, but less servile;

[39] By way of illustrating this, I may mention, that an intelligent observer, who travelled all through Germany, remarked, in 1780, that the Calvinists, though richer than their opponents, had less taste for the arts. *Riesbeck's Travels through Germany*, London, 1787, vol. ii. p. 240. An interesting passage; in which, however, the author has shown himself unable to generalize the facts which he indicates.

[40] The Arminians have had among them many men of great learning, particularly of patristic learning; but the most profound thinkers have been on the other side, as in the instances of Augustin, Pascal, and Jonathan Edwards. To these Calvinistic metaphysicians the Arminian party can oppose no one of equal ability; and it is remarkable, that the Jesuits, by far the most zealous Arminians in the Romish Church, have always been celebrated for their erudition, but have paid so little attention to the study of the mind, that, as Sir James Mackintosh says (*Dissert. on Ethical Philos.* p. 185), Buffier is 'the only Jesuit whose name has a place in the history of abstract philosophy.' And it is interesting to observe, that this superiority of thought on the part of the Calvinists, accompanied by an inferiority of learning, existed from the beginning; for Neander (*History of the Church*, vol. iv. p. 299) remarks, that Pelagius 'was not possessed of the profound speculative spirit which we find in Augustin,' but that 'in learning he was Augustin's superior.'

their views, though generalized from a smaller field, are more independent; they are less attached to antiquity, and more heedless of those traditions to which the Arminian scholars attach great importance. In the second place, those who associate metaphysics with their religion are led by Calvinism into the doctrine of necessity;[41] a theory which, though often misunderstood, is pregnant with great truths, and is better calculated than any other system to develop the intellect, because it involves that clear conception of law, the attainment of which is the highest point the human understanding can reach.

These considerations will enable the reader to see the immense importance of that revival of Jansenism, which took place in the French church during the eighteenth century. For, Jansenism being essentially Calvinistic,[42] those tendencies appeared in France by which Calvinism is marked. There appeared the inquisitive, democratic, and insubordinate spirit, which has always accompanied that creed. A further confirmation of the truth of the principles just laid down is, that Jansenism originated with a native of the Dutch Republic;[43] that it was introduced into France during the glimpse of freedom which preceded the power of Louis XIV.;[44] that it was forcibly

[41] 'A philosophical necessity, grounded on the idea of God's foreknowledge, has been supported by theologians of the Calvinistic school, more or less rigidly, throughout the whole of the present century.' *Morell's Speculative Philosophy of Europe*, 1846, vol. i. p. 366. Indeed, this tendency is so natural, that we find the doctrine of necessity, or something extremely like it, laid down by Augustin. See the interesting extracts in *Neander's Hist. of the Church*, vol. vi. pp. 424, 425; where, however, a loophole is left to let in the idea of interference, or at all events of superintendence.

[42] 'The five principal tenets of Jansenism, which amount in fact to the doctrine of Calvin.' *Palmer on the Church*, vol. i. p. 320; and see the remarks of Mackintosh in his *Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 411. According to the Jesuits, 'Paulus genuit Augustinum, Augustinus Calvinum, Calvinus Jansenium, Jansenius Sancryanum, Sancryanus Arnaldum et fratres ejus.' *Des Réaux, Historiettes*, vol. iv. pp. 71, 72. Compare *Huetius de Rebus ad eum pertinentibus*, p. 64: 'Jansenium dogmata sua ex Calvinianis fontibus derivasse.'

[43] Jansenius was born in a village near Leerdam, and was educated, if I mistake not, in Utrecht.

[44] The introduction of Jansenism into France is superficially related by Duvernet (*Hist. de la Sorbonne*, vol. ii. pp. 170-175); but the reader will find a contemporary and highly characteristic account in *Mém. de Motteville*, vol. ii. pp. 224-227. The connexion between it and the spirit of insubordination

repressed in his arbitrary reign;[45] and that before the middle of the eighteenth century, it again arose, as the natural product of a state of society by which the French Revolution was brought about.

The connexion between the revival of Jansenism and the destruction of the Jesuits, is obvious. After the death of Louis XIV., the Jansenists rapidly gained ground, even in the Sorbonne;[46] and by the middle of the eighteenth century, they had organized a powerful party in the French parliament.[47] About the same period, their influence began to show itself in the executive government, and among the officers of the crown. Machault, who held the important post of controller-general, was known to favour their opinions;[48] and a few years after his retirement, Choiseul was called to the head of affairs; a man of considerable ability, by whom they were openly protected.[49] Their views were likewise supported by Laverdy, controller-general in 1764, and by Terray, controller of finances in 1769.[50] The procureur-general, Gilbert des Voisins, was a Jansenist;[51] so also was one of his successors, Chauvelin;[52] and so was the advocate-general Pelletier de Saint-Fargeau;[53] and so too was

was remarked at the time; and Des Réaux, who wrote in the middle of the seventeenth century, mentions an opinion that the Fronde 'étoit venue du Jansénisme.' *Historiettes*, vol. iv. p. 72. Omer Talon too says that, in 1648, 'il se trouvoit que tous ceux qui étoient de cette opinion n'aimoient pas le gouvernement présent de l'état.' *Mém. d'Omer Talon*, vol. ii. pp. 280, 281.

[45] Brienne, who knew Louis XIV. personally, says, 'Jansénisme, l'horreur du roi.' *Mém. de Brienne*, vol. ii. p. 240. Compare *Duclos, Mém. Secrets*, vol. i. p. 112. At the end of his reign he promoted a bishop on the avowed ground of his opposition to the Jansenists; this was in 1713. *Lettres inédites de Maintenon*, vol. ii. pp. 396, 406; and see further vol. i. pp. 220, 222.

[46] 'La Sorbonne, moliniste sous Louis XIV, fut janséniste sous le régent, et toujours divisée.' *Duvernet, Hist. de la Sorbonne*, vol. ii. p. 225.

[47] On the strength of the Jansenists in the parliament of Paris, see *Tocqueville, Règne de Louis XV*, vol. i. p. 352, vol. ii. p. 176; *Flassan, Diplomatie*, vol. vi. p. 486; *Mém. de Georgel*, vol. ii. p. 262; *Mém. de Bouillé*, vol. i. p. 67; *Palmer's Treatise on the Church*, vol. i. pp. 327, 328.

[48] *Lavallée, Hist. des Français*, vol. iii. p. 439.

[49] *Soulavie, Règne de Louis XVI*, vol. i. pp. 31, 145.

[50] *Tocqueville, Règne de Louis XV*, vol. ii. p. 385; *Œuvres de Voltaire*, vol. liv. p. 275; *Mém. de Georgel*, vol. i. pp. 49-51.

[51] *Duvernet, Vie de Voltaire*, p. 90.

[52] *Lacretelle, XVIII^e Siècle*, vol. ii. p. 119; *Lavallée*, vol. iii. p. 477.

[53] *Mém. de Georgel*, vol. i. p. 57.

Camus, the well-known advocate of the clergy.[54] Turgot, the greatest statesman of the age, is said to have embraced the same opinions;[55] while Necker, who on two different occasions possessed almost supreme power, was notoriously a rigid Calvinist. To this may be added, that not only Necker, but also Rousseau, to whom a large share in causing the Revolution is justly ascribed, were born in Geneva, and drew their earliest ideas from that great nursery of the Calvinistic theology.

In such a state of things as this, it was impossible that a body like the Jesuits should hold their ground. They were the last defenders of authority and tradition, and it was natural that they should fall in an age when statesmen were sceptics, and theologians were Calvinists. Even the people had already marked them for destruction; and when Damiens, in 1757, attempted to assassinate the king, it was generally believed that they were the instigators of the act.[56] This we now know to be false; but the existence of such a rumour is evidence of the state of the popular mind. At all events, the doom of the Jesuits was fixed. In April 1761, parliament ordered their constitutions to be laid before them.[57] In August, they were forbidden to receive novices, their colleges were closed, and a number of their most celebrated works were publicly burned by the common hangman.[58] Finally, in 1762, another edict appeared, by which the Jesuits were condemned without even being heard in their own defence;[59] their property was directed to be sold, and their order secularized; they were declared 'unfit to be admitted into

[54] *La Fayette, Mém.* vol. ii. p. 53; *Dumont, Souvenirs,* p. 154; *Georgel,* vol. ii. p. 353, vol. iii. p. 10.

[55] *Soulavie, Règne de Louis XVI,* vol. iii. p. 137.

[56] 'The Jesuits are charged by the vulgar as promoters of that attempt.' Letter from Stanley, written in 1761, in *Chatham Correspond.* vol. ii. p. 127. Compare *Campan, Mém. de Marie Antoinette,* vol. iii. pp. 19, 21; *Sismondi, Hist. des Franç.* vol. xxix. pp. 111, 227.

[57] *Lavellée, Hist. des Français,* vol. iii. p. 476.

[58] *Flassan, Diplomatie Franç.* vol. vi. p. 491.

[59] 'Sans que les accusés eussent été entendus.' *Lavallée,* vol. iii. p. 477. 'Pas un seul n'a été entendu dans leur cause.' *Barruel sur l'Hist. du Jacobinisme,* vol. ii. p. 264.

a well-governed country,' and their institute and society were formally abolished.[60]

Such was the way in which this great society, long the terror of the world, fell before the pressure of public opinion. What makes its fall the more remarkable, is, that the pretext which was alleged to justify the examination of its constitutions, was one so slight, that no former government would have listened to it for a single moment. This immense spiritual corporation was actually tried by a temporal court for ill faith in a mercantile transaction, and for refusing to pay a sum of money said to be due![61] The most important body in the Catholic church, the spiritual leaders of France, the educators of her youth, and the confessors of her kings, were brought to the bar, and sued in their collective capacity, for the fraudulent repudiation of a common debt![62] So marked was the predisposition of affairs, that it was not found necessary to employ for the destruction of the Jesuits any of those arts by which the popular mind is commonly inflamed. The charge upon which they were sentenced, was not that they had plotted against the state; nor that they had corrupted the public morals; nor that they wished to subvert religion. These were the accusations which were brought in the seventeenth century, and which suited the genius of that age. But in the eighteenth century, all that was required was some trifling accident, that might serve as a pretence to justify what the nation had already determined. To ascribe, therefore, this great event to the bankruptcy of a trader, or the intrigues of a mistress,[63] is to confuse the cause of an act with the pretext under which

[60] *Lavallée*, iii. p. 477; *Flassan*, vi. pp. 504, 505; *Sismondi*, xxix. p. 234; and the letters written by Diderot, who, though he was in Paris at the time, gives rather an incomplete account, *Mém. de Diderot*, vol. ii. pp. 127, 130-132.

[61] *Flassan, Hist. de la Diplomatie*, vol. vi. pp. 486-488.

[62] 'Enfin ils furent mis en cause, et le parlement de Paris eut l'étonnement et la joie de voir les jésuites amenés devant lui comme de vils banqueroutiers.' *Lacretelle, XVIII^e Siècle*, vol. ii. p. 252. 'Condemned in France as fraudulent traders.' *Schlosser's Eighteenth Century*, vol. iv. p. 451.

[63] Several writers attribute the destruction of the Jesuits to the exertions of Madame de Pompadour!

the act is committed. In the eyes of the men of the eighteenth century, the real crime of the Jesuits was, that they belonged to the past rather than to the present, and that by defending the abuses of ancient establishments, they obstructed the progress of mankind. They stood in the way of the age, and the age swept them from its path. This was the real cause of their abolition: a cause not likely to be perceived by those writers, who, under the guise of historians, are only collectors of the prattle and gossip of courts; and who believe that the destinies of great nations can be settled in the ante-chambers of ministers, and in the councils of kings.

After the fall of the Jesuits, there seemed to be nothing remaining which could save the French church from immediate destruction.[64] The old theological spirit had been for some time declining, and the clergy were suffering from their own decay even more than from the attacks made upon them. The advance of knowledge was producing in France the same results as those which I have pointed out in England; and the increasing attractions of science drew off many illustrious men, who in a preceding age would have been active members of the spiritual profession. That splendid eloquence, for which the French clergy had been remarkable, was now dying away, and there were no longer heard the voices of those great orators, at whose bidding the temples had formerly been filled.[65] Massillon was the last of that celebrated race who had so enthralled the mind, and the magic of whose fascination it is even now hard to withstand. He died in 1742; and after him the French clergy possessed no eminent men of any kind, neither thinkers, nor orators, nor writers.[66] Nor did there seem the least possibility

[64] Choiseul is reported to have said of the Jesuits: 'leur éducation détruite, tous les autres corps religieux tomberont d'eux-mêmes.' *Barruel, Hist. du Jacobinisme*, vol. i. p. 63.

[65] In 1771, Horace Walpole writes from Paris that the churches and convents were become so empty, as to 'appear like abandoned theatres destined to destruction;' and this he contrasts with his former experience of a different state of things. *Walpole's Letters*, vol. v. p. 310, edit. 1840.

[66] 'So low had the talents of the once illustrious church of France fallen,

of their recovering their lost position. While society was advancing, they were receding. All the sources of their power were dried up. They had no active leaders; they had lost the confidence of government; they had forfeited the respect of the people; they had become a mark for the gibes of the age.[67]

It does, at first sight, seem strange that, under these circumstances, the French clergy should have been able, for nearly thirty years after the abolition of the Jesuits, to maintain their standing, so as to interfere with impunity in public affairs.[68] The truth, however, is, that this temporary reprieve of the ecclesiastical order was owing to that movement which I have already noticed, and by virtue of which the French intellect, during the latter half of the eighteenth century, changed the ground of its attack, and, directing its energies against political abuses, neglected in some degree those spiritual abuses to which its attention had been hitherto confined. The result was, that in France the government enforced a policy which the great thinkers had indeed originated, but respecting which they were becoming less eager. The most eminent Frenchmen were beginning their attacks upon the state, and in the heat of their new warfare they slackened their opposition to the church. But in the mean time, the seeds

that in the latter part of the eighteenth century, when Christianity itself was assailed, not one champion of note appeared in its ranks; and when the convocation of the clergy, in 1770, published their famous anathema against the dangers of unbelief, and offered rewards for the best essays in defence of the Christian faith, the productions called forth were so despicable that they sensibly injured the cause of religion.' *Alison's Hist. of Europe*, vol. i. pp. 180, 181.

[67] In 1766, the Rev. William Cole writes to Alban Butler: 'I travelled to Paris through Lille and Cambray in their public voitures, and was greatly scandalized and amazed at the open and unreserved disrespect, both of the trading and military people, for their clergy and religious establishment. When I got to Paris, it was much worse.' *Ellis's Original Letters*, second series, vol. iv. p. 485. See also *Walpole's Letters to Lady Ossory*, vol. ii. p. 513, edit. 1848; and the complaint made at Besançon in 1761, in *Lepan, Vie de Voltaire*, p. 113.

[68] And also to retain their immense property, which, when the Revolution occurred, was estimated at 80,000,000*l.* English money, bringing in a yearly revenue of 'somewhat under 75,000,000 francs.' *Alison's Europe*, vol. i. p. 183, vol. ii. p. 20, vol. xiv. pp. 122, 123.

they had sown germinated in the state itself. So rapid was the march of affairs, that those anti-ecclesiastical opinions which, a few years earlier, were punished as the paradoxes of designing men, were now taken up and put into execution by senators and ministers. The rulers of France carried into effect principles which had hitherto been simply a matter of theory; and thus it happened, as is always the case, that practical statesmen only apply and work out ideas which have long before been suggested by more advanced thinkers.

Hence it followed, that at no period during the eighteenth century did the speculative classes and practical classes thoroughly combine against the church: since, in the first half of the century, the clergy were principally assailed by the literature, and not by the government; in the latter half of the century, by the government, and not by the literature. Some of the circumstances of this singular transition have been already stated, and I hope clearly brought before the mind of the reader. I now purpose to complete the generalization, by proving that a corresponding change was taking place in all other branches of inquiry; and that, while in the first period attention was chiefly directed towards mental phenomena, it was in the second period more directed towards physical phenomena. From this, the political movement received a vast accession of strength. For the French intellect, shifting the scene of its labours, diverted the thoughts of men from the internal to the external, and concentrating attention upon their material rather than upon their spiritual wants, turned against the encroachments of the state an hostility formerly reserved for the encroachments of the church. Whenever a tendency arises to prefer what comes from without to what comes from within, and thus to aggrandize matter at the expense of mind, there will also be a tendency to believe that an institution which hampers our opinions is less hurtful than one which controls our acts. Precisely in the same way, men who reject the fundamental truths of religion, will care little for the extent to which those truths are perverted. Men who

deny the existence of the Deity and the immortality of the soul, will take no heed of the way in which a gross and formal worship obscures those sublime doctrines. All the idolatry, all the ceremonials, all the pomp, all the dogmas, and all the traditions by which religion is retarded, will give them no disquietude, because they consider the opinions that are checked to be equally false with those that are favoured. Why should they, to whom transcendental truths are unknown, labour to remove the superstitions which darken the truths? Such a generation, so far from attacking ecclesiastical usurpations, would rather look on the clergy as convenient tools to ensnare the ignorant and control the vulgar. Therefore it is that we rarely hear of a sincere atheist being a zealous polemic. But if that should occur, which a century ago occurred in France; if it should happen that men of great energy, and actuated by the feelings I have described, were to find themselves in the presence of a political despotism,—they would direct against it the whole of their powers; and they would act with the more determined vigour, because, believing that their all was at stake, temporal happiness would be to them not only the first, but also the sole consideration.

It is from this point of view that the progress of those atheistical opinions, which now rose in France, becomes a matter of great though painful interest. And the date at which they appeared, fully corroborates what I have just said respecting the change that took place in the middle of the eighteenth century. The first great work in which they were openly promulgated, was the celebrated Encyclopædia, published in 1751.[69] Before that time such degrading opinions, though occasionally broached, were not held by any men of ability; nor could they in the preceding state of society have made much impression

[69] M. Barante (*Littérature Française au XVIII^e Siècle*, p. 94) says, 'On arriva bientôt à tout nier; déjà l'incrédulité avait rejeté les preuves divines de la révélation, et avait abjuré les devoirs et les souvenirs chrétiens; on vit alors l'athéisme lever un front plus hardi, et proclamer que tout sentiment religieux était une rêverie et un désordre de l'esprit humain. C'est de l'époque de l'Encyclopédie que datent les écrits où cette opinion est le plus expressément professée. Ils furent peu imités.' This last sentence is erroneous, I am sorry to say.

upon the age. But during the latter half of the eighteenth century, they affected every department of French literature. Between 1758 and 1770, atheistical tenets rapidly gained ground;[70] and in 1770 was published the famous work, called the *System of Nature;* the success, and, unhappily, the ability of which, makes its appearance an important epoch in the history of France. Its popularity was immense;[71] and the views it contains are so clearly and methodically arranged, as to have earned for it the name of the code of atheism.[72] Five years later, the Archbishop of Toulouse, in a formal address to the king on behalf of the clergy, declared that atheism had now become the prevailing opinion.[73] This, like all similar assertions, must have been an exaggeration; but that there was a large amount of truth in it, is known to whoever has studied the mental habits of the generation immediately preceding the Revolution. Among the inferior class of writers, Damilaville, Deleyre, Maréchal, Naigeon, Toussaint, were active supporters of that cold and gloomy dogma, which, in order to extinguish the hope of a future life, blots out from the mind of man the glorious instincts

[70] 'Dans un intervalle de douze années, de 1758 à 1770, la littérature française fut souillée par un grand nombre d'ouvrages où l'athéisme étoit ouvertement professé.' *Lacretelle, XVIII*e *Siècle,* vol. ii. p. 310.

[71] Voltaire, who wrote against it, mentions its diffusion among all classes, and says it was read by 'des savants, des ignorants, des femmes.' *Dict. Philos.* article *Dieu,* section iv., in *Œuvres de Voltaire,* vol. xxxviii. p. 366: see also vol. lxvii. p. 260; *Longchamp et Wagnière, Mém. sur Voltaire,* vol. i. pp. 13, 334; *Lettres inédites de Voltaire,* vol. ii. pp. 210, 216; and a letter from him in *Correspond. de Dudeffand,* vol. ii. p. 329. Compare *Tennemann, Gesch. der Philos.* vol. xi. p. 320: 'mit ungetheiltem Beifalle aufgenommen worden und grossen Einfluss gehabt hat.'

[72] 'Le code monstrueux d'athéisme.' *Biog. Univ.* vol. xxix. p. 88. Morellet, who in such matters was by no means a harsh judge, says, '*Le Système de la Nature,* surtout, est un catéchisme d'athéisme complet.' *Mém. de Morellet,* vol. i. p. 133. Stäudlin (*Gesch. der theolog. Wissenschaften,* vol. ii. p. 440) calls it 'ein System des entschiedenen Atheismus:' while Tennemann, who has given by far the best account of it I have met with, says, 'Es machte bei seinem Erscheinen gewaltiges Aufsehen, und ist fast immer als das Handbuch des Atheismus betrachtet worden.' *Gesch. der Philos.* vol. xi. p. 349.

[73] 'Le monstrueux athéisme est devenu l'opinion dominante.' *Soulavie, Règne de Louis XVI,* vol. iii. p. 16: the address of the archbishop with a deputation, 'muni des pouvoirs de l'assemblée générale du clergé,' in September 1775.

of his own immortality.[74] And, strange to say, several even of the higher intellects were unable to escape the contagion. Atheism was openly advocated by Condorcet, by D'Alembert, by Diderot, by Helvétius, by Lalande, by Laplace, by Mirabeau, and by Saint Lambert.[75] Indeed, so thoroughly did all this harmonize with the general temper, that in society men boasted of what, in other countries, and in other days, has been a rare and singular error, an eccentric taint, which those affected by it were willing to conceal. In 1764 Hume met, at the house of Baron d'Holbach, a party of the most celebrated Frenchmen then residing in Paris. The great Scotchman, who was no doubt aware of the prevailing opinion, took occasion to raise an argument as to the existence of an atheist, properly so called; for his own part, he said, he had never chanced to meet with one. 'You have been somewhat unfortunate,' replied Holbach; 'but at the present moment you are sitting at table with seventeen of them.'[76]

This, sad as it is, only forms a single aspect of that immense movement, by which, during the latter half of the eighteenth century, the French intellect was withdrawn from the study of the internal, and concentrated upon that of the external world. Of this tendency, we find an interesting instance in the celebrated work of Helvétius, unquestionably the ablest and most influential treatise on morals which France produced at this period.

[74] *Biog. Univ.* vol. x. pp. 471, 669, vol. xxvii. p. 8, vol. xxx. p. 542; *Mém. de Brissot*, vol. i. p. 305; *Tocqueville, Règne de Louis XV*, vol. ii. p. 77.

[75] *Mem. of Mallet du Pan*, vol. i. p. 50; *Soulavie, Règne de Louis XVI*, vol. v. p. 127; *Barruel, Hist. du Jacobin*, vol. i. pp. 104, 135, 225, vol. ii. p. 23, vol. iii. p. 200; *Life of Romilly*, vol. i. pp. 46, 145; *Stäudlin, Theolog. Wissenschaften*, vol. ii. p. 440; *Georgel, Mém.* vol. ii. pp. 250, 350; *Grimm, Correspond.* vol. xv. p. 87; *Mém. de Morellet*, vol. i. p. 130; *Lepan, Vie de Voltaire*, p. 369; *Tennemann, Gesch. der Philos.* vol. xi. p. 350; *Musset Pathay, Vie de Rousseau*, vol. ii. pp. 177, 297; *Mém. de Genlis*, vol. v. p. 180; *Hitchcock's Geol.* p. 263; *Mém. d'Epinay*, vol. ii. pp. 63, 66, 76.

[76] This was related to Romilly by Diderot. *Life of Romilly*, vol. i. pp. 131, 132: see also *Burton's Life of Hume*, vol. ii. pp. 220. Priestley, who visited France in 1774, says, that 'all the philosophical persons to whom I was introduced at Paris (were) unbelievers in Christianity, and even professed atheists.' *Priestley's Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 74. See also a letter by Horace Walpole, written from Paris in 1765 (*Walpole's Letters*, edit. 1840, vol. v. p. 96): 'their avowed doctrine is atheism.'

It was published in 1758;[77] and, although it bears the title of an essay on 'the Mind,' it does not contain a single passage from which we could infer that the mind, in the sense in which the word is commonly used, has any existence. In this work, which, during fifty years, was the code of French morals, principles are laid down which bear exactly the same relation to ethics that atheism bears to theology. Helvétius, at the beginning of his inquiry, assumes, as an incontestable fact, that the difference between man and other animals is the result of a difference in their external form; and that if, for example, our wrists, instead of ending with hands and flexible fingers, had merely ended like a horse's foot, we should have always remained wanderers on the face of the earth, ignorant of every art, entirely defenceless, and having no other concern but to avoid the attacks of wild-beasts, and find the needful supply of our daily food.[78] That the structure of our bodies is the sole cause of our boasted superiority, becomes evident, when we consider that our thoughts are simply the product of two faculties, which we have in common with all other animals; namely, the faculty of receiving impressions from external objects, and the faculty of remembering those impressions after they are received.[79] From this, says Helvétius, it follows, that the internal powers of man being the same as those of all other animals, our sensibility and our memory would be useless, if it were not for those external peculiarities by which we are eminently distinguished, and to which we owe every thing that is most valuable.[80] These positions being laid down, it is easy to deduce all the essential principles of moral actions. For, memory being

[77] *Biog. Univ.* vol. xx. p. 29.

[78] 'Si la nature, au lieu de mains et de doigts flexibles, eût terminé nos poignets par un pied de cheval; qui doute que les hommes, sans art, sans habitations, sans défense contre les animaux, tout occupés du soin de pourvoir à leur nourriture et d'éviter les bêtes féroces, ne fussent encore errants dans les forêts comme des troupeaux fugitifs?' *Helvétius de l'Esprit*, vol. i. p. 2. Had Helvétius ever read the attack of Aristotle against Anaxagoras for asserting that διὰ τὸ χεῖρας ἔχειν, φρονιμώτατον εἶναι τῶν ζώων τὸν ἄνθρωπον? *Cudworth, Intellect. Syst.* vol. iii. p. 311.

[79] *De l'Esprit*, vol. i. p. 2.

[80] *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 4.

merely one of the organs of physical sensibility,[81] and judgment being only a sensation,[82] all notions of duty and of virtue must be tested by their relation to the senses; in other words, by the gross amount of physical enjoyment to which they give rise. This is the true basis of moral philosophy. To take any other view, is to allow ourselves to be deceived by conventional expressions, which have no foundation except in the prejudices of ignorant men. Our vices and our virtues are solely the result of our passions; and our passions are caused by our physical sensibility to pain and to pleasure.[83] It was in this way that the sense of justice first arose. To physical sensibility men owed pleasure and pain; hence the feeling of their own interests, and hence the desire of living together in societies. Being assembled in society, there grew up the notion of a general interest, since, without it, society could not hold together; and, as actions are only just or unjust in proportion as they minister to this general interest, a measure was established, by which justice is discriminated from injustice.[84] With the same inflexible spirit, and with great fullness of illustration, Helvétius examines the origin of those other feelings which regulate human actions. Thus, he says that both ambition and friendship are entirely the work of physical sensibility. Men yearn after fame, on account either of the pleasure which they expect the mere possession of it will give, or

81 'En effet la mémoire ne peut être qu'un des organes de la sensibilité physique.' vol. i. p. 6. Compare what M. Lepelletier says on this, in his *Physiologie Médicale*, vol. iii. p. 272.

82 'D'où je conclus que tout jugement n'est qu'une sensation.' *De l'Esprit*, vol. i. p. 10; '*juger*, comme je l'ai déjà prouvé, n'est proprement que *sentir*.' p. 41.

83 'Né sensible à la douleur et au plaisir, c'est à la sensibilité physique que l'homme doit ses passions; et à ses passions, qu'il doit tous ses vices et toutes ses vertus.' *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 53; and see vol. i. p. 239.

84 'Une fois parvenu à cette vérité, je découvre facilement la source des vertus humaines; je vois que sans la sensibilité à la douleur et au plaisir physique, les hommes, sans désirs, sans passions, également indifférents à tout, n'eussent point connu d'intérêt personnel; que sans intérêt personnel ils ne se fussent point rassemblés en société, n'eussent point fait entr'eux de conventions, qu'il n'y eût point eu d'intérêt général, par conséquent point d'actions justes ou injustes; et qu'ainsi la sensibilité physique et l'intérêt personnel ont été les auteurs de toute justice.' *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 278.

else as the means of subsequently procuring other pleasures.[85] As to friendship, the only use of it is to increase our pleasures or mitigate our pains; and it is with this object that a man longs to hold communion with his friend.[86] Beyond this, life has nothing to offer. To love what is good for the sake of the goodness, is as impossible as to love what is bad for the sake of the evil.[87] The mother who weeps for the loss of her child, is solely actuated by selfishness; she mourns because a pleasure is taken from her, and because she sees a void difficult to fill up.[88] So it is, that the loftiest virtues, as well as the meanest vices, are equally caused by the pleasure we find in the exercise of them.[89] This is the great mover and originator of all. Every thing that we have, and every thing that we are, we owe to the external world; nor is Man himself aught else except what he is made by the objects which surround him.[90]

The views put forward in this celebrated work I have stated at some length; not so much on account of the ability with which they are advocated, as on account of the clue they furnish to the movements of a most remarkable age. Indeed, so completely did they harmonize with the prevailing tendencies, that they not only quickly obtained for their author a vast European reputation,[91] but, during many years, they continued to increase in influence, and, in France in particular, they exercised great sway.[92] As that was the country in which they arose, so

[85] *De l'Esprit*, vol. ii. pp. 19, 20, 30, 34, 293, 294, 318. Compare Epicurus, in *Diog. Laert. de Vit. Philos.* lib. x. seg. 120, vol. i. p. 654.

[86] *De l'Esprit*, vol. ii. p. 45. He sums up: 'il s'ensuit que l'amitié, ainsi que l'avarice, l'orgueil, l'ambition et les autres passions, est l'effet immédiat de la sensibilité physique.'

[87] 'Il lui est aussi impossible d'aimer le bien pour le bien, que d'aimer le mal pour le mal.' *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 73.

[88] *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 249.

[89] *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 58.

[90] 'Nous sommes uniquement ce que nous font les objets qui nous environnent.' *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 306.

[91] Saint Surin, a zealous opponent of Helvétius, admits that 'les étrangers les plus éminents par leurs dignités ou par leurs lumières, désiraient d'être introduits chez un philosophe dont le nom retentissait dans toute l'Europe.' *Biog. Univ.* vol. xx. p. 33.

[92] Brissot (*Mémoires*, vol. i. p. 339) says, that in 1775, 'le système d'Helvétius avait alors la plus grande vogue.' Turgot, who wrote against

also was it the country to which they were best adapted. Madame Dudeffand, who passed her long life in the midst of French society, and was one of the keenest observers of her time, has expressed this with great happiness. The work of Helvétius, she says, is popular, since he is the man who has told to all their own secret.[93]

True it was, that, to the contemporaries of Helvétius, his views, notwithstanding their immense popularity, bore the appearance of a secret; because the connexion between them and the general march of events was, as yet, but dimly perceived. To us, however, who, after this interval of time, can examine the question with the resources of a larger experience, it is obvious how such a system met the wants of an age of which it was the exponent and the mouthpiece. That Helvétius must have carried with him the sympathies of his countrymen, is clear, not only from the evidence we have of his success, but also from a more comprehensive view of the general complexion of those times. Even while he was still pursuing his labours, and only four years before he published them, a work appeared in France, which, though displaying greater ability, and possessing a higher influence than that of Helvétius, did, nevertheless, point in exactly the same direction. I allude to the great metaphysical treatise by Condillac, in many respects one of the most remarkable productions of the eighteenth century; and the authority of which, during two generations, was so irresistible, that, without some acquaintance with it, we cannot possibly understand the nature of those complicated movements by which the French Revolution was brought about.

it, complains that it was praised 'avec une sorte de fureur' (*Œuvres de Turgot*, vol. ix. p. 297); and Georgel (*Mémoires*, vol. ii. p. 256) says, 'ce livre, écrit avec un style plein de chaleur et d'images, se trouvoit sur toutes les toilettes.'

[93] 'D'ailleurs le siècle de Louis XV se reconnut dans l'ouvrage d'Helvétius, et on prête à Mme. Dudeffand ce mot fin et profond: "C'est un homme qui a dit le secret de tout le monde."' *Cousin, Hist. de la Philos.* I. série, vol. iii. p. 201. Compare *Corresp. de Dudeffand*, vol. i. p. xxii.; and a similar sentiment in *Mém. de Roland*, vol. i. p. 104. The relation of Helvétius's work to the prevailing philosophy is noticed in *Comte's Philos. Pos.* vol. iii. pp. 791, 792, vol. v. pp. 744, 745.

In 1754,[94] Condillac put forth his celebrated work on the mind; the very title of which was a proof of the bias with which it was written. Although this profound thinker aimed at nothing less than an exhaustive analysis of the human faculties, and although he is pronounced by a very able, but hostile critic, to be the only metaphysician France produced during the eighteenth century,[95] still he found it utterly impossible to escape from those tendencies towards the external which governed his own age. The consequence was, that he called his work a 'Treatise on Sensations;'[96] and in it he peremptorily asserts, that every thing we know is the result of sensation; by which he means the effect produced on us by the action of the external world. Whatever may be thought of the accuracy of this opinion, there can be no doubt that it is enforced with a closeness and severity of reasoning which deserves the highest praise. To examine, however, the arguments by which his view is supported, would lead to a discussion foreign to my present object, which is, merely to point out the relation between his philosophy and the general temper of his contemporaries. Without, therefore, pretending to anything like a critical examination of this celebrated book, I will simply bring together the essential positions on which it is based, in order to illustrate the harmony between it and the intellectual habits of the age in which it appeared.[97]

The materials from which the philosophy of Condillac was originally drawn, were contained in the great work published by Locke about sixty years before this time. But though much of what was most essential was borrowed from the English philosopher, there was one very

[94] *Biog. Univ.* vol. ix. p. 399.

[95] 'Condillac est le métaphysicien français du xviii[e] siècle.' *Cousin, Hist. de la Philos.* I. série, vol. iii. p. 83.

[96] 'Traité des Sensations,' which, as M. Cousin says, is, 'sans comparaison, le chef-d'œuvre de Condillac.' *Hist. de la Philos.* II. série, vol. ii. p. 77.

[97] On the immense influence of Condillac, compare *Renouard, Hist. de la Médecine*, vol. ii. p. 355; *Cuvier, Eloges*, vol. iii. p. 387; *Broussais, Cours de Phrénologie*, pp. 45, 68-71, 829; *Pinel, Alién. Mentale*, p. 94: *Brown's Philos. of the Mind*, p. 212.

important point in which the disciple differed from his master. And this difference is strikingly characteristic of the direction which the French intellect was now taking. Locke, with some looseness of expression, and possibly with some looseness of thought, had asserted the separate existence of a power of reflection, and had maintained that by means of that power the products of sensation became available.[98] Condillac, moved by the prevailing temper of his own time, would not hear of such a distinction. He, like most of his contemporaries, was jealous of any claim which increased the authority of the internal, and weakened that of the external. He, therefore, altogether rejects the faculty of reflection as a source of our ideas; and this partly because it is but the channel through which ideas run from the senses, and partly because in its origin it is itself a sensation.[99] Therefore, according to him, the only question is as to the way in which our contact with nature supplies us with ideas. For in this scheme, the faculties of man are solely caused by the operation of his senses. The judgments which we form are, says Condillac, often ascribed to the hand of the Deity; a convenient mode of reasoning, which has only arisen from the difficulty of analyzing them.[100] By considering how our judgments actually arise, we can alone remove these obscurities. The fact is, that the attention we give to an object is nothing but the sensation which

[98] Whether or not Locke held that reflection is an independent as well as a separate faculty, is uncertain; because passages could be quoted from his writings to prove either the affirmative or the negative. Dr. Whewell justly remarks, that Locke uses the word so vaguely as to 'allow his disciples to make of his doctrines what they please.' *History of Moral Philosophy*, 1852, p. 71.

[99] 'Locke distingue deux sources de nos idées, les sens et la réflexion. Il seroit plus exact de n'en reconnoître qu'une, soit parceque la réflexion n'est dans sons principe que la sensation même, soit parcequ'elle est moins la source des idées, que le canal par lequel elles découlent des sens.' *Condillac, Traité des Sensations*, p. 13: see also, at pp. 19, 216, the way in which sensation becomes reflection; and the summing up, at p. 416, 'que toutes nos connoissances viennent des sens, et particulièrement du toucher.'

[100] He says of Mallebranche (*Traité des Sensations*, p. 312), 'ne pouvant comprendre comment nous formerions nous-mêmes ces jugemens, il les attribue à Dieu; manière de raisonner fort commode, et presque toujours la ressource des philosophes.'

that object excites;[101] and what we call abstract ideas are merely different ways of being attentive.[102] Ideas being thus generated, the subsequent process is very simple. To attend to two ideas at the same time, is to compare them; so that comparison is not a result of attention, but is rather the attention itself.[103] This at once gives us the faculty of judging, because directly we institute a comparison, we do of necessity form a judgment.[104] Thus, too, memory is a transformed sensation;[105] while the imagination is nothing but memory, which, being carried to its highest possible vivacity, makes what is absent appear to be present.[106] The impressions we receive from the external world being, therefore, not the cause of our faculties, but being the faculties themselves, the conclusion to which we are driven is inevitable. It follows, says Condillac, that in man nature is the beginning of all; that to nature we owe the whole of our knowledge; that we only instruct ourselves according to her lessons; and that the entire art of reasoning consists in continuing the work which she has appointed us to perform.[107]

It is so impossible to mistake the tendency of these views, that I need not attempt to estimate their result otherwise than by measuring the extent to which they were adopted. Indeed, the zeal with which they were now carried into every department of knowledge, can only

101 'Mais à peine j'arrête la vue sur un objet, que les sensations particulières que j'en reçois sont l'attention même que je lui donne.' *Traité des Sensations*, p. 16.

102 'Ne sont que différentes manières d'être attentif.' p. 122.

103 'Dès qu'il y a double attention, il y a comparaison; car être attentif à deux idées ou les comparer, c'est la même chose.' p. 17.

104 'Dès qu'il y a comparaison, il y a jugement.' p. 65.

105 'La mémoire n'est donc que la sensation transformée.' p. 17. Compare p. 61.

106 L'imagination est la mémoire même, parvenue à toute la vivacité dont elle est susceptible.' p. 78. 'Or j'ai appelé imagination cette mémoire vive, qui fait paroître présent ce qui est absent.' p. 245.

107 'Il résulte de cette vérité, que la nature commence tout en nous: aussi ai-je démontré que, dans le principe ou dans le commencement, nos connoissances sont uniquement son ouvrage, que nous ne nous instruisons que d'après ses leçons, et que tout l'art de raisonner consiste à continuer comme elle nous a fait commencer.' p. 178.

surprise those who, being led by their habits of mind to study history in its separate fragments, have not accustomed themselves to consider it as an united whole, and who, therefore, do not perceive that in every great epoch there is some one idea at work, which is more powerful than any other, and which shapes the events of the time and determines their ultimate issue. In France, during the latter half of the eighteenth century, this idea was, the inferiority of the internal to the external. It was this dangerous but plausible principle which drew the attention of men from the church to the state; which was seen in Helvétius the most celebrated of the French moralists, and in Condillac the most celebrated of the French metaphysicians. It was this same principle which, by increasing, if I may so say, the reputation of Nature, induced the ablest thinkers to devote themselves to a study of her laws, and to abandon those other pursuits which had been popular in the preceding age. In consequence of this movement, such wonderful additions were made to every branch of physical science, that more new truths concerning the external world were discovered in France during the latter half of the eighteenth century than during all the previous periods put together. The details of these discoveries, so far as they have been subservient to the general purposes of civilization, will be related in another place; at present I will indicate only the most prominent, in order that the reader may understand the course of the subsequent argument, and may see the connexion between them and the French Revolution.

Taking a general view of the external world, we may say, that the three most important forces by which the operations of nature are effected, are heat, light, and electricity; including under this last magnetic and galvanic phenomena. On all these subjects, the French, for the first time, now exerted themselves with signal success. In regard to heat, not only were the materials for subsequent induction collected with indefatigable industry, but before that generation passed away, the induction was actually made; for while the laws of its radiation were

worked out by Prevost,[108] those of its conduction were established by Fourier, who, just before the Revolution, employed himself in raising thermotics to a science by the deductive application of that celebrated mathematical theory which he contrived, and which still bears his name.[109] In regard to electricity, it is enough to notice, during the same period, the important experiments of D'Alibard, followed by those vast labours of Coulomb, which brought electrical phenomena under the jurisdiction of the mathematics, and thus completed what Œpinus had already prepared.[110] As to the laws of light, those ideas were now accumulating which rendered possible the great steps that, at the close of the century, were taken by Malus, and still later by Fresnel.[111] Both of these eminent Frenchmen not only made important additions to our knowledge of double refraction, but Malus discovered the polarization of light, undoubtedly the most splendid contribution received by optical science since the analysis of the solar rays.[112] It was also in consequence of this, that

108 Compare *Powell on Radiant Heat*, p. 261, in *Second Rep. of Brit. Assoc.*; *Whewell's History of Sciences*, vol. ii. p. 526; and his *Philosophy*, vol. i. pp. 339, 340. Prevost was professor at Geneva; but his great views were followed up in France by Dulong and Petit; and the celebrated theory of dew by Dr. Wells is merely an application of them. *Herschel's Nat. Philosophy*, pp. 163, 315, 316. Respecting the further prosecution of these inquiries, and our present knowledge of radiant heat, see *Liebig and Kopp's Reports*, vol. i. p. 79, vol. iii. p. 30, vol. iv. p. 45.

109 On Fourier's mathematical theory of conduction, see *Comte, Philos. Positive*, vol. i. pp. 142, 175, 345, 346, 351, vol. ii. pp. 453, 551; *Prout's Bridgewater Treatise*, pp. 203, 204; *Kelland on Heat*, p. 6, in *Brit. Assoc. for* 1841; *Erman's Siberia*, vol. i. p. 243; *Humboldt's Cosmos*, vol. i. p. 169; *Hitchcock's Geology*, p. 198; *Pouillet, Elémens de Physique*, ii. 696, 697.

110 Coulomb's memoirs on electricity and magnetism were published from 1782 to 1789. *Fifth Report of Brit. Assoc.* p. 4. Compare *Liebig and Kopp's Reports*, vol. iii. p. 128; and on his relation to Œpinus, who wrote in 1759, see *Whewell's Induc. Sciences*, vol. iii. pp. 21-26, 35, 36, and *Haüy, Traité de Minéralogie*, vol. iii. p. 44, vol. iv. p. 14. There is a still fuller account of what was effected by Coulomb in M. Pouillet's able work, *Elémens de Physique*, vol. i. part ii. pp. 63-79, 130-135.

111 Fresnel belongs to the present century; but M. Biot says that the researches of Malus began before the passage of the Rhine in 1797. *Biot's Life of Malus*, in *Biog. Univ.* vol. xxvi. p. 412.

112 *Pouillet, Elémens de Physique*, vol. ii. part ii. pp. 484, 514; *Report of Brit. Assoc. for* 1832, p. 314; *Leslie's Nat. Philos.* p. 83; *Whewell's Hist. of Sciences*, vol. ii. pp. 408-410; *Philos. of Sciences*, vol. i. p. 350, vol. ii. p. 25; *Herschel's Nat. Philos.* p. 258.

Fresnel began those profound researches which placed on a solid basis that great undulatory theory of which Hooke, Huygens, and above all Young, are to be deemed the founders, and by which the corpuscular theory of Newton was finally overthrown.[113]

Thus much as to the progress of French knowledge respecting those parts of nature which are in themselves invisible, and of which we cannot tell whether they have a material existence, or whether they are mere conditions and properties of other bodies.[114] The immense value of these discoveries, as increasing the number of known truths, is incontestable: but, at the same time, another class of discoveries was made, which, dealing more palpably with the visible world, and being also more easily understood, produced more immediate results, and, as I shall presently show, exercised a remarkable influence in strengthening that democratic tendency which accompanied the French Revolution. It is impossible, within the limits I have assigned to myself, to give anything like an adequate notion of the marvellous activity with which the French now pushed their researches into every department of the organic and inorganic world; still it is, I

[113] The struggle between these rival theories, and the ease with which a man of such immense powers as Young was put down, and, as it were, suppressed, by those ignorant pretenders who presumed to criticize him, will be related in another part of this work, as a valuable illustration of the history and habits of the English mind. At present the controversy is finished, so far as the advocates of emission are concerned; but there are still difficulties on the other side, which should have prevented Dr. Whewell from expressing himself with such extreme positiveness on an unexhausted subject. This able writer says: 'The undulatory theory of light; the only discovery which can stand by the side of the theory of universal gravitation, as a doctrine belonging to the same order, for its generality, its fertility, and its certainty.' *Whewell's Hist. of the Induc. Sciences*, vol. ii. p. 425; see also p. 508.

[114] As to the supposed impossibility of conceiving the existence of matter without properties which give rise to forces (note in *Paget's Lectures on Pathology*, 1853, vol. i. p. 61), there are two reasons which prevent me from attaching much weight to it. First, a conception which, in one stage of knowledge, is called impossible, becomes, in a later stage, perfectly easy, and so natural as to be often termed necessary. Secondly, however indissoluble the connexion may appear between force and matter, it was not found fatal to the dynamical theory of Leibnitz; it has not prevented other eminent thinkers from holding similar views; and the arguments of Berkeley, though constantly attacked, have never been refuted.

think, practicable to compress into a few pages such a summary of the more salient points as will afford the reader some idea of what was done by that generation of great thinkers which flourished in France during the latter half of the eighteenth century.

If we confine our view to the globe we inhabit, it must be allowed that chemistry and geology are the two sciences which not only offer the fairest promise, but already contain the largest generalizations. The reason of this will become clear, if we attend to the ideas on which these two great subjects are based. The idea of chemistry, is the study of composition;[115] the idea of geology, is the study of position. The object of the first is, to learn the laws which govern the properties of matter; the object of the second is, to learn the laws which govern its locality. In chemistry, we experiment; in geology, we observe. In chemistry, we deal with the molecular arrangement of the smallest atoms;[116] in geology, with the cosmological arrangement of the largest masses. Hence it is that the chemist by his minuteness, and the geologist by his grandeur, touch the two extremes of the material universe; and, starting from these opposite points, have, as I could easily prove, a constantly increasing tendency to bring under their own authority sciences which have at present an independent existence, and which, for the sake of a division of labour, it is still convenient to study separately; though it must be the business of philosophy, properly so called, to integrate them into a complete and effective whole. Indeed it is obvious, that if we knew all the laws of the composition of matter, and likewise all the laws of its position, we should likewise know all the changes of which matter is capable spontaneously, that is, when uninterrupted by the mind of man. Every phenomenon

115 Every chemical decomposition being only a new form of composition. *Robin et Verdeil, Chimie Anatomique*, vol. i. pp. 455, 456, 498: 'de tout cela il résulte, que la dissolution est un cas particulier des combinaisons.'

116 What is erroneously called the atomic theory, is, properly speaking, an hypothesis, and not a theory: but hypothesis though it be, it is by its aid that we wield the doctrine of definite proportions, the corner-stone of chemistry.

which any given substance presents must be caused either by something taking place in the substance, or else by something taking place out of it, but acting upon it; while what occurs within must be explicable by its own composition, and what occurs without must be due to its position in relation to the objects by which it is affected. This is an exhaustive statement of every possible contingency, and to one of these two classes of laws every thing must be referrible; even those mysterious forces which, whether they be emanations from matter, or whether they be merely properties of matter, must in an ultimate analysis depend either on the internal arrangement, or else on the external locality of their physical antecedents. However conenvient, therefore, it may be, in the present state of our knowledge, to speak of vital principles, imponderable fluids, and elastic æthers, such terms can only be provisional, and are to be considered as mere names for that residue of unexplained facts, which it will be the business of future ages to bring under generalizations wide enough to cover and include the whole.

These ideas of composition and of position being thus the basis of all natural science, it is not surprising that chemistry and geology, which are their best, but still their insufficient representatives, should in modern times have made more progress than any other of the great branches of human knowledge. Although the chemists and geologists have not yet risen to the full height of their respective subjects,[117] there are few things more curious than to note the way in which, during the last two generations, they have been rapidly expanding their views—encroaching on topics with which, at first sight, they appeared to have no concern—making other branches of inquiry tributary to their own—and collecting from every quarter that intellectual wealth which, long hidden in obscure corners, had been wasted in the cultivation of special and inferior pursuits. This, as being one of the great intellectual characteristics of the present age, I shall hereafter examine at

117. Many of them being still fettered, in geology, by the hypothesis of catastrophes; in chemistry, by the hypothesis of vital forces.

considerable length; but what I have now to show is, that in these two vast sciences, which, though still very imperfect, must eventually be superior to all others, the first important steps were made by Frenchmen during the latter half of the eighteenth century.

That we owe to France the existence of chemistry as a science, will be admitted by everyone who uses the word science in the sense in which alone it ought to be understood, namely, as a body of generalizations so irrefragably true, that, though they may be subsequently covered by higher generalizations, they cannot be overthrown by them; in other words, generalizations which may be absorbed, but not refuted. In this point of view, there are in the history of chemistry only three great stages. The first stage was the destruction of the phlogistic theory, and the establishment, upon its ruins, of the doctrines of oxidation, combustion, and respiration. The second stage was the establishment of the principle of definite proportions, and the application to it of the atomic hypothesis. The third stage, above which we have not yet risen, consists in the union of chemical and electrical laws, and in the progress we are making towards fusing into one generalization their separate phenomena. Which of these three stages was in its own age the most valuable, is not now the question; but it is certain that the first of them was the work of Lavoisier, by far the greatest of the French chemists. Before him several important points had been cleared up by the English chemists, whose experiments ascertained the existence of bodies formerly unknown. The links, however, to connect the facts, were still wanting; and until Lavoisier entered the field, there were no generalizations wide enough to entitle chemistry to be called a science; or, to speak more properly, the only large generalization commonly received was that by Stahl, which the great Frenchman proved to be not only imperfect, but altogether inaccurate. A notice of the vast discoveries of Lavoisier will be found in many well-known books:[118] it is enough to say, that he not only

[118] See, for instance, *Cuvier, Progrès des Sciences*, vol. i. pp. 32-34, 40;

worked out the laws of the oxidation of bodies and of their combustion, but that he is the author of the true theory of respiration, the purely chemical character of which he first demonstrated; thus laying the foundation of those views respecting the functions of food, which the German chemists subsequently developed, and which, as I have proved in the second chapter of this Introduction, may be applied to solve some great problems in the history of Man. The merit of this was so obviously due to France, that though the system now established was quickly adopted in other countries,[119] it received the name of the French chemistry.[120] At the same time, the old nomenclature being full of old errors, a new one was required, and here again France took the initiative; since this great reformation was begun by four of her most eminent chemists, who flourished only a few years before the Revolution.[121]

While one division of the French thinkers was reducing to order the apparent irregularities of chemical phenomena, another division of them was performing precisely the same service for geology. The first step towards popularizing this noble study was taken by Buffon, who, in the middle of the eighteenth century, broached a

Liebig's Letters on Chemistry, p. 282; *Turner's Chemistry*, vol. i. pp. 184, 185; *Brande's Chemistry*, vol. i. pp. lxxxv.-lxxxix. 302; *Thomson's Animal Chemistry*, pp. 520, 634, and a great part of the second volume of his *History of Chemistry*; also *Müller's Physiol.* vol. i. pp. 90, 323.

119 According to Mr. Harcourt (*Brit. Assoc. Report for* 1839, p. 10), Cavendish has this merit, so far as England is concerned: 'He, first of all his contemporaries, did justice to the rival theory recently proposed by Lavoisier.'

120 'La chimie française.' *Thomson's Hist. of Chemistry*, vol. ii. pp. 101, 130. On the excitement caused by Lavoisier's views, see a letter which Jefferson wrote in Paris, in 1789, printed partly in *Tucker's Life of Jefferson*, vol. i. pp. 314, 315; and at length in *Jefferson's Correspond.* vol. ii. pp. 453-455.

121 'The first attempt to form a systematic chemical nomenclature was made by Lavoisier, Berthollet, G. de Morveau, and Fourcroy, soon after the discovery of oxygen gas.' *Turner's Chemistry*, vol. i. p.-127. Cuvier (*Progrès des Sciences*, vol. i. p. 39) and Robin et Verdeil (*Chimie Anatomique*, vol. i. pp. 602, 603) ascribe the chief merit to De Morveau. Thomson says (*Hist. of Chemistry*, vol. ii. p. 133): 'this new nomenclature very soon made its way into every part of Europe, and became the common language of chemists, in spite of the prejudices entertained against it, and the opposition which it every where met with.'

geological theory, which, though not quite original, excited attention by its eloquence, and by the lofty speculations with which he connected it.[122] This was followed by the more special but still important labours of Rouelle, Desmarest, Dolomieu, and Montlosier, who, in less than forty years, effected a complete revolution in the ideas of Frenchmen, by familiarizing them with the strange conception, that the surface of our planet, even where it appears perfectly stable, is constantly undergoing most extensive changes. It began to be understood, that this perpetual flux takes place not only in those parts of nature which are obviously feeble and evanescent, but also in those which seem to possess every element of strength and permanence, such as the mountains of granite which wall the globe, and are the shell and encasement in which it is held. As soon as the mind became habituated to this notion of universal change, the time was ripe for the appearance of some great thinker, who should generalize the scattered observations, and form them into a science, by connecting them with some other department of knowledge, of which the laws, or, at all events, the empirical uniformities, had been already ascertained.

It was at this point, and while the inquiries of geologists, notwithstanding their value, were still crude and unsettled, that the subject was taken up by Cuvier, one of the greatest naturalists Europe has ever produced. A few others there are who have surpassed him in depth; but in comprehensiveness it would be hard to find his superior; and the immense range of his studies gave him

[122] The famous central heat of Buffon is often supposed to have been taken from Leibnitz; but, though vaguely taught by the ancients, the real founder of the doctrine appears to have been Descartes. See *Bordas Demoulin, Cartésianisme*, Paris, 1843, vol. i. p. 312. There is an unsatisfactory note on this in *Prichard's Physical Hist.* vol. i. p. 100. Compare *Experimental Hist. of Cold*, tit. 17, in *Boyle's Works*, vol. ii. p. 308; *Brewster's Life of Newton*, vol. ii. p. 100. On the central heat of the Pythagoreans, see *Tennemann, Gesch. der Philos.* vol. i. p. 149; and as to the central fire mentioned in the so-called Oracles of Zoroaster, see *Beausobre, Hist. de Manichée*, vol. ii. p. 152. But the complete ignorance of the ancients respecting geology made these views nothing but guesses. Compare some sensible remarks in *Matter's Hist. de l'Ecole d'Alexandrie*, vol. ii. p. 282.

a peculiar advantage in surveying the operations and dependencies of the external world.[123] This remarkable man is unquestionably the founder of geology as a science, since he is not only the first who saw the necessity of bringing to bear upon it the generalizations of comparative anatomy, but he is also the first who actually, executing this great idea, succeeded in coördinating the study of the strata of the earth with the study of the fossil animals found in them.[124] Shortly before his researches were published, many valuable facts had indeed been collected respecting the separate strata; the primary formations being investigated by the Germans, the secondary ones by the English.[125] But these observations, notwithstanding their merit, were isolated; and they lacked that vast conception which gave unity and grandeur to the whole, by connecting inquiries concerning the inorganic changes of the surface of the globe with other inquiries concerning the organic changes of the animals the surface contained.

How completely this immense step is due to France, is evident not only from the part played by Cuvier, but also from the admitted fact, that to the French we owe our

[123] This comprehensiveness of Cuvier is justly remarked by M. Flourens as the leading characteristic of his mind. *Flourens, Hist. des Travaux de Cuvier*, pp. 76, 142, 306: 'ce qui caractérise partout M. Cuvier, c'est l'esprit vaste.'

[124] Hence he is called by Mr. Owen, 'the founder of palæontological science.' *Owen on Fossil Mammalia*, in *Report of Brit. Assoc. for* 1843, p. 208. It was in 1796 that there were thus 'opened to him entirely new views of the theory of the earth.' p. 209. See also *Bakewell's Geology*, p. 368; and *Milne Edwards, Zoologie*, part ii. p. 279. The importance of this step is becoming more evident every year; and it has been justly remarked, that without palæontology there would be, properly speaking, no geology. *Balfour's Botany*, 1849, p. 591. Sir R. Murchison (*Siluria*, 1854, p. 366) says, 'it is essentially the study of organic remains which has led to the clear subdivision of the vast mass of older rocks, which were there formerly merged under the unmeaning term "Grauwacke."' In the same able work, p. 465, we are told that, 'in surveying the whole series of formations, the practical geologist is fully impressed with the conviction that there has, at all periods, subsisted a very intimate connexion between the existence, or, at all events, the preservation of animals, and the media in which they have been fossilized.' For an instance of this in the old red sandstone, see p. 329.

[125] *Whewell's Hist. of Sciences*, vol. iii. p. 679; *Lyell's Geol.* p. 59. Indeed gneiss received its name from the Germans. *Bakewell's Geol.* p. 108.

knowledge respecting tertiary strata,[126] in which the organic remains are most numerous, and the general analogy to our present state is most intimate.[127] Another circumstance may likewise be added, as pointing to the same conclusion. This is, that the first application of the principles of comparative anatomy to the study of fossil bones was also the work of a Frenchman, the celebrated Daubenton. Hitherto these bones had been the object of stupid wonder; some saying that they were rained from heaven, others saying that they were the gigantic limbs of the ancient patriarchs, men who were believed to be tall because they were known to be old.[128] Such idle conceits were for ever destroyed by Daubenton, in a Memoir he published in 1762;[129] with which, however, we are not now concerned, except that it is evidence of the state of the French mind, and is worth noting as a precursor of the discoveries of Cuvier.

126 Compare *Conybeare's Report on Geology*, p. 371 (*Brit. Assoc. for* 1832), with *Bakewell's Geol.* pp. 367, 368, 419, and *Lyell's Geol.* p. 59.

127 In the older half of the secondary rocks, mammals are hardly to be found, and they do not become common until the tertiary. *Murchison's Siluria*, pp. 466, 467; and *Strickland on Ornithology*, p. 210 (*Brit. Assoc. for* 1844). So, too, in the vegetable kingdom, many of the plants in the tertiary strata belong to genera still existing; but this is rarely the case with the secondary strata; while in the primary strata, even the families are different to those now found on the earth. *Balfour's Botany*, pp. 592, 593. Compare Wilson's additions to *Jussieu's Botany*, 1849, p. 746; and for further illustration of this remarkable law of the relation between advancing time and diminished similarity, a law suggesting the most curious speculations, see *Hitchcock's Geology*, p. 21; *Lyell's Geology*, p. 183; and *Owen's Lectures on the Invertebrata*, 1855, pp. 38, 576.

128 M. Geoffroy Saint Hilaire (*Anomalies de l'Organisation*, vol. i. pp. 121-127) has collected some evidence respecting the opinions formerly held on these subjects. Among other instances, he mentions a learned man named Henrion, an academician, and, I suppose, a theologian, who in 1718 published a work, in which 'il assignait à Adam cent vingt-trois pieds neuf pouces;' Noah being twenty feet shorter, and so on. The bones of elephants were sometimes taken for giants: see a pleasant circumstance in *Cuvier, Hist. des Sciences*, part. ii. p. 43.

129 'Daubenton a le premier détruit toutes ces idées; il a le premier appliqué l'anatomie comparée à la détermination de ces os. . . . Le mémoire où Daubenton a tenté, pour la première fois, la solution de ce problème important est de 1762.' *Flourens, Travaux de Cuvier*, pp. 36, 37. Agassiz (*Report on Fossil Fishes*, p. 82, *Brit. Assoc. for* 1842) claims this merit too exclusively for Cuvier, overlooking the earlier researches of Daubenton; and the same mistake is made in *Hitchcock's Geol.* p. 249, and in *Bakewell's Geol.* p. 384.

By this union of geology and anatomy, there was first introduced into the study of nature a clear conception of the magnificent doctrine of universal change; while at the same time there grew up by its side a conception equally steady of the regularity with which the changes are accomplished, and of the undeviating laws by which they are governed. Similar ideas had no doubt been occasionally held in preceding ages; but the great Frenchmen of the eighteenth century were the first who applied them to the entire structure of the globe, and who thus prepared the way for that still higher view for which their minds were not yet ripe,[130] but to which in our own time the most advanced thinkers are rapidly rising. For it is now beginning to be understood, that since every addition to knowledge affords fresh proof of the regularity with which all the changes of nature are conducted, we are bound to believe that the same regularity existed long before our little planet assumed its present form, and long before man trod the surface of the earth. We have the most abundant evidence that the movements incessantly occurring in the material world have a character of uniformity; and this uniformity is so clearly marked, that in astronomy, the most perfect of all the sciences, we are able to predict events many years before they actually happen; nor can any one doubt, that if on other subjects our science were equally advanced, our predictions would be equally accurate. It is, therefore, clear, that the burden of proof lies not on those who assert the eternal regularity of nature, but rather on those who deny it; and who set up an imaginary period, to which they assign an imaginary cata-

[130] Even Cuvier held the doctrine of catastrophes; but, as Sir Charles Lyell says (*Principles of Geology*, p. 60), his own discoveries supplied the means of overthrowing it, and of familiarizing us with the idea of continuity. Indeed it was one of the fossil observations of Cuvier which first supplied the link between reptiles, fishes, and cetaceous mammals. See *Owen on Fossil Reptiles*, pp. 60, 198, *Brit. Assoc. for* 1841; and compare *Carus's Comparative Anatomy*, vol. i. p. 155. To this I may add, that Cuvier unconsciously prepared the way for disturbing the old dogma of fixity of species, though he himself clung to it to the last. See some observations, which are very remarkable, considering the period when they were written, in *Cabanis, Rapports du Physique et du Moral*, pp. 427, 428: conclusions drawn from Cuvier, which Cuvier would have himself rejected.

strophe, during which they say new laws were introduced and a new order established. Such gratuitous assumptions, even if they eventually turn out to be true, are in the present state of knowledge unwarrantable, and ought to be rejected, as the last remains of those theological prejudices by which the march of every science has in its turn been hindered. These and all analogous notions work a double mischief. They are mischievous, because they cripple the human mind by imposing limits to its inquiries; and above all they are mischievous, because they weaken that vast conception of continuous and uninterrupted law, which few indeed are able firmly to seize, but on which the highest generalizations of future science must ultimately depend.

It is this deep conviction, that changing phenomena have unchanging laws, and that there are principles of order to which all apparent disorder may be referred,—it is this, which, in the seventeenth century, guided in a limited field Bacon, Descartes, and Newton; which in the eighteenth century was applied to every part of the material universe; and which it is the business of the nineteenth century to extend to the history of the human intellect. This last department of inquiry we owe chiefly to Germany; for, with the single exception of Vico, no one even suspected the possibility of arriving at complete generalizations respecting the progress of man, until shortly before the French Revolution, when the great German thinkers began to cultivate this, the highest and most difficult of all studies. But the French themselves were too much occupied with physical science to pay attention to such matters;[131] and speaking generally, we may say that,

[131] Neither Montesquieu nor Turgot appear to have believed in the possibility of generalizing the past, so as to predict the future; while as to Voltaire, the weakest point in his otherwise profound view of history was his love of the old saying, that great events spring from little causes; a singular error for so comprehensive a mind, because it depended on confusing causes with conditions. That a man like Voltaire should have committed what now seems so gross a blunder, is a mortifying reflection for those who are able to appreciate his vast and penetrating genius, and it may teach the best of us a wholesome lesson. This fallacy was avoided by Montesquieu and Turgot; and the former writer, in particular, displayed such extraordinary ability, that

in the eighteenth century, each of the three leading nations of Europe had a separate part to play. England diffused a love of freedom; France, a knowledge of physical science; while Germany, aided in some degree by Scotland, revived the study of metaphysics, and created the study of philosophic history. To this classification some exceptions may of course be made; but that these were the marked characteristics of the three countries, is certain. After the death of Locke in 1704, and that of Newton in 1727, there was in England a singular dearth of great speculative thinkers; and this not because the ability was wanting, but because it was turned partly into practical pursuits, partly into political contests. I shall hereafter examine the causes of this peculiarity, and endeavour to ascertain the extent to which it has influenced the fortunes of the country. That the results were, on the whole, beneficial, I entertain no doubt; but they were unquestionably injurious to the progress of science, because they tended to divert it from all new truths, except those likely to produce obvious and practical benefit. The consequence was, that though the English made several great discoveries, they did not possess, during seventy years, a single man who took a really comprehensive view of the phenomena of nature; not one who could be compared with those illustrious thinkers who in France reformed every branch of physical knowledge.' Nor was it until more than two generations after the death of Newton, that the first symptoms appeared of a remarkable reaction, which quickly displayed itself in nearly every department of the national intellect. In physics, it is enough to mention Dalton, Davy, and Young, each of whom was in his own field the founder of a new epoch; while on other sub-

there can be little doubt, that had he lived at a later period, and thus had the means of employing in their full extent the resources of political economy and physical science, he would have had the honour not only of laying the basis, but also of rearing the structure of the philosophy of the history of Man. As it was, he failed in conceiving what is the final object of every scientific inquiry, namely, the power of foretelling the future: and after his death, in 1755, all the finest intellects in France, Voltaire alone excepted, concentrated their attention upon the study of natural phenomena.

jects I can only just refer, first, to the influence of the Scotch school; and, secondly, to that sudden and well-deserved admiration for the German literature, of which Coleridge was the principal exponent, and which infused into the English mind a taste for generalizations higher and more fearless than any hitherto known. The history of this vast movement, which began early in the nineteenth century, will be traced in the future volumes of this work: at present I merely notice it, as illustrating the fact, that until the movement began, the English, though superior to the French in several matters of extreme importance, were for many years inferior to them in those large and philosophic views, without which not only is the most patient industry of no avail, but even real discoveries lose their proper value, for want of such habits of generalization as would trace their connexion with each other, and consolidate their severed fragments into one vast system of complete and harmonious truth.

The interest attached to these inquiries has induced me to treat them at greater length than I had intended; perhaps at greater length than is suitable to the suggestive and preparatory character of this Introduction. But the extraordinary success with which the French now cultivated physical knowledge is so curious, on account of its connexion with the Revolution, that I must mention a few more of its most prominent instances: though, for the sake of brevity, I will confine myself to those three great divisions which, when put together, form what is called Natural History, and in all of which we shall see that the most important steps were taken in France during the latter half of the eighteenth century.

In the first of these divisions, namely, the department of zoology, we owe to the Frenchmen of the eighteenth century those generalizations which are still the highest this branch of knowledge has reached. Taking zoology in the proper sense of the term, it consists only of two parts, the anatomical part, which is its statics, and the physiological part, which is its dynamics: the first referring to the structure of animals; the other, to their

functions.[132] Both of these were worked out, nearly at the same time, by Cuvier and Bichat; and the leading conclusions at which they arrived, remain, after the lapse of sixty years, undisturbed in their essential points. In 1795, Cuvier laid down the great principle, that the study and classification of animals was to be, not as heretofore, with a view to external peculiarities, but with a view to internal organization; and that, therefore, no real advance could be made in our knowledge except by extending the boundaries of comparative anatomy.[133] This step, simple as it now appears, was of immense importance, since by it zoology was at once rescued from the hands of the observer, and thrown into those of the experimenter: the consequence of which has been the attainment of that precision and accuracy of detail, which experiment alone can give, and which is every way superior to such popular facts as observation supplies. By thus indicating to naturalists the true path of inquiry, by accustoming them to a close and severe method, and by teaching them to despise those vague descriptions in which they had formerly delighted, Cuvier laid the foundation of a progress which, during the last sixty years, has surpassed the most sanguine expectations. This, then, is the real service rendered by Cuvier, that he overthrew the artificial system which the genius of Linnæus had raised up,[134] and sub-

[132] The line of demarcation between anatomy as statical, and physiology as dynamical, is clearly drawn by M. Comte (*Philos. Positive*, vol. iii. p. 303) and by MM. Robin et Verdeil (*Chimie Anatomique*, vol. i. pp. 11, 12, 40, 102, 188, 434). What is said by Carus (*Comparative Anatomy*, vol. ii. p. 356) and by Sir Benjamin Brodie (*Lectures on Pathology and Surgery*, p. 6) comes nearly to the same thing, though expressed with less precision. On the other hand, M. Milne Edwards (*Zoologie*, part i. p. 9) calls physiology 'la science de la vie;' which, if true, would simply prove that there is no physiology at all, for there certainly is at present no science of life.

[133] In his *Règne Animal*, vol. i. pp. vi. vii., he says that preceding naturalists 'n'avaient guère considéré que les rapports extérieurs de ces espèces, et personne ne s'était occupé de coördonner les classes et les ordres d'après l'ensemble de la structure. . . . . Je dus donc, et cette obligation me prit un temps considérable, je dus faire marcher de front l'anatomie et la zoologie, les dissections et le classement. . . . . Les premiers résultats de ce double travail parurent en 1795, dans un mémoire spécial sur une nouvelle division des animaux à sang blanc.'

[134] On the opposition between the methods of Linnæus and of Cuvier, see *Jenyns' Report on Zoology*, pp. 144, 145, in *Brit. Assoc. for* 1834.

stituted in its place that far superior scheme which gave the freest scope to future inquiry: since, according to it, all systems are to be deemed imperfect and provisional so long as any thing remains to be learned respecting the comparative anatomy of the animal kingdom. The influence exercised by this great view was increased by the extraordinary skill and industry with which its proposer followed it out, and proved the practicability of his own precepts. His additions to our knowledge of comparative anatomy are probably more numerous than those made by any other man; but what has gained him most celebrity is, the comprehensive spirit with which he used what he acquired. Independently of other generalizations, he is the author of that vast classification of the whole animal kingdom into vertebrata, mollusca, articulata, and radiata;[135] a classification which keeps its ground, and is one of the most remarkable instances of that large and philosophic spirit which France brought to bear upon the phenomena of the material world.[136]

Great, however, as is the name of Cuvier, a greater still remains behind. I allude, of course, to Bichat, whose reputation is steadily increasing as our knowledge

[135] The foundations of this celebrated arrangement were laid by Cuvier, in a paper read in 1795. *Whewell's History of the Induc. Sciences*, vol. iii. p. 494. It appears, however (*Flourens, Travaux de Cuvier*, pp. 69, 70), that it was in, or just after, 1791, that the dissection of some mollusca suggested to him the idea of reforming the classification of the whole animal kingdom. Compare *Cuvier, Règne Animal*, vol. i. pp. 51, 52 note.

[136] The only formidable opposition made to Cuvier's arrangement has proceeded from the advocates of the doctrine of circular progression: a remarkable theory, of which Lamarck and Macleay are the real originators, and which is certainly supported by a considerable amount of evidence. Still, among the great majority of competent zoologists, the fourfold division holds its ground, although the constantly-increasing accuracy of microscopical observations has detected a nervous system much lower in the scale than was formerly suspected, and has thereby induced some anatomists to divide the radiata into acrita and nematoneura. *Owen's Invertebrata*, 1855, pp. 14, 15; and *Rymer Jones's Animal Kingdom*, 1855, p. 4. As, however, it seems probable that all animals have a distinct nervous system, this subdivision is only provisional; and it is very likely that when our microscopes are more improved, we shall have to return to Cuvier's arrangement. Some of Cuvier's successors have removed the apodous echinoderms from the radiata; but in this Mr. Rymer Jones (*Animal Kingdom*, p. 211) vindicates the Cuverian classification.

advances, and who, if we compare the shortness of his life with the reach and depth of his views, must be pronounced the most profound thinker and the most consummate observer by whom the organization of the animal frame has yet been studied.[137] He wanted, indeed, that comprehensive knowledge for which Cuvier was remarkable; but though, on this account, his generalizations were drawn from a smaller surface, they were, on the other hand, less provisional: they were, I think, more complete, and certainly they dealt with more momentous topics. For the attention of Bichat was preëminently directed to the human frame[138] in the largest sense of the word; his object being so to investigate the organization of man, as to rise, if possible, to some knowledge concerning the causes and nature of life. In this magnificent enterprise, considered as a whole, he failed; but what he effected in certain parts of it is so extraordinary, and has given such an impetus to some of the highest branches of inquiry, that I will briefly indicate his method, in order to compare it with that other method which, at the same moment, Cuvier adopted with immense success.

The important step taken by Cuvier was, that he insisted on the necessity of a comprehensive study of the organs of animals, instead of following the old plan of

[137] We may except Aristotle; but between Aristotle and Bichat I can find no middle man.

[138] But not exclusively. M. Blainville (*Physiol. comparée*, vol. ii. p. 304) says, 'celui qui, comme Bichat, bornait ses études à l'anatomie humaine;' and at p. 350, 'quand on ne considère que ce qui se passe chez l'homme, ainsi que l'a fait Bichat.' This, however, is much too positively stated. Bichat mentions 'les expériences nombreuses que j'ai faites sur les animaux vivans.' *Bichat, Anatomie Générale*, vol. i. p. 332; and for other instances of his experiments on animals below man, see the same work, vol. i. pp. 164, 284, 311, 312, 326, vol. ii. pp. 13, 25, 69, 73, 107, 133, 135, 225, 264, 423, vol. iii. pp. 151, 218, 242, 262, 363, 364, 400, 478, 501, vol. iv. pp. 27, 28, 34, 46, 229, 247, 471: see also *Bichat, Recherches sur la Vie*, pp. 262, 265, 277, 312, 336, 356, 358, 360, 368, 384, 400, 411, 439, 455, 476, 482, 494, 512: and his *Traité des Membranes*, pp. 48, 64, 67, 130, 158, 196, 201, 224. These are all experiments on inferior animals, which aided this great physiologist in establishing those vast generalizations, which, though applied to man, were by no means collected merely from human anatomy. The impossibility of understanding physiology without studying comparative anatomy, is well pointed out in Mr. Rymer Jones's work, *Organization of the Animal Kingdom*, 1855, pp. 601, 791.

merely describing their habits and external peculiarities. This was a vast improvement, since, in the place of loose and popular observations, he substituted direct experiment, and hence introduced into zoology a precision formerly unknown.[139] But Bichat, with a still keener insight, saw that even this was not enough. He saw that, each organ being composed of different tissues, it was requisite to study the tissues themselves, before we could learn the way in which, by their combination, the organs are produced. This, like all really great ideas, was not entirely struck out by a single man; for the physiological value of the tissues had been recognized by three or four of the immediate predecessors of Bichat, such as Carmichael Smyth, Bonn, Bordeu, and Fallopius. These inquirers, however, notwithstanding their industry, had effected nothing of much moment, since, though they collected several special facts, there was in their observations that want of harmony and that general incompleteness always characteristic of the labours of men who do not rise to a commanding view of the subject with which they deal.[140]

It was under these circumstances that Bichat began those researches, which, looking at their actual and still

[139] Mr. Swainson (*Geography and Classification of Animals*, p. 170) complains, strangely enough, that Cuvier 'rejects the more plain and obvious characters which every one can see, and which had been so happily employed by Linnæus, and makes the differences between these groups to depend upon circumstances which no one but an anatomist can understand.' See also p. 173: 'characters which, however good, are not always comprehensible, except to the anatomist.' (Compare *Hodgson on the Ornithology of Nepal*, in *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xix. p. 179, Calcutta, 1836.) In other words, this is a complaint that Cuvier attempted to raise zoology to a science, and, therefore, of course, deprived it of some of its popular attractions, in order to invest it with other attractions of a far higher character. The errors introduced into the natural sciences by relying upon observation instead of experiment, have been noticed by many writers; and by none more judiciously than M. Saint Hilaire in his *Anomalies de l'Organisation*, vol. i. 98.

[140] It is very doubtful if Bichat was acquainted with the works of Smyth, Bonn, or Fallopius, and I do not remember that he any where even mentions their names. He had, however, certainly studied Bordeu; but I ect that the author by whom he was most influenced was Pinel, whose pathological generalizations were put forward just about the time when Bichat began to write. Compare *Bichat, Traité des Membranes*, pp. 3, 4, 107, 191; *Béclard, Anat. Gén.* pp. 65, 66; *Bouillaud, Philos. Médicale*, p. 26; *Blainville, Physiol. comparée*, vol. i. p. 284, vol. ii. pp. 19, 252; *Henle, Anat. Gén.* vol. i. pp. 119, 120.

more at their prospective results, are probably the most valuable contribution ever made to physiology by a single mind. In 1801, only a year before his death,[141] he published his great work on anatomy, in which the study of the organs is made altogether subservient to the study of the tissues composing them. He lays it down, that the body of man consists of twenty-one distinct tissues, all of which, though essentially different, have in common the two great properties of extensibility and contractility.[142] These tissues he, with indefatigable industry,[143] subjected to every sort of examination; he examined them in different ages and diseases, with a view to ascertain the laws of their normal and pathological development.[144] He stu-

[141] *Biog. Univ.* vol. iv. pp. 468, 469.

[142] For a list of the tissues, see *Bichat, Anat. Gén.* vol. i. p. 49. At p. 50 he says, 'en effet, quel que soit le point de vue sous lequel on considère ces tissus, ils ne se ressemblent nullement: c'est la nature, et non la science, qui a tiré une ligne de démarcation entre eux.' There is, however, now reason to think, that both animal and vegetable tissues are, in all their varieties, referrible to a cellular origin. This great view, which M. Schwann principally worked out, will, if fully established, be the largest generalization we possess respecting the organic world, and it would be difficult to overrate its value. Still there is danger lest, in prematurely reaching at so vast a law, we should neglect the subordinate, but strongly-marked differences between the tissues as they actually exist. Burdach (*Traité de Physiologie*, vol. vi. pp. 195, 196) has made some good remarks on the confusion introduced into the study of tissues, by neglecting those salient characteristics which were indicated by Bichat.

[143] Pinel says, 'dans un seul hiver il ouvrit plus de six cents cadavres.' *Notice sur Bichat*, p. xiii., in vol i. of *Anat. Gén.* By such enormous labour, and by working day and night in a necessarily polluted atmosphere, he laid the foundation for that diseased habit which caused a slight accident to prove fatal, and carried him off at the age of thirty-one. 'L'esprit a peine à concevoir que la vie d'un seul homme puisse suffire à tant de travaux, à tant de découvertes, faites ou indiquées: Bichat est mort avant d'avoir accompli sa trente-deuxième année!' *Pinel*, p. xvi.

[144] To this sort of comparative anatomy (if it may be so called), which before his time scarcely existed, Bichat attached great importance, and clearly saw that it would eventually become of the utmost value for pathology. *Anat. Gén.* vol. i. pp. 331, 332, vol. ii. pp. 234-241, vol. iv. p. 417, &c. Unfortunately these investigations were not properly followed up by his immediate successors; and Müller, writing long after his death, was obliged to refer chiefly to Bichat for 'the true principles of general pathology.' *Müller's Physiology*, 1840, vol. i. p. 808. M. Vogel too, in his *Pathological Anatomy*, 1847, pp. 398, 413, notices the error committed by the earlier pathologists, in looking at changes in the organs, and neglecting those in the tissues; and the same remark is made in *Robin et Verdeil, Chimie Anatomique*, 1853, vol. i. p. 45; and in *Henle, Traité d'Anatomie*, vol. i. p. vii., Paris, 1843. That 'structural anatomy,' and 'structural

died the way each tissue is affected by moisture, air, and temperature; also the way in which their properties are altered by various chemical substances,[145] and even their effect on the taste.[146] By these means, and by many other experiments tending in the same direction, he took so great and sudden a step, that he is to be regarded not merely as an innovator on an old science, but rather as the creator of a new one.[147] And although subsequent observers have corrected some of his conclusions, this has only been done by following his method; the value of which is now so generally recognized, that it is adopted by nearly all the best anatomists, who, differing in other points, are agreed as to the necessity of basing the future progress of anatomy on a knowledge of the tissues, the supreme importance of which Bichat was the first to perceive.[148]

development,' are to be made the foundations of pathology, is, moreover, observed in *Simon's Pathology*, 1850, p. 115 (compare *Williams's Principles of Medicine*, 1848, p. 67), who ascribes the chief merit of this 'rational pathology' to Henle and Schwann: omitting to mention that they only executed Bichat's scheme, and (be it said with every respect for these eminent men) executed it with a comprehensiveness much inferior to that displayed by their great predecessor. In *Broussais, Examen des Doctrines Médicales*, vol. iv. pp. 106, 107, there are some just and liberal observations on the immense service which Bichat rendered to pathology. See also *Béclard, Anatomie*, Paris, 1852, p. 184.

145 *Bichat, Anat. Gén.* vol. i. pp. 51, 160, 161, 259, 372, vol. ii. pp. 47, 448, 449, vol. iii. pp. 33, 168, 208, 309, 406, 435, vol. iv. pp. 21, 52, 455-461, 517.

146 According to M. Comte (*Philos. Pos.* vol. iii. p. 319), no one had thought of this before Bichat. MM. Robin et Verdeil, in their recent great work, fully admit the necessity of employing this singular resource. *Chimie Anatomique*, 1853, vol. i. pp. 18, 125, 182, 357, 531.

147 'Dès-lors il créa une science nouvelle, l'anatomie générale.' *Pinel sur Bichat*, p. xii. 'A Bichat appartient véritablement la gloire d'avoir conçu et surtout exécuté, le premier, le plan d'une anatomie nouvelle.' *Bouillaud, Philos. Médicale*, p. 27. 'Bichat fut le créateur de l'histologie, en assignant des caractères précis à chaque classe de tissus.' *Burdach, Physiologie*, vol. vii. p. 111. 'Le créateur de l'anatomie générale, fut Bichat.' *Henle, Anatomie*, vol. i. p. 120. Similar remarks will be found in *Saint Hilaire, Anomalies de l'Organisation*, vol. i. p. 10; and in *Robin et Verdeil, Chimie Anat.* vol. i. p. xviii., vol. iii. p. 405.

148 In *Béclard, Anat. Gén.* 1852, p. 61, it is said that 'la recherche de ces tissus élémentaires, ou éléments organiques, est devenue la préoccupation presque exclusive des anatomistes de nos jours.' Compare *Blainville, Physiol. Gén. et Comp.* vol. i. p. 93: 'Aujourd'hui nous allons plus avant, nous pénétrons dans la structure intime, non seulement de ces organes, mais encore des tissus qui concourent à leur composition; nous faisons en un mot de la véritable anatomie, de l'anatomie proprement dite.' And at p. 105:

The methods of Bichat and of Cuvier, when put together, exhaust the actual resources of zoological science; so that all subsequent naturalists have been compelled to follow one of these two schemes; that is, either to follow Cuvier in comparing the organs of animals, or else to follow Bichat in comparing the tissues which compose the organs.[149] And inasmuch as one comparison is chiefly suggestive of function, and the other comparison of structure, it is evident, that to raise the study of the animal world to the highest point of which it is capable, both these great plans are necessary; but if we ask which of the two plans, unaided by the other, is more likely to produce important results, the palm must, I think, be yielded to that proposed by Bichat. Certainly, if we look at the question as one to be decided by authority, a majority of the most eminent anatomists and physiologists now incline to the side of Bichat, rather than to that of Cuvier; while, as a matter of history, it may be proved that the reputation of Bichat has, with the advance of knowledge, increased more rapidly than that of his great rival. What, however, appears to me still more decisive, is, that the two most important discoveries made in our time respecting the classification of animals, are entirely the result of the method which Bichat suggested. The first discovery is that made by Agassiz, who, in the course of his ichthyological researches, was led to perceive that

'c'est un genre de recherches qui a été cultivé avec beaucoup d'activité, et qui a reçu une grande extension depuis la publication du bel ouvrage de Bichat.' See also vol. ii. p. 303.

In consequence of this movement, there has sprung up, under the name of *Degenerations of Tissues*, an entirely new branch of morbid anatomy, of which, I believe, no instance will be found before the time of Bichat, but the value of which is now recognized by most pathologists. Compare *Paget's Surgical Pathology*, vol. i. pp. 98-112; *Williams's Principles of Medicine*, pp. 369-376; *Burdach's Physiologie*, vol. viii. p. 367; *Reports of Brit. Assoc.* vol. vi. p. 147; *Jones's and Sieveking's Pathological Anatomy*, 1854, pp. 154-156, 302-304, 555-558. 'They are,' say these last writers, 'of extremely frequent occurrence; but their nature has scarcely been recognized until of late.'

[149] Cuvier completely neglected the study of tissues; and in the very few instances in which he mentions them, his language is extremely vague. Thus, in his *Règne Animal*, vol. i. p. 12, he says of living bodies, 'leur tissu est donc composé de réseaux et de mailles, ou de fibres et de lames solides, qui renferment des liquides dans leurs intervalles.'

the arrangement by Cuvier according to organs, did not fulfil its purpose in regard to fossil fishes, because in the lapse of ages the characteristics of their structure were destroyed.[150] He, therefore, adopted the only other remaining plan, and studied the tissues, which, being less complex than the organs, are oftener found intact. The result was the very remarkable discovery, that the tegumentary membrane of fishes is so intimately connected with their organization, that if the whole of a fish has perished except this membrane, it is practicable, by noting its characteristics, to reconstruct the animal in its most essential parts. Of the value of this principle of harmony, some idea may be formed from the circumstance, that on it Agassiz has based the whole of that celebrated classification, of which he is the sole author, and by which fossil ichthyology has for the first time assumed a precise and definite shape.[151]

The other discovery, of which the application is much more extensive, was made in exactly the same way. It consists of the striking fact, that the teeth of each animal have a necessary connexion with the entire organization of its frame; so that, within certain limits, we can predict the organization by examining the tooth. This beautiful instance of the regularity of the operations of nature was not known until more than thirty years after the death of Bichat, and it is evidently due to the prosecution of that method which he sedulously inculcated. For the teeth never having been properly examined in regard to their

150 A well-known ornithologist makes the same complaint respecting the classification of birds. *Strickland on Ornithology, Brit. Assoc. for* 1844, pp. 209, 210. Even in regard to living species, Cuvier (*Règne Animal*, vol. ii. p. 128) says: 'La classe des poissons est de toutes celle qui offre le plus de difficultés quand on veut la subdiviser en ordres d'après des caractères fixes et sensibles.'

151 The discoveries of M. Agassiz are embodied in his great work, *Recherches sur les Poissons fossiles*: but the reader who may not have an opportunity of consulting that costly publication, will find two essays by this eminent naturalist, which will give an idea of his treatment of the subject, in *Reports of Brit. Assoc. for* 1842, pp. 80-88, and for 1844, pp. 279-310. How essential this study is to the geologist, appears from the remark of Sir R. Murchison (*Siluria*, 1854, p. 417), that 'fossil fishes have everywhere proved the most exact chronometers of the age of rocks.'

separate tissues, it was believed that they were essentially devoid of structure, or, as some thought, were simply a fibrous texture.[152] But by minute microscopic investigations, it has been recently ascertained that the tissues of the teeth are strictly analogous to those of other parts of the body;[153] and that the ivory, or dentine, as it is now called,[154] is highly organized; that it, as well as the enamel, is cellular, and is, in fact, a development of the living pulp. This discovery, which, to the philosophic anatomist, is pregnant with meaning, was made about 1838; and though the preliminary steps were taken by Purkinjé, Retzius, and Schwann, the principal merit is due to Nasmyth and Owen,[155] between whom it is disputed, but whose rival claims we are not here called upon to adjust.[156] What I wish to observe is, that the discovery is similar to that which we owe to Agassiz; similar in the method by which it was worked out, and also in the results which have followed from it. Both are due to a recognition of

[152] That they were composed of fibres, was the prevailing doctrine, until the discovery of their tubes, in 1835, by Purkinjé. Before Purkinjé, only one observer, Leeuwenhoek, had announced their tubular structure; but no one believed what he said, and Purkinjé was unacquainted with his researches. Compare *Nasmyth's Researches on the Teeth*, 1839, p. 159; *Owen's Odontography*, 1840-1845, vol. i. pp. ix. x.; *Henle, Anat. Gén.* vol. ii. p. 457; *Reports of Brit. Assoc.* vol. vii. pp. 135, 136 (*Transac. of Sections*).

[153] Mr. Nasmyth, in his valuable, but, I regret to add, posthumous work, notices, as the result of these discoveries, 'the close affinity subsisting between the dental and other organized tissues of the animal frame.' *Researches on the Development, &c. of the Teeth*, 1849, p. 198. This is, properly speaking, a continuation of Mr. Nasmyth's former book, which bore the same title, and was published in 1839.

[154] This name, which Mr. Owen appears to have first suggested, has been objected to, though, as it seems to me, on insufficient grounds. Compare *Owen's Odontography*, vol. i. p. iii., with *Nasmyth's Researches*, 1849, pp. 3, 4. It is adopted in *Carpenter's Human Physiol.* 1846, p. 154; and in *Jones and Sieveking's Patholog. Anat.* 1854, pp. 483, 486.

[155] See the correspondence in *Brit. Assoc. for* 1841, Sec., pp. 2-23.

[156] In the notice of it in *Whewell's Hist. of Sciences*, vol. iii. p. 678, nothing is said about Mr. Nasmyth; while in that in *Wilson's Human Anatomy*, p. 65, edit. 1851, nothing is said about Mr. Owen. A specimen of the justice with which men treat their contemporaries. Dr. Grant (*Supplement to Hooper's Medical Dict.* 1848, p. 1390) says, 'the researches of Mr. Owen tend to confirm those of Mr. Nasmyth.' Nasmyth, in his last work (*Researches on the Teeth*, 1849, p. 81), only refers to Owen to point out an error; while Owen (*Odontography*, vol. i. pp. xlvi.-lvi.) treats Nasmyth as an impudent plagiarist.

the fundamental maxim of Bichat, that the study of organs must be subordinate to the study of tissues, and both have supplied the most valuable aid to zoological classification. On this point, the service rendered by Owen is incontestable, whatever may be thought of his original claims. This eminent naturalist has, with immense industry, applied the discovery to all vertebrate animals; and in an elaborate work, specially devoted to the subject, he has placed beyond dispute the astonishing fact, that the structure of a single tooth is a criterion of the nature and organization of the species to which it belongs.[157]

Whoever has reflected much on the different stages through which our knowledge has successively passed, must, I think, be led to the conclusion, that while fully recognizing the great merit of these investigators of the animal frame, our highest admiration ought to be reserved not for those who make the discoveries, but rather for those who point out how the discoveries are to be made.[158] When the true path of inquiry has once been indicated, the rest is comparatively easy. The beaten highway is always open; and the difficulty is, not to find those who will travel the old road, but those who will make a fresh one. Every age produces in abundance men of sagacity and of considerable industry, who, while perfectly competent to increase the details of a science, are unable to extend its distant boundaries. This is because such extension must be accompanied by a new method,[159] which, to

[157] Dr. Whewell (*Hist. of Induc. Sciences*, vol. iii. p. 678) says, that 'he has carried into every part of the animal kingdom an examination, founded upon this discovery, and has published the results of this in his *Odontography*,' If this able, but rather hasty writer, had read the *Odontography*, he would have found that Mr. Owen, so far from carrying the examination 'into every part of the animal kingdom,' distinctly confines himself to 'one of the primary divisions of the animal kingdom' (I quote his own words from *Odontography*, vol. i. p. lxvii.), and appears to think, that below the vertebrata, the inquiry would furnish little or no aid for the purposes of classification.

[158] But in comparing the merits of discoverers themselves, we must praise him who proves rather than him who suggests. See some sensible remarks in *Owen's Odontography*, vol. i. p. xlix.; which, however, do not affect my observations on the superiority of method.

[159] By a new method of inquiring into a subject, I mean an application to it of generalizations from some other subject, so as to widen the field of

be valuable as well as new, supposes on the part of its suggester, not only a complete mastery over the resources of his subject, but also the possession of originality and comprehensiveness;—the two rarest forms of human genius. In this consists the real difficulty of every great pursuit. As soon as any department of knowledge has been generalized into laws, it contains, either in itself or in its applications, three distinct branches; namely, inventions, discoveries, and method. Of these, the first corresponds to art; the second to science; and the third to philosophy. In this scale, inventions have by far the lowest place, and minds of the highest order are rarely occupied by them. Next in the series come discoveries; and here the province of intellect really begins, since here the first attempt is made to search after truth on its own account, and to discard those practical considerations to which inventions are of necessity referred. This is science properly so called; and how difficult it is to reach this stage, is evident from the fact, that all half-civilized nations have made many great inventions, but no great discoveries. The highest, however, of all the three stages, is the philosophy of method, which bears the same relation to science that science bears to art. Of its immense, and indeed supreme importance, the annals of knowledge supply abundant evidence; and for want of it, some very great men have effected absolutely nothing, consuming their lives in fruitless industry, not because their labour was slack, but because their method was sterile. The progress of every science is affected more by the scheme according to which it is cultivated, than by the actual ability of the cultivators themselves. If they who travel in an unknown country, spend their force in running on the wrong road, they will miss the point at which they aim, and perchance may faint and fall by the way. In that long and difficult journey

thought. To call this a new method, is rather vague; but there is no other word to express the process. Properly speaking, there are only two methods, the inductive and the deductive; which, though essentially different, are so mixed together, as to make it impossible wholly to separate them. The discussion of the real nature of this difference I reserve for my comparison, in the next volume, of the German and American civilizations.

after truth, which the human mind has yet to perform, and of which we in our generation can only see the distant prospect, it is certain that success will depend not on the speed with which men hasten in the path of inquiry, but rather on the skill with which that path is selected for them by those great and comprehensive thinkers, who are as the lawgivers and founders of knowledge; because they supply its deficiencies, not by investigating particular difficulties, but by establishing some large and sweeping innovation, which opens up a new vein of thought, and creates fresh resources, which it is left for their posterity to work out and apply.

It is from this point of view that we are to rate the value of Bichat, whose works, like those of all men of the highest eminence,—like those of Aristotle, Bacon, and Descartes,—mark an epoch in the history of the human mind; and as such, can only be fairly estimated by connecting them with the social and intellectual condition of the age in which they appeared. This gives an importance and a meaning to the writings of Bichat, of which few indeed are fully aware. The two greatest recent discoveries respecting the classification of animals are, as we have just seen, the result of his teaching; but his influence has produced other effects still more momentous. He, aided by Cabanis, rendered to physiology the incalculable service, of preventing it from participating in that melancholy reaction to which France was exposed early in the nineteenth century. This is too large a subject to discuss at present; but I may mention, that when Napoleon, not from feelings of conviction, but for selfish purposes of his own, attempted to restore the power of ecclesiastical principles, the men of letters, with disgraceful subserviency, fell into his view; and there began a marked decline in that independent and innovating spirit, with which during fifty years the French had cultivated the highest departments of knowledge. Hence that metaphysical school arose, which, though professing to hold aloof from theology, was intimately allied with it; and whose showy conceits form, in their ephemeral splendour, a striking

contrast to the severer methods followed in the preceding generation.[160] Against this movement, the French physiologists have, as a body, always protested; and it may be clearly proved that their opposition, which even the great abilities of Cuvier were unable to win over, is partly due to the impetus given by Bichat, in enforcing in his own pursuit the necessity of rejecting those assumptions by which metaphysicians and theologians seek to control every science. As an illustration of this I may mention two facts worthy of note. The first is, that in England, where during a considerable period the influence of Bichat was scarcely felt, many, even of our eminent physiologists, have shown a marked disposition to ally themselves with the reactionary party; and have not only opposed such novelties as they could not immediately explain, but have degraded their own noble science by making it a handmaid to serve the purposes of natural theology. The other fact is, that in France the disciples of Bichat have, with scarcely an exception, rejected the study of final causes, to which the school of Cuvier still adheres: while as a natural consequence, the followers of Bichat are associated in geology with the doctrine of uniformity; in zoology, with that of the transmutation of species; and in astronomy, with the nebular hypothesis: vast and magnificent schemes, under whose shelter the human mind seeks an escape from that dogma of interference, which the march of knowledge every where reduces, and the existence of which is incompatible with those conceptions of eternal order, towards which, during the last two centuries, we have been constantly tending.

These great phenomena, which the French intellect

[160] In literature and in theology, Chateaubriand and De Maistre were certainly the most eloquent, and were probably the most influential leaders of this reaction. Neither of them liked induction, but preferred reasoning deductively from premisses which they assumed, and which they called first principles. De Maistre, however, was a powerful dialectician, and on that account his works are read by many who care nothing for the gorgeous declamation of Chateaubriand. In metaphysics, a precisely similar movement occurred; and Laromiguière, Royer Collard, and Maine de Biran, founded that celebrated school which culminated in M. Cousin, and which is equally characterized by an ignorance of the philosophy of induction, and by a want of sympathy with physical science.

presents, and of which I have only sketched a rapid outline, will be related with suitable detail in the latter part of this work, when I shall examine the present condition of the European mind, and endeavour to estimate its future prospects. To complete, however, our appreciation of Bichat, it will be necessary to take notice of what some consider the most valuable of all his productions, in which he aimed at nothing less than an exhaustive generalization of the functions of life. It appears, indeed, to me, that in many important points Bichat here fell short; but the work itself still stands alone, and is so striking an instance of the genius of the author, that I will give a short account of its fundamental views.

Life considered as a whole has two distinct branches;[161] one branch being characteristic of animals, the other of vegetables. That which is confined to animals is called animal life; that which is common both to animals and vegetables is called organic life. While, therefore, plants have only one life, man has two distinct lives, which are governed by entirely different laws, and which, though intimately connected, constantly oppose each other. In the organic life, man exists solely for himself; in the animal life he comes in contact with others. The functions of the first are purely internal, those of the second are external. His organic life is limited to the double process of creation and destruction: the creative process being that of assimilation, as digestion, circulation, and nutrition; the destructive process being that of excretion, such as exhalation and the like. This is what man has in common with plants; and of this life he, when in a natural state, is unconscious. But the characteristic of his animal life is consciousness, since by it he is made capable of moving, of feeling, of judging. By virtue of the first life he is merely a vegetable; by the addition of the second he becomes an animal.

If now we look at the organs by which in man the functions of these two lives are carried on, we shall be

[161] *Bichat, Recherches sur la Vie et la Mort,* pp. 5-9, 226; and his *Anat. Gén.* vol. i. p. 73.

struck by the remarkable fact, that the organs of his vegetable life are very irregular, those of his animal life very symmetrical. His vegetative, or organic, life is conducted by the stomach, the intestines, and the glandular system in general, such as the liver and the pancreas; all of which are irregular, and admit of the greatest variety of form and development, without their functions being seriously disturbed. But in his animal life the organs are so essentially symmetrical, that a very slight departure from the ordinary type impairs their action.[162] Not only the brain, but also the organs of sense, as the eyes, the nose, the ears, are perfectly symmetrical; and they as well as the other organs of animal life, as the feet and hands, are double, presenting on each side of the body two separate

[162] 'C'est de là, sans doute, que naît cette autre différence entre les organes des deux vies, savoir, que la nature se livre bien plus rarement à des écarts de conformation dans la vie animale que dans la vie organique. . . C'est une remarque qui n'a pu échapper à celui dont les dissections ont été un peu multipliées, que les fréquentes variations de formes, de grandeur, de position, de direction des organes internes, comme la rate, le foie, l'estomac, les reins, les organes salivaires, etc. . . . Jetons maintenant les yeux sur les organes de la vie animale, sur les sens, les nerfs, le cerveau, les muscles volontaires, le larynx; tout y est exact, précis, rigoureusement déterminé dans la forme, la grandeur et la position. On n'y voit presque jamais de variétés de conformation; s'il en existe, les fonctions sont troublées, anéanties; tandis qu'elles restent les mêmes dans la vie organique, au milieu des altérations diverses des parties.' *Bichat sur la Vie*, pp. 23-25. Part of this view is corroborated by the evidence collected by Saint Hilaire (*Anomalies de l'Organisation*, vol. i. pp. 248 seq.) of the extraordinary aberrations to which the vegetative organs are liable; and he mentions (vol. ii. p. 8) the case of a man, in whose body, on dissection, 'on reconnut que tous les viscères étaient transposés.' Comparative anatomy supplies another illustration. The bodies of mollusca are less symmetrical than those of articulata; and in the former, the 'vegetal series of organs,' says Mr. Owen, are more developed than the animal series; while in the articulata, 'the advance is most conspicuous in the organs peculiar to animal life.' *Owen's Invertebrata*, p. 470. Compare *Burdach's Physiologie*, vol. i. pp. 153, 189; and a confirmation of the 'unsymmetrical' organs of the gasteropoda, in *Grant's Comparative Anatomy*, p. 461. This curious antagonism is still further seen in the circumstance, that idiots, whose functions of nutrition and of excretion are often very active, are at the same time remarkable for a want of symmetry in the organs of sensation. *Esquirol, Maladies Mentales*, vol. ii. pp. 331, 332.

A result, though perhaps an unconscious one, of the application and extension of these ideas, is, that within the last few years there has arisen a pathological theory of what are called 'symmetrical diseases,' the leading facts of which have been long known, but are now only beginning to be generalized. See *Paget's Pathology*, vol. i. pp. 18-22, vol. ii. pp. 244, 245; *Simon's Pathology*, pp. 210, 211; *Carpenter's Human Physiol.* pp. 607, 608.

parts which correspond with each other, and produce a symmetry unknown to our vegetative life, the organs of which are, for the most part, merely single, as in the stomach, liver, pancreas, and spleen.[163]

From this fundamental difference between the organs of the two lives, there have arisen several other differences of great interest. Our animal life being double, while our organic life is single, it becomes possible for the former life to take rest, that is, stop part of its functions for a time, and afterwards renew them. But in organic life, to stop is to die. The life, which we have in common with vegetables, never sleeps; and if its movements entirely cease only for a single instant, they cease for ever. That process by which our bodies receive some substances and give out others, admits of no interruption; it is, by its nature, incessant, because, being single, it can never receive supplementary aid. The other life we may refresh, not only in sleep, but even when we are awake. Thus we can exercise the organs of movement while we rest the organs of thought; and it is even possible to relieve a function while we continue to employ it, because, our animal life being double, we are able for a short time, in case of one of its parts being fatigued, to avail ourselves of the corresponding part; using, for instance, a single eye or a single arm, in order to rest the one which circumstances may have exhausted; an expedient which the single nature of organic life entirely prevents.[164]

Our animal life being thus essentially intermittent, and our organic life being essentially continuous,[165] it has necessarily followed that the first is capable of an improvement of which the second is incapable. There can be no improvement without comparison, since it is only by comparing one state with another that we can rectify

[163] *Bichat sur la Vie*, pp. 15-21.
[164] *Ibid*, pp. 21-50.
[165] On intermittence as a quality of animal life, see *Holland's Medical Notes*, pp. 313, 314, where Bichat is mentioned as its great expounder. As to the essential continuity of organic life, see *Burdach's Physiologie*, vol. viii. p. 420. M. Comte has made some interesting remarks on Bichat's law of intermittence. *Philos. Positive*, vol. iii. pp. 300, 305, 744, 745, 750, 751.

previous errors, and avoid future ones. Now, our organic life does not admit of such comparison, because, being uninterrupted, it is not broken into stages, but when unchequered by disease, runs on in dull monotony. On the other hand, the functions of our animal life, such as thought, speech, sight, and motion, cannot be long exercised without rest; and as they are constantly suspended, it becomes practicable to compare them, and, therefore, to improve them. It is by possessing this resource that the first cry of the infant gradually rises into the perfect speech of the man, and the unformed habits of early thought are ripened into that maturity which nothing can give but a long series of successive efforts.[166] But our organic life, which we have in common with vegetables, admits of no interruption, and consequently of no improvement. It obeys its own laws; but it derives no benefit from that repetition to which animal life is exclusively indebted. Its functions, such as nutrition and the like, exist in man several months before he is born, and while, his animal life not having yet begun, the faculty of comparison, which is the basis of improvement, is impossible.[167] And although, as the human frame increases in size, its vegetative organs become larger, it cannot be supposed that their functions really improve, since, in ordinary cases, their duties are performed as regularly and as completely in childhood as in middle age.[168]

[166] On the development arising from practice, see *Bichat sur la Vie*, pp. 207-225.

[167] *Ibid.* pp. 189-203, 225-230. M. Broussais also (in his able work, *Cours de Phrénologie*, p. 487) says, that comparison only begins after birth; but surely this must be very doubtful. Few physiologists will deny that embryological phenomena, though neglected by metaphysicians, play a great part in shaping the future character; and I do not see how any system of psychology can be complete which ignores considerations, probable in themselves, and not refuted by special evidence. So carelessly, however, has this subject been investigated, that we have the most conflicting statements respecting even the *vagitus uterinus*, which, if it exists to the extent alleged by some physiologists, would be a decisive proof that animal life (in the sense of Bichat) does begin during the fœtal period. Compare *Burdach, Physiol.* vol. iv. pp. 113, 114, with *Wagner's Physiol.* p. 182.

[168] 'Les organes internes qui entrent alors en exercice, ou qui accroissent beaucoup leur action, n'ont besoin d'aucune éducation; ils atteignent

Thus it is, that although other causes conspire, it may be said that the progressiveness of animal life is due to its intermittence; the unprogressiveness of organic life to its continuity. It may, moreover, be said, that the intermittence of the first life results from the symmetry of its organs, while the continuity of the second life results from their irregularity. To this wide and striking generalization, many objections may be made, some of them apparently insuperable; but that it contains the germs of great truths I entertain little doubt, and, at all events, it is certain that the method cannot be too highly praised, for it unites the study of function and structure with that of embryology, of vegetable physiology, of the theory of comparison, and of the influence of habit; a vast and magnificent field, which the genius of Bichat was able to cover, but of which, since him, neither physiologists nor metaphysicians have even attempted a general survey.

This stationary condition, during the present century, of a subject of such intense interest, is a decisive proof of the extraordinary genius of Bichat; since, notwithstanding the additions made to physiology, and to every branch of physics connected with it, nothing has been done at all comparable to that theory of life which he, with far inferior resources, was able to construct. This stupendous work he left, indeed, very imperfect; but even in its deficiencies we see the hand of the great master, whom, on his own subject, no one has yet approached. His essay on life may well be likened to those broken fragments of ancient art, which, imperfect as they are, still bear the impress of the inspiration which gave them birth, and present in each separate part that unity of conception which to us makes them a complete and living whole.

From the preceding summary of the progress of physical knowledge, the reader may form some idea of the ability of those eminent men who arose in France during the latter half of the eighteenth century. To complete the picture, it is only necessary to examine what was

tout à coup une perfection à laquelle ceux de la vie animale ne parviennent que par habitude d'agir souvent.' *Bichat sur la Vie*, p. 231.

done in the two remaining branches of natural history, namely, botany and mineralogy, in both of which the first great steps towards raising each study to a science were taken by Frenchmen a few years before the Revolution.

In botany, although our knowledge of particular facts has, during the last hundred years, rapidly increased,[169] we are only possessed of two generalizations wide enough to be called laws of nature. The first generalization concerns the structure of plants; the other concerns their physiology. That concerning their physiology is the beautiful morphological law, according to which the different appearance of the various organs arises from arrested development: the stamens, pistils, corolla, calyx, and bracts being simply modifications or successive stages of the leaf. This is one of many valuable discoveries we owe to Germany; it being made by Göthe late in the eighteenth century.[170] With its importance every botanist is familiar; while to the historian of the human mind it is peculiarly interesting, as strengthening that great doctrine of development, towards which the highest branches

[169] Dioscorides and Galen knew from 450 to 600 plants (*Winckler, Geschichte der Botanik*, 1854, pp. 34, 40); but, according to Cuvier (*Eloges*, vol. iii. p. 468), Linnæus, in 1778, 'en indiquait environ huit mille espèces;' and Meyen (*Geog. of Plants*, p. 4) says, at the time of Linnæus's death, about 8,000 species were known.' (Dr. Whewell, in his *Bridgewater Treatise*, p. 247, says, 'about 10,000.') Since then the progress has been uninterrupted; and in *Henslow's Botany*, 1837, p. 136, we are told that 'the number of species already known and classified in works of botany amounts to about 60,000.' Ten years later, Dr. Lindley (*Vegetable Kingdom*, 1847, p. 800) states them at 92,930; and two years afterwards, Mr. Balfour says 'about 100,000.' *Balfour's Botany*, 1849, p. 560. Such is the rate at which our knowledge of nature is advancing. To complete this historical note, I ought to have mentioned, that in 1812, Dr. Thomson says 'nearly 30,000 species of plants have been examined and described.' *Thomson's Hist. of the Royal Society*, p. 21.

[170] It was published in 1790. *Winckler, Gesch. der Botanik*, p. 389. But the historians of botany have overlooked a short passage in Göthe's works, which proves that he had glimpses of the discovery in or before 1786. See *Italiänische Reise*, in *Göthe's Werke*, vol. ii. part ii. p. 286, Stuttgart, 1837, where he writes from Padua, in September 1786, 'Hier in dieser neu mir entgegen tretenden Mannigfaltigkeit wird jener Gedanke immer lebendiger: dass man sich alle Pflanzengestalten vielleicht aus Einer entwickeln könne.' There are some interesting remarks on this brilliant generalization in *Owen's Parthenogenesis*, 1849, pp. 53 seq.

of knowledge are now hastening, and which, in the present century, has been also carried into one of the most difficult departments of animal physiology.[171]

But the most comprehensive truth with which we are acquainted respecting plants, is that which includes the whole of their general structure; and this we learnt from those great Frenchmen who, in the latter half of the eighteenth century, began to study the external world! The first steps were taken directly after the middle of the century, by Adanson, Duhamel de Monceau, and, above all, Desfontaines; three eminent thinkers, who proved the practicability of a natural method hitherto unknown, and of which even Ray himself had only a faint perception.[172] This, by weakening the influence of the artificial system of Linnæus,[173] prepared the way for an innovation more complete than has been effected in any other branch of knowledge. In the very year in which the Revolution occurred, Jussieu put forward a series of botanical generalizations, of which the most important are all intimately connected, and still remain the highest this department of

[171] That is, into the study of animal monstrosities, which, however capricious they may appear, are now understood to be the necessary result of preceding events. Within the last thirty years several of the laws of these unnatural births, as they used to be called, have been discovered; and it has been proved that, so far from being unnatural, they are strictly natural. A fresh science has thus been created, under the name of Teratology, which is destroying the old *lusus naturæ* in one of its last and favourite strongholds.

[172] Dr. Lindley (*Third Report of Brit. Assoc.* p. 33) says, that Desfontaines was the first who demonstrated the opposite modes of increase in dicotyledonous and monocotyledonous stems. See also *Richard, Éléments de Botanique*, p. 131; and *Cuvier, Eloges*, vol. i. p. 64. In regard to the steps taken by Adanson and De Monceau, see *Winckler, Gesch. der Botanik*, pp. 204, 205; *Thomson's Chemistry of Vegetables*, p. 951; *Lindley's Introduc. to Botany*, vol. ii. p. 132.

[173] It is curious to observe how even good botanists clung to the Linnæan system long after the superiority of a natural system was proved. This is the more noticeable, because Linnæus, who was a man of undoubted genius, and who possessed extraordinary powers of combination, always allowed that his own system was merely provisional, and that the great object to be attained was a classification according to natural families. See *Winckler, Geschichte der Botanik*, p. 202; and *Richard, Eléments de Botanique*, p. 570. Indeed, what could be thought of the permanent value of a scheme which put together the reed and the barberry, because they were both hexandria; and forced sorrel to associate with saffron, because both were trigynia? *Jussieu's Botany*, 1849, p. 524.

inquiry has reached.[174] Among these, I need only mention the three vast propositions which are now admitted to form the basis of vegetable anatomy. The first is, that the vegetable kingdom, in its whole extent, is composed of plants either with one cotyledon, or with two cotyledons, or else with no cotyledon at all. The second proposition is, that this classification, so far from being artificial, is strictly natural; since it is a law of nature, that plants having one cotyledon are endogenous, and grow by additions made to the centre of their stems, while, on the other hand, plants having two cotyledons are exogenous, and are compelled to grow by additions made, not to the centre of their stems, but to the circumference.[175] The third proposition is, that when plants grow at their centre, the arrangement of the fruit and leaves is threefold; when,

[174] The *Genera Plantarum* of Antoine Jussieu was printed at Paris in 1789; and, though it is known to have been the result of many years of continued labour, some writers have asserted that the ideas in it were borrowed from his uncle, Bernard Jussieu. But assertions of this kind rarely deserve attention; and as Bernard did not choose to publish anything of his own, his reputation ought to suffer for his uncommunicativeness. Compare *Winckler, Gesch. der Botanik*, pp. 261-272, with *Biog. Univ.* vol. xxii. pp. 162-166. I will only add the following remarks from a work of authority, *Richard, Eléments de Botanique*, Paris 1846, p. 572: 'Mais ce ne fut qu'en 1789 que l'on eut véritablement un ouvrage complet sur la méthode des familles naturelles. Le *Genera Plantarum* d'A. L. de Jussieu présenta la science des végétaux sous un point de vue si nouveau, par la précision et l'élégance qui y règnent, par la profondeur et la justesse des principes généraux qui y sont exposés pour la première fois, que c'est depuis cette époque seulement que la méthode des familles naturelles a été véritablement créée, et que date la nouvelle ère de la science des végétaux. . . . L'auteur du *Genera Plantarum* posa le premier les bases de la science, en faisant voir quelle était l'importance relative des différents organes entre eux, et par conséquent leur valeur dans la classification. . . . Il a fait, selon la remarque de Cuvier, la même révolution dans les sciences d'observation que la chimie de Lavoisier dans les sciences d'expérience. En effet, il a non seulement changé la face de la botanique; mais son influence s'est également exercée sur les autres branches de l'histoire naturelle, et y a introduit cet esprit de recherches, de comparaison, et cette méthode philosophique et naturelle, vers le perfectionnement de laquelle tendent désormais les efforts de tous les naturalistes.'

[175] Hence the removal of a great source of error; since it is now understood that in dicotyledons alone can age be known with certainty. *Henslow's Botany*, p. 243: compare *Richard, Eléments de Botanique*, p. 159, aphorisme xxiv. On the stems of endogenous plants, which, being mostly tropical, have been less studied than the exogenous, see *Lindley's Botany*, vol. i. pp. 221-236; where there is also an account, pp. 229 seq., of the views which Schleiden advanced on this subject in 1839.

however, they grow at the circumference, it is nearly always fivefold.[176]

This is what was effected by the Frenchmen of the eighteenth century for the vegetable kingdom:[177] and if we now turn to the mineral kingdom, we shall find that our obligations to them are equally great. The study of minerals is the most imperfect of the three branches of natural history, because, notwithstanding its apparent simplicity, and the immense number of experiments which have been made, the true method of investigation has not yet been ascertained; it being doubtful whether mineralogy ought to be subordinated to the laws of chemistry, or to those of crystallography, or whether both sets of laws will have to be considered.[178] At all events it is certain that, down to the present time, chemistry has shown itself unable to reduce mineralogical phenomena; nor has any chemist, possessing sufficient powers of generalization, attempted the task except Berzelius; and most of his conclusions were overthrown by the splendid discovery of isomorphism, for which, as is well known, we are indebted to Mitscherlich, one of the many great thinkers Germany has produced.[179]

[176] On the arrangement of the leaves, now called phyllotaxis, see *Balfour's Botany*, p. 92; *Burdach's Physiologie*, vol. v. p. 518.

[177] The classification by cotyledons has been so successful, that, 'with very few exceptions, however, nearly all plants may be referred by any botanist, at a single glance, and with unerring certainty, to their proper class; and a mere fragment even of the stem, leaf, or some other part, is often quite sufficient to enable him to decide this question.' *Henslow's Botany*, p. 30. In regard to some difficulties still remaining in the way of the threefold cotyledonous division of the whole vegetable world, see *Lindley's Botany*, vol. ii. pp. 61 seq.

[178] Mr. Swainson (*Study of Natural History*, p. 356) says, 'mineralogy, indeed, which forms but a part of chemistry.' This is deciding the question very rapidly; but in the mean time, what becomes of the geometrical laws of minerals? and what are we to do with that relation between their structure and optical phenomena, which Sir David Brewster has worked out with signal ability?

[179] The difficulties introduced into the study of minerals by the discovery of isomorphism and polymorphism, are no doubt considerable; but M. Beudant (*Minéralogie*, Paris, 1841, p. 37) seems to me to exaggerate their effect upon 'l'importance des formes crystallines.' They are much more damaging to the purely chemical arrangement, because our implements for measuring the minute angles of crystals are still very imperfect, and the goniometer may fail in detecting differences which really exist; and, there-

Although the chemical department of mineralogy is in an unformed and indeed anarchical condition, its other department, namely, crystallography, has made great progress; and here again the earliest steps were taken by two Frenchmen, who lived in the latter half of the eighteenth century. About 1760, Romé De Lisle[180] set the first example of studying crystals, according to a scheme so large as to include all the varieties of their primary forms, and to account for their irregularities, and the apparent caprice with which they were arranged. In this investigation he was guided by the fundamental assumption, that what is called an irregularity, is in truth perfectly regular, and that the operations of nature are invariable.[181] Scarcely had this great idea been applied to the almost innumerable forms into which minerals crystallize, when it was followed up with still larger resources by Haüy, another eminent Frenchman.[182] This

fore, many alleged cases of isomorphism are probably not so in reality. Wollaston's reflecting goniometer has been long considered the best instrument possessed by crystallographers; but I learn from *Liebig and Kopp's Reports*, vol. i. pp. 19, 20, that Frankenheim has recently invented one for measuring the angles of 'microscopic crystals.' On the amount of error in the measurement of angles, see *Phillips's Mineralogy*, 1837, p. viii.

180 He says, 'depuis plus de vingt ans que je m'occupe de cet objet.' *Romé de Lisle, Cristallographie, ou Description des Formes propres à tous les Corps du Règne Minéral*, Paris, 1783, vol. i. p. 91.

181 See his *Essai de Cristallographie*, Paris, 1772, p. x.: 'un de ceux qui m'a le plus frappé ce sont les formes régulières et constantes que prennent naturellement certains corps que nous désignons par le nom de cristaux.' In the same work, p. 13: 'il faut nécessairement supposer que les molécules intégrantes des corps ont chacune, suivant qui lui est propre, une figure constante et déterminée.' In his later treatise (*Cristallographie*, 1783, vol. i. p. 70), after giving some instances of the extraordinary complications presented by minerals, he adds: 'il n'est donc pas étonnant que d'habiles chimistes n'aient rien vu de constant ni de déterminé dans les formes cristallines, tandis qu'il n'en est aucune qu'on ne puisse, avec un peu d'attention rapporter à la figure élémentaire et primordiale dont elle dérive.' Even Buffon, notwithstanding his fine perception of law, had just declared, 'qu'en général la forme de cristallisation n'est pas un caractère constant, mais plus équivoque et plus variable qu'aucun autre des caractères par lesquels on doit distinguer les minéraux.' *De Lisle*, vol. i. p. xviii. Compare, on this great achievement of De Lisle's, *Herschel's Nat. Philos.* p. 239: 'he first ascertained the important fact of the constancy of the angles at which their faces meet.'

182 The first work of Haüy appeared in 1784 (*Quérard, France Littéraire*, vol. iv. p. 41); but he had read two special memoirs in 1781. *Cuvier, Eloges*, vol. iii. p. 138. The intellectual relation between his views and those of his

remarkable man achieved a complete union between mineralogy and geometry; and, bringing the laws of space to bear on the molecular arrangements of matter, he was able to penetrate into the intimate structure of crystals.[183] By this means, he succeeded in proving that the secondary forms of all crystals are derived from their primary forms by a regular process of decrement;[184] and that, when a substance is passing from a liquid to a solid state, its particles are compelled to cohere, according to a scheme which provides for every possible change, since it includes even those subsequent layers which alter the ordinary type of the crystal, by disturbing its natural symmetry.[185]

predecessor must be obvious to every mineralogist; but Dr. Whewell, who has noticed this judiciously enough, adds (*Hist. of the Induc. Sciences*, vol. iii. pp. 229, 230): 'Unfortunately Romé de Lisle and Haüy were not only rivals, but in some measure enemies. . . . Haüy revenged himself by rarely mentioning Romé in his works, though it was manifest that his obligations to him were immense; and by recording his errors while he corrected them.' The truth, however, is, that so far from rarely mentioning De Lisle, he mentions him incessantly; and I have counted upwards of three hundred instances in Haüy's great work, in which he is named, and his writings are referred to. On one occasion he says of De Lisle, 'En un mot, sa cristallographie est le fruit d'un travail immense par son étendue, presque entièrement neuf par son objet, et très précieux par son utilité.' *Haüy, Traité de Minéralogie*, Paris, 1801, vol. i. p. 17. Elsewhere he calls him, 'cet habile naturaliste; ce savant célèbre,' vol. ii. p. 323; 'ce célèbre naturaliste,' vol. iii. p. 442; see also vol. iv. pp. 51, &c. In a work of so much merit as Dr. Whewell's, it is important that these errors should be indicated, because we have no other book of value on the general history of the sciences; and many authors have deceived themselves and their readers, by implicitly adopting the statements of this able and industrious writer. I would particularly caution the student in regard to the physiological part of Dr. Whewell's History, where, for instance, the antagonism between the methods of Cuvier and Bichat is entirely lost sight of, and while whole pages are devoted to Cuvier, Bichat is disposed of in four lines.

183 'Haüy est donc le seul véritable auteur de la science mathématique des cristaux.' *Cuvier, Progrès des Sciences*, vol. i. p. 8; see also p. 317. Dr. Clarke, whose celebrated lectures on mineralogy excited much attention among his hearers, was indebted for some of his principal views to his conversations with Haüy: see *Otter's Life of Clarke*, vol. ii. p. 192.

184 See an admirable statement of the three forms of decrement, in *Haüy, Traité de Minéralogie*, vol. i. pp. 265, 286. Compare *Whewell's Hist. of the Induc. Sciences*, vol. iii. pp. 224, 225; who, however, does not mention Haüy's classification of 'décroissemens sur les bords,' 'décroissemens sur les angles,' and 'décroissemens intermédiaires.'

185 And, as he clearly saw, the proper method was to study the laws of symmetry, and then apply them deductively to minerals, instead of rising inductively from the aberrations actually presented by minerals. This is interesting to observe, because it is analogous to the method of the best

To ascertain that such violations of symmetry are susceptible of mathematical calculation, was to make a vast addition to our knowledge; but what seems to me still more important is, that it indicates an approach to the magnificent idea, that every thing which occurs is regulated by law, and that confusion and disorder are impossible.[186] For, by proving that even the most uncouth and singular forms of minerals are the natural results of their antecedents, Haüy laid the foundation of what may be called the pathology of the inorganic world. However paradoxical such a notion may seem, it is certain that symmetry is to crystals what health is to animals; so that an irregularity of shape in the first, corresponds with an appearance of disease in the second.[187] When, therefore, the minds of men became familiarized with the great truth, that in the mineral kingdom there is, properly speaking, no irregularity, it became more easy for them to grasp the still higher truth, that the same principle holds good of the animal kingdom, although, from the superior complexity of the phenomena, it will be long before we can arrive at an equal demonstration. But, that such a demonstration is possible, is the principle upon which the future progress of all organic, and indeed of all

pathologists, who seek the philosophy of their subject in physiological phenomena, rather than in pathological ones; striking downwards from the normal to the abnormal. '*La symétrie des formes* sous lesquelles se présentent les solides que nous avons considérés jusqu'ici, *nous a fourni des données* pour exprimer les lois de décroissemens dont ces solides sont susceptibles.' *Haüy, Traité de Minéralogie*, vol. i. p. 442; compare vol. ii. p. 192.

186 'Un coup d'œil peu attentif, jeté sur les cristaux, les fit appeler d'abord de *purs jeux de la nature*, ce qui n'étoit qu'une manière plus élégante de faire l'aveu de son ignorance. Un examen réfléchi nous y découvre des lois d'arrangement, à l'aide desquelles le calcul représente et enchaîne l'un à l'autre les résultats observés; lois si variables et en même temps si précises et si régulières; ordinairement très simples, sans rien perdre de leur fécondité.' *Haüy, Minéralogie*, vol. i. pp. xiii. xiv. Again, vol. ii. p. 57, 'notre but, qui est de prouver que les lois d'où dépend la structure du cristal sont les plus simples possibles dans leur ensemble.'

187 On the remarkable power possessed by crystals, in common with animals, of repairing their own injuries, see *Paget's Pathology*, 1853, vol. i. pp. 152, 153, confirming the experiments of Jordan on this curious subject: 'The ability to repair the damages sustained by injury . . . is not an exclusive property of living beings; for even crystals will repair themselves when, after pieces have been broken from them, they are placed in the same conditions in which they were first formed.'

mental science, depends. And it is very observable, that the same generation which established the fact, that the apparent aberrations presented by minerals are strictly regular, also took the first steps towards establishing the far higher fact, that the aberrations of the human mind are governed by laws as unfailing as those which determine the condition of inert matter. The examination of this would lead to a digression foreign to my present design; but I may mention that, at the end of the century, there was written in France the celebrated treatise on insanity, by Pinel; a work remarkable in many respects, but chiefly in this, that in it the old notions respecting the mysterious and inscrutable character of mental disease are altogether discarded:[188] the disease itself is considered as a phenomenon inevitably occurring under certain given conditions, and the foundation laid for supplying another link in that vast chain of evidence which connects the material with the immaterial, and thus uniting mind and matter into a single study, is now preparing the way for some generalization, which, being common to both, shall serve as a centre round which the disjointed fragments of our knowledge may safely rally.

These were the views which, during the latter half of the eighteenth century, began to dawn upon French

188 'M. Pinel a imprimé une marche nouvelle à l'étude de la folie. . . . En la rangeant simplement, et sans différences aucunes, au nombre des autres dérangemens de nos organes, en lui assignant une place dans le cadre nosographique, il fit faire un pas immense à son histoire.' *Georget, de la Folie*, Paris, 1820, p. 69. In the same work, p. 295, 'M. Pinel, le premier en France, on pourrait dire en Europe, jeta les fondemens d'un traitement vraiment rationnel en rangeant la folie au nombre des autres affections organiques.' M. Esquirol, who expresses the modern and purely scientific view, says in his great work (*Des Maladies Mentales*, Paris, 1838, vol. i. p. 336), 'L'aliénation mentale, que les anciens peuples regardaient comme une inspiration ou une punition des dieux, qui dans la suite fut prise pour la possession des démons, qui dans d'autres temps passa pour une œuvre de la magie; l'aliénation mentale, dis-je, avec toutes ses espèces et ses variétés innombrables, ne diffère en rien des autres maladies.' The recognition of this he expressly ascribes to his predecessor: 'grâce aux principes exposés par Pinel.' p. 340. Pinel himself clearly saw the connexion between his own opinions and the spirit of the age: see *Pinel, Traité Médico-Philosophique sur l'Aliénation Mentale*, p. xxxii.: 'Un ouvrage de médecine, publié en France à la fin du dix-huitième siècle, doit avoir un autre caractère que s'il avoit été écrit à une époque antérieure.'

thinkers. The extraordinary ability and success with which these eminent men cultivated their respective sciences, I have traced at a length greater than I had intended, but still very inadequate to the importance of the subject. Enough, however, has been brought forward, to convince the reader of the truth of the proposition I wished to prove; namely, that the intellect of France was, during the latter half of the eighteenth century, concentrated upon the external world with unprecedented zeal, and thus aided that vast movement, of which the Revolution itself was merely a single consequence. The intimate connexion between scientific progress and social rebellion, is evident from the fact, that both are suggested by the same yearning after improvement, the same dissatisfaction with what has been previously done, the same restless, prying, insubordinate, and audacious spirit. But in France this general analogy was strengthened by the curious circumstances I have already noticed, by virtue of which, the activity of the country was, during the first half of the century, directed against the church rather than against the state; so that in order to complete the antecedents of the Revolution, it was necessary that, in the latter half of the century, the ground of attack should be shifted. This is precisely what was done by the wonderful impetus given to every branch of natural science. For, the attention of men being thus steadily fixed upon the external world, the internal fell into neglect; while, as the external corresponds to the state, and the internal to the church, it was part of the same intellectual development, that the assailers of the existing fabric should turn against political abuses the energy which the preceding generation had reserved for religious ones.

Thus it was that the French Revolution, like every great revolution the world has yet seen, was preceded by a complete change in the habits and associations of the national intellect. But besides this, there was also taking place, precisely at the same time, a vast social movement, which was intimately connected with the intellectual movement, and indeed formed part of it, in so far as it

was followed by similar results and produced by similar causes. The nature of this social revolution I shall examine only very briefly, because in a future volume it will be necessary to trace its history minutely, in order to illustrate the slighter but still remarkable changes which in the same period were going on in English society.

In France, before the Revolution, the people, though always very social, were also very exclusive. The upper classes, protected by an imaginary superiority, looked with scorn upon those whose birth or titles were unequal to their own. The class immediately below them copied and communicated their example, and every order in society endeavoured to find some fanciful distinction which should guard them from the contamination of their inferiors. The only three real sources of superiority,—the superiority of morals, of intellect, and of knowledge,—were entirely overlooked in this absurd scheme; and men became accustomed to pride themselves not on any essential difference, but on those inferior matters, which, with extremely few exceptions, are the result of accident, and therefore no test of merit.[189]

The first great blow to this state of things, was the unprecedented impulse given to the cultivation of physical science. Those vast discoveries which were being made, not only stimulated the intellect of thinking men, but even roused the curiosity of the more thoughtless parts of society. The lectures of chemists, of geologists, of mineralogists, and of physiologists, were attended by those who came to wonder, as well as by those who came to learn. In Paris, the scientific assemblages were crowded to overflowing.[190] The halls and amphitheatres in which the

[189] Comp. *Mém. de Ségur*, vol. i. p. 23, with the Introduction to *Des Réaux, Historiettes*, vol. i. p. 34. A good illustration of this is, that the Prince de Montbarey, in his Memoirs, gently censures Louis XV., not for his scandalous profligacy, but because he selected for his mistresses some women who were not of high birth. *Mém. de Montbarey*, vol. i. p. 341, and see vol. iii. p. 117.

[190] And that too even on such a subject as anatomy. In 1768, Antoine Petit began his anatomical lectures in the great amphitheatre of the Jardin du Roi; and the press to hear him was so great, that not only all the seats were occupied, but the very window-ledges were crowded. See the animated description in *Biog. Univ.* vol. xxxiii. p. 494.

great truths of nature were expounded, were no longer able to hold their audience, and in several instances it was found necessary to enlarge them.[191] The sittings of the Academy, instead of being confined to a few solitary scholars, were frequented by every one whose rank or influence enabled them to secure a place.[192] Even women of fashion, forgetting their usual frivolity, hastened to hear discussions on the composition of a mineral, on the discovery of a new salt, on the structure of plants, on the organization of animals, on the properties of the electric fluid.[193] A sudden craving after knowledge seemed to have smitten every rank. The largest and the most difficult inquiries found favour in the eyes of those whose fathers had hardly heard the names of the sciences to which they belonged. The brilliant imagination of Buffon made geology suddenly popular; the same thing was effected for chemistry by the eloquence of Fourcroy, and for

[191] Dr. Thomson (*Hist. of Chemistry*, vol. ii. p. 169) says of Fourcroy's lectures on chemistry, which began in 1784: 'Such were the crowds, both of men and women, who flocked to hear him, that it was twice necessary to enlarge the size of the lecture-room.' This circumstance is also mentioned in *Cuvier, Eloges*, vol. ii. p. 19.

[192] In 1779, it was remarked that 'les séances publiques de l'Académie française sont devenues une espèce de spectacle fort à la mode:' and as this continued to increase, the throng became at length so great, that in 1785 it was found necessary to diminish the number of tickets of admission, and it was even proposed that ladies should be excluded, in consequence of some uproarious scenes which had happened. *Grimm et Diderot, Correspond. Lit.* vol. x. p. 341, vol. xiv. pp. 148, 149, 185, 251.

[193] Goldsmith, who was in Paris in 1755, says with surprise, 'I have seen as bright a circle of beauty at the chemical lectures of Rouelle, as gracing the court of Versailles.' *Prior's Life of Goldsmith*, vol. i. p. 180; *Forster's Life of Goldsmith*, vol. i. p. 65. In the middle of the century, electricity was very popular among the Parisian ladies; and the interest felt in it was revived several years later by Franklin. Compare *Grimm, Correspondance*, vol. vii. p. 122, with *Tucker's Life of Jefferson*, vol. i. pp. 190, 191. Cuvier (*Eloges*, vol. i. p. 56) tells us that even the anatomical descriptions which Daubenton wrote for Buffon were to be found 'sur la toilette des femmes.' This change of taste is also noticed, though in a jeering spirit, in *Mém. de Genlis*, vol. vi. p. 32. Compare the account given by Townsend, who visited France in 1786, on his way to Spain: 'A numerous society of gentlemen and ladies of the first fashion meet to hear lectures on the sciences, delivered by men of the highest rank in their profession. . . . I was much struck with the fluency and elegance of language with which the anatomical professor spoke, and not a little so with the deep attention of his auditors.' *Townsend's Journey through Spain*, vol. i. p. 41: see also *Smith's Tour on the Continent* 1786, vol. i. p. 117.

electricity by Nollet; while the admirable expositions of Lalande caused astronomy itself to be generally cultivated. In a word, it is enough to say, that during the thirty years preceding the Revolution, the spread of physical science was so rapid, that in its favour the old classical studies were despised;[194] it was considered the essential basis of a good education, and some slight acquaintance with it was deemed necessary for every class, except those who were obliged to support themselves by their daily labour.[195]

The results produced by this remarkable change are very curious, and from their energy and rapidity were very decisive. As long as the different classes confined themselves to pursuits peculiar to their own sphere, they were encouraged to preserve their separate habits; and the subordination, or, as it were, the hierarchy, of society was easily maintained. But when the members of the various orders met in the same place with the same object, they became knit together by a new sympathy. The highest and most durable of all pleasures, the pleasure caused by the perception of fresh truths, was now a great link, which banded together those social elements that were formerly wrapped up in the pride of their own isolation. Besides this, there was also given to them not only a new pursuit,

[194] In a letter written in 1756, it is said, 'Mais c'est peine perdue aujourd'hui qui de plaisanter les érudits; il n'y en a plus en France.' *Grimm, Correspond.* vol. ii. p. 15. In 1764, 'Il est honteux et incroyable à quel point l'étude des anciens est negligée.' vol. iv. p. 97. In 1768, 'Une autre raison qui rendra les traductions des auteurs anciens de plus en plus rares en France, c'est que depuis long-temps on n'y sait plus le Grec, et qu'on neglige l'étude du Latin tous les jours davantage.' vol. vi. p. 140. Sherlock (*New Letters from an English Traveller*, London, 1781, p. 86) says, 'It is very rare to meet a man in France that understands Greek.' In 1785, Jefferson writes from Paris to Madison, 'Greek and Roman authors are dearer here than, I believe, any where in the world; nobody here reads them, wherefore they are not reprinted.' *Jefferson's Correspond.* vol. i. p. 301. See further, on this neglect of the ancients, a significant precursor of the Revolution, *Mém. de Montbarey*, vol. iii. p. 181; *Villemain, Littérature au XVIII^e Siècle*, vol. iii. pp. 243-248; *Schlosser's Eighteenth Century*, vol. i. p. 344.

[195] For further evidence of the popularity of physical knowledge, and of its study, even by those who might have been expected to neglect it, see *Mém. de Roland*, vol. i. pp. 115, 268, 324, 343; *Mém: de Morellet*, vol. i. p. 16; *Dupont de Nemours, Mém. sur Turgot*, pp. 45, 52, 53, 411; *Mém. de Brissot*, vol. i. pp. 62, 151, 319, 336, 338, 357; *Cuvier, Progrès des Sciences*, vol. i. p. 89.

but also a new standard of merit. In the amphitheatre and the lecture-room, the first object of attention is the professor and the lecturer. The division is between those who teach and those who learn. The subordination of ranks makes way for the subordination of knowledge.[196] The petty and conventional distinctions of fashionable life are succeeded by those large and genuine distinctions, by which alone man is really separated from man. The progress of the intellect supplies a new object of veneration; the old worship of rank is rudely disturbed, and its superstitious devotees are taught to bow the knee before what to them is the shrine of a strange god. The hall of science is the temple of democracy. Those who come to learn, confess their own ignorance, abrogate in some degree their own superiority, and begin to perceive that the greatness of men has no connexion with the splendour of their titles, or the dignity of their birth; that it is not concerned with their quarterings, their escutcheons, their descents, their dexter-chiefs, their sinister-chiefs, their chevrons, their bends, their azures, their gules, and the other trumperies of their heraldry; but that it depends upon the largeness of their minds, the powers of their intellect, and the fullness of their knowledge.

These were the views which, in the latter half of the eighteenth century, began to influence those classes which had long been the undisputed masters of society.[197] And what shows the strength of this great movement is, that it was accompanied by other social changes, which, though in themselves apparently trifling, become full of meaning

[196] A celebrated writer has well said, though in a somewhat different point of view, 'Il ne peut y avoir dans les sciences morales, pas plus que dans les sciences physiques, ni maîtres, ni esclaves, ni rois, ni sujets, ni citoyens, ni étrangers.' *Comte, Traité de Législation*, vol. i. p. 43.

[197] The remarks which Thomas made upon Descartes in 1765, in an *éloge* crowned by the Academy, illustrate the opinions which, in the latter half of the eighteenth century, were becoming rapidly diffused in France. See the passage beginning 'O préjugés! ô ridicule fierté des places et du rang!' etc. *Œuvres de Descartes*, vol. i. p. 74. Certainly no one would have used such language, on such an occasion, thirty years earlier. So, too, the Count de Ségur says of the younger nobles before the Revolution, 'nous préférions un mot d'éloges de D'Alembert, de Diderot, à la faveur la plus signalée d'un prince.' *Mém. de Ségur*, vol. i. p. 142: see also vol. ii. p. 46.

when taken in connexion with the general history of the time.

While the immense progress of physical knowledge was revolutionizing society, by inspiring the different classes with an object common to all, and thus raising a new standard of merit, a more trivial, but equally democratic tendency was observable even in the conventional forms of social life. To describe the whole of these changes would occupy a space disproportioned to the other parts of this Introduction; but it is certain that, until the changes have been carefully examined, it will be impossible for any one to write a history of the French Revolution. As a specimen of what I mean, I will notice two of these innovations which are very conspicuous, and are also interesting on account of their analogy with what has happened in English society.

The first of these changes was an alteration in dress, and a marked contempt for those external appearances hitherto valued as one of the most important of all matters. During the reign of Louis XIV., and indeed during the first half of the reign of Louis XV., not only men of frivolous tastes, but even those distinguished for their knowledge, displayed in their attire a dainty precision, a nice and studied adjustment, a pomp of gold, of silver, and of ruffles, such as in our days can nowhere be seen, except in the courts of European princes, where a certain barbarian splendour is still retained. So far was this carried, that in the seventeenth century the rank of a person might be immediately known by his appearance; no one presuming to usurp a garb worn by the class immediately above his own.[198] But in that democratic movement which preceded the French Revolution, the minds of men became too earnest, too intent upon higher matters, to busy themselves with those idle devices which engrossed the attention of their fathers. A contemptuous disregard of such distinctions became general. In Paris

[198] Among many other illustrations which might be given of this distinction of classes by dress, see *Monteil, Hist. des divers Etats*, vol. vii. pp. 7-10; and *Tallemant des Réaux, Historiettes*, vol. i. p. 36 note.

the innovation was seen even in those gay assemblies, where a certain amount of personal decoration is still considered natural. At dinners, suppers, and balls, it is noticed by contemporary observers, that the dress usually worn was becoming so simple as to cause a confusion of ranks, until at length every distinction was abandoned by both sexes; the men, on such occasions, coming in a common frock-coat, the women in their ordinary morning-gowns.[199] Nay, to such a pitch was this carried, that we are assured by the Prince de Montbarey, who was in Paris at the time, that shortly before the Revolution, even those who had stars and orders were careful to hide them by buttoning their coats, so that these marks of superiority might no longer be seen.[200]

199 In August 1787, Jefferson writes from Paris (*Correspondence*, vol. ii. p. 224): 'In society, the *habit habillé* is almost banished, and they begin to go even to great suppers in frock: the court and diplomatic corps, however, must always be excepted. They are too high to be reached by any improvement. They are the last refuge from which etiquette, formality, and folly will be driven. Take away these, and they would be on a level with other people.' Jefferson was a statesman and a diplomatist, and was well acquainted with his profession. The change, however, which he noticed, had been coming on some years earlier. In a letter written in May 1786, it is said: 'Il est rare aujourd'hui de rencontrer dans le monde des personnes qui soient ce qu'on appelle habillées. Les femmes sont en chemise et en chapeau, les hommes en froc et en gilet.' *Grimm, Correspond.* vol. xiv. p. 485; and on the increased simplicity of attire in 1780, see vol. xi. pp. 141, 142. Ségur, who witnessed these changes, and was much displeased by them, says of their advocates, 'ils ne voyaient pas que les frocs, remplaçant les amples et imposans vêtemens de l'ancienne cour, présageaient un penchant général pour l'égalité.' *Mém. de Ségur*, vol. i. p. 131. Soulavie (*Règne de Louis XVI*, vol. vi. p. 38) observes, that 'les grands, vers les approches de la révolution, n'avoient plus que des habits simples et peu coûteux;' and that 'on ne distingua plus une duchesse d'une actrice,' p. 43: see also an extract from Montjoye, in *Alison's History*, vol. i. pp. 352, 353. Compare *Mém. sur Marie Antoinette*, vol. i. pp. 226, 372, vol. ii. p. 174, and *Mém. de Madame du Hausset*, introduc. p. 17.

200 'Les personnes du premier rang et même d'un âge mûr, qui avaient travaillé toute leur vie pour obtenir les ordres du roi, preuve de la plus haute faveur, s'habituèrent à en cacher les marques distinctives sous le froc le plus simple, qui leur permettait de courir à pied dans les rues et de se confondre dans la foule.' *Mém. de Montbarey*, vol. iii. pp. 161, 162. Another alteration of the same tendency is worth recording. The Baroness d'Oberkirch, who revisited Paris in 1784, remarked, on her arrival, that 'gentlemen began about this time to go about unarmed, and wore swords only in full dress. . . . . And thus the French nobility laid aside a usage which the example of their fathers had consecrated through centuries.' *D'Oberkirch's Memoirs*, Lond. 1852, vol. ii. p. 211.

The other innovation to which I have referred is equally interesting as characteristic of the spirit of the time. This is, that the tendency to amalgamate the different orders of society[201] was shown in the institution of clubs; a remarkable contrivance, which to us seems perfectly natural because we are accustomed to it, but of which it may be truly said, that until the eighteenth century its existence was impossible. Before the eighteenth century, each class was so jealous of its superiority over the one below it, that to meet together on equal terms was impracticable; and although a certain patronizing familiarity towards one's inferiors might be safely indulged in, this only marked the immense interval of separation, since the great man had no fear of his condescension being abused. In those good old times a proper respect was paid to rank and birth; and he who could count his twenty ancestors was venerated to an extent of which we, in these degenerate days, can hardly form an idea. As to any thing like social equality, that was a notion too preposterous to be conceived; nor was it possible that any institution should exist which placed mere ordinary men on a level with those illustrious characters, whose veins were filled with the purest blood, and the quarterings of whose arms none could hope to rival.

But in the eighteenth century the progress of knowledge became so remarkable, that the new principle of intellectual superiority made rapid encroachments on the old principle of aristocratic superiority. As soon as these encroachments had reached a certain point, they gave rise to an institution suited to them; and thus it was that there were first established clubs, in which all the educated classes could assemble, without regard to those other differences which, in the preceding period, kept them separate. The peculiarity of this was, that, for mere purposes of social enjoyment, men were brought into

[201] A striking instance of which was, moreover, seen in the number of *mésalliances*, which first became frequent about the middle of the reign of Louis XV. Compare *Mém. de Montbarey*, vol. iii. pp. 116, 156, 157; *Lacretelle, Dix-huitième Siècle*, vol. iii. p. 220.

contact, who, according to the aristocratic scheme, had nothing in common, but who were now placed on the same footing in so far as they belonged to the same establishment, conformed to the same rules, and reaped the same advantages. It was, however, expected that the members, though varying in many other respects, were to be all, in some degree, educated; and in this way society first distinctly recognized a classification previously unknown; the division between noble and ignoble being succeeded by another division between educated and uneducated.

The rise and growth of clubs is, therefore, to the philosophic observer, a question of immense importance; and it is one which, as I shall hereafter prove, played a great part in the history of England during the latter half of the eighteenth century. In reference to our present subject, it is interesting to observe, that the first clubs, in the modern sense of the word, which ever existed in Paris, were formed about 1782, only seven years before the French Revolution. At the beginning they were merely intended to be social assemblages; but they quickly assumed a democratic character, conformable to the spirit of the age. Their first result, as was noticed by a keen observer of what was then passing, was to make the manners of the upper classes more simple than they had hitherto been, and to weaken that love of form and ceremony suitable to their earlier habits. These clubs likewise effected a remarkable separation between the sexes; and it is recorded, that after their establishment, women associated more with each other, and were oftener seen in public unaccompanied by men.[202] This had the effect of

[202] 'Nous commençames aussi à avoir des clubs: les hommes s'y réunissaient, non encore pour discuter, mais pour dîner, jouer au wisk, et lire tous les ouvrages nouveaux. Ce premier pas, alors presque inaperçu, eut dans la suite de grandes, et momentanément de funestes conséquences. Dans le commencement, son premier résultat fut de séparer les hommes des femmes, et d'apporter ainsi un notable changement dans nos mœurs: elles devinrent moins frivoles, mais moins polies; plus fortes, mais moins aimables: la politique y gagna, la société y perdit.' *Mém. de Ségur*, vol. ii. p. 28. By the spring of 1786, this separation of the sexes had become still more marked; and it was a common complaint, that ladies were obliged to go to the theatre alone, men being at their clubs. See the very curious observations

encouraging among men a republican roughness, which the influence of the other sex would have tended to keep down. All these things effaced the old lines of demarcation between the different ranks, and by merging the various classes into one, made the force of their united opposition irresistible, and speedily overthrew both the church and the state. The exact period at which the clubs became political cannot, of course, be ascertained, but the change seems to have taken place about 1784.[203] From this moment all was over; and although the government, in 1787, issued orders to close the leading club, in which all classes discussed political questions, it was found impossible to stem the current. The order, therefore, was rescinded; the club re-assembled, and no further attempt was made to interrupt that course of affairs which a long train of preceding events had rendered inevitable.[204]

While all these things were conspiring to overthrow the old institutions, an event suddenly occurred which produced the most remarkable effects in France, and is itself strikingly characteristic of the spirit of the eighteenth century. On the other side of the Atlantic, a great people, provoked by the intolerable injustice of the

in *Grimm, Correspond.* vol. xiv. pp. 486-489, where there is also a notice of 'le prodigieux succès qu'a eu l'établissement des clubs à l'anglaise.' See also, on the diminished attention paid to women, *Williams's Letters from France*, vol. ii. p. 80, 3rd edit. 1796.

[203] The remarks of Georgel appear to apply to the political clubs only: 'A Paris les assemblées de nouvellistes, les clubs qui s'étoient formés à l'instar de ceux des Anglais, s'expliquaient hautement et sans retenue sur les droits de l'homme, sur les avantages de la liberté, sur les grands abus de l'inégalité des conditions. Ces clubs, trop accrédités, avoient commencé à se former en 1784.' *Mém. de Georgel*, vol. ii. p. 310.

[204] 'Le lieutenant de police fit fermer le club nommé *club du salon;* ordre arbitraire et inutile: ce club alors était composé de personnes distinguées de la noblesse ou de la haute bourgeoisie, ainsi que des artistes et des hommes de lettres les plus considérés. Cette réunion offrait, pour la première fois, l'image d'une égalité qui devient bientôt, plus que la liberté même, le vœu le plus ardent de la plus grande partie de la nation. Aussi le mécontentement produit par la clôture de ce club fut si vif, que l'autorité se crut obligée de la rouvrir.' *Mém. de Ségur*, vol. iii. pp. 258, 259. On the increase of these clubs from 1787 to 1789, compare *Du Mesnil, Mém. sur Le Brun*, p. 148; *Mém. de Lafayette*, vol. i. pp. 312, 322, 391, 434, vol. ii. p. 9; *Barruel, Hist. du Jacob*, vol. i. p. 40, vol. ii. p. 310, vol. v. pp. 101, 168; *Thiers, Hist. de la Révolution*, vol. i. p. 36, Paris, 1834.

English government, rose in arms, turned on their oppressors, and, after a desperate struggle, gloriously obtained their independence. In 1776, the Americans laid before Europe that noble Declaration, which ought to be hung up in the nursery of every king, and blazoned on the porch of every royal palace. In words, the memory of which can never die, they declared, that the object of the institution of government is to secure the rights of the people; that from the people alone it derives its powers; and 'that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundations on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness.'[205]

If this declaration had been made only one generation earlier, the whole of France, with the exception of a few advanced thinkers, would have rejected it with horror and with scorn. Such, however, was now the temper of the public mind, that the doctrines it contained were not merely welcomed by a majority of the French nation, but even the government itself was unable to withstand the general feeling.[206] In 1776, Franklin arrived in France, as envoy from the American people. He met with the warmest reception from all classes,[207] and succeeded in inducing the government to sign a treaty, engaging to defend the young republic in the rights it had gloriously won.[208] In Paris, the enthusiasm was irresistible.[209] From

[205] *Mem. of Franklin*, vol. ii. pp. 14 seq.; and *Mem. of Jefferson*, vol. i. pp. 17-22, where the passages are given which Congress altered.

[206] Ségur (*Mém.* vol. i. p. 111) says that his father had been frequently told by Maurepas that public opinion forced the government, against its own wishes, to side with America. Compare *Mém. de Georgel*, vol. iv. p. 370; and *Flassan, Diplomatie Française*, vol. vii. p. 166.

[207] The news of which soon reached England. In January 1777, Burke writes (*Works*, vol. ii. p. 394), 'I hear that Dr. Franklin has had a most extraordinary reception at Paris from all ranks of people.' Soulavie (*Règne de Louis XVI*, vol. ii. p. 50) says, 'J'ai vu Francklin devenir un objet de culte.' See also, on his popularity, *Mém. d'Epinay*, vol. iii. p. 419.

[208] *Flassan, Diplomatie Française*, vol. vii. p. 159; *Life of Franklin, by Himself*, vol. ii. pp. 60, 61; *Mahon's Hist of England*, vol. vii. pp. 197, 198.

[209] The sneering letter written from Paris by Lord Stormont, as early as

every quarter large bodies of men came forward, volunteering to cross the Atlantic and to fight for the liberties of America. The heroism with which these auxiliaries aided the noble struggle, forms a cheering passage in the history of that time; but is foreign to my present purpose, which is merely to notice its effect in hastening the approach of the French Revolution. And this effect was indeed most remarkable. Besides the indirect result produced by the example of a successful rebellion, the French were still further stimulated by actual contact with their new allies. The French officers and soldiers who served in America, introduced into their own country, on their return, those democratic opinions which they had imbibed in the infant republic.[210] By this means, fresh strength was given to the revolutionary tendencies already prevalent; and it is worthy of remark, that Lafayette borrowed from the same source one of his most celebrated acts. He drew his sword on behalf of the Americans; and they, in their turn, communicated to him that famous doctrine respecting the rights of man, which, at his instigation, was formally adopted by the National Assembly.[211] Indeed, there is reason to believe, that the final blow the French government received was actually dealt by the hand of an American; for it is said that it was in consequence of the advice of Jefferson, that the popular part of the legislative body

December 1774 (*Adolphus's George III.* vol. ii. p. 316), shonld be compared with *Lafayette, Mémoires*, vol. i. pp. 24, 169, 229; *Dutens, Mém. d'un Voyageur*, vol. ii. p. 317; *Mém de Ségur*, vol. i. p. 149; and *Schlosser's Eighteenth Century*, vol. v. p. 175.

[210] *De Staël sur la Révolution*, vol. i. p. 88; *Mém. de Montbarey*, vol. iii. pp. 134, 186; *Mém de Ségur*, vol. i. p. 277; *Campan, Mém. de Marie Antoinette*, vol. i. p. 233, vol. iii. pp. 96, 116; *Soulavie, Règne de Louis XVI*, vol. ii. pp. xxiv. li. lii.; *Dumont, Souvenirs sur Mirabeau*, p. 176; *Mém. de Du Hausset*, introduc. p. 40; *Mém. de Genlis*, vol. vi. p. 57; *Jefferson's Mem. and Correspond.* vol. i. p. 59; and Maitland's speech, in *Parl. Hist.* vol. xxx. pp. 198, 199; also the remarks of the Duke of Bedford, vol. xxxi. p. 663.

[211] *Lamartine, Hist. des Girondins*, vol. i. p. 46. Dumont (*Souvenirs*, p. 97) calls this 'une idée américaine;' and see to the same effect *Mém. de Lafayette*, vol. i. pp. 193, 268, 269, 416, vol. ii. pp. 139, 140; *Jefferson's Correspond.* vol. i. p. 90; *Barruel, Hist. du Jacobinisme*, vol. v. p. 311. The influence which the American Revolution exercised over the mind of Lafayette is noticed by Bouillé, his cousin and his enemy. *Mém. de Bouillé*, vol. i. p. 102, vol. ii. pp. 131, 183.

proclaimed itself the National Assembly, and thus set the crown at open defiance.[212]

I have now brought to a close my examination of the causes of the French Revolution; but before concluding the present volume, it appears to me that the variety of topics which have been discussed, makes it advisable that I should sum up their leading points; and should state, as briefly as possible, the steps of that long and complicated argument, by which I have attempted to prove, that the Revolution was an event inevitably arising out of preceding circumstances. Such a summary, by recalling the entire subject before the reader, will remedy any confusion which the fullness of detail may have produced, and will simplify an investigation which many will consider to have been needlessly protracted; but which could not have been abridged without weakening, in some essential part, the support of those general principles that I seek to establish.

Looking at the state of France immediately after the death of Louis XIV., we have seen that, his policy having reduced the country to the brink of ruin, and having destroyed every vestige of free inquiry, a reaction became necessary; but that the materials for the reaction could not be found among a nation, which for fifty years had been exposed to so debilitating a system. This deficiency at home, caused the most eminent Frenchmen to turn their attention abroad, and gave rise to a sudden admiration for the English literature, and for those habits of thought which were then peculiar to the English people. New life being thus breathed into the wasted frame of French society, an eager and inquisitive spirit was generated, such as had not been seen since the time of Descartes. The upper classes, taking offence at this unexpected movement, attempted to stifle it, and made stre-

[212] 'The Duke of Dorset, the English ambassador, writing to Mr. Pitt from Paris, July 9th, 1789, said, "Mr. Jefferson, the American minister at this court, has been a great deal consulted by the principal leaders of the *tiers état*; and I have great reason to think that it was owing to his advice that order called itself *L'Assemblée Nationale*."' *Tomline's Life of Pitt*, vol. ii. p. 266.

nuous efforts to destroy that love of inquiry which was daily gaining ground. To effect their object, they persecuted literary men with such bitterness, as to make it evident that the intellect of France must either relapse into its former servility, or else boldly assume the offensive. Happily for the interests of civilization, the latter alternative was adopted; and, in or about 1750, a deadly struggle began, in which those principles of liberty which France borrowed from England, and which had hitherto been supposed only applicable to the church, were for the first time applied to the state. Coinciding with this movement, and indeed forming part of it, other circumstances occurred of the same character. Now it was that the political economists succeeded in proving that the interference of the governing classes had inflicted great mischief even upon the material interests of the country; and had, by their protective measures, injured what they were believed to have benefited. This remarkable discovery in favour of general freedom, put a fresh weapon into the hands of the democratic party; whose strength was still further increased by the unrivalled eloquence with which Rousseau assailed the existing fabric. Precisely the same tendency was exhibited in the extraordinary impulse given to every branch of physical science, which familiarized men with ideas of progress, and brought them into collision with the stationary and conservative ideas natural to government. The discoveries made respecting the external world, encouraged a restlessness and excitement of mind hostile to the spirit of routine, and therefore full of danger for institutions only recommended by their antiquity. This eagerness for physical knowledge also effected a change in education; and the ancient languages being neglected, another link was severed which connected the present with the past. The church, the legitimate protector of old opinions, was unable to resist the passion for novelty, because she was weakened by treason in her own camp. For by this time, Calvinism had spread so much among the French clergy, as to break them into two hostile parties,

and render it impossible to rally them against their common foe. The growth of this heresy was also important, because Calvinism being essentially democratic, a revolutionary spirit appeared even in the ecclesiastical profession, so that the feud in the church was accompanied by another feud between the government and the church. These were the leading symptoms of that vast movement which culminated in the French Revolution; and all of them indicated a state of society so anarchical and so thoroughly disorganized, as to make it certain that some great catastrophe was impending. At length, and when everything was ready for explosion, the news of the American Rebellion fell like a spark on the inflammatory mass, and ignited a flame which never ceased its ravages until it had destroyed all that Frenchmen once held dear, and had left for the instruction of mankind an awful lesson of the crimes into which continued oppression may hurry a generous and long-suffering people.

Such is a rapid outline of the view which my studies have led me to take of the causes of the French Revolution. That I have ascertained all the causes, I do not for a moment suppose; but it will, I believe, be found that none of importance have been omitted. It is, indeed, true, that among the materials of which the evidence consists, many deficiencies will be seen; and a more protracted labour would have been rewarded by a greater success. Of these shortcomings I am deeply sensible; and I can only regret that the necessity of passing on to a still larger field has compelled me to leave so much for future inquirers to gather in. At the same time, it ought to be remembered, that this is the first attempt which has ever been made to study the antecedents of the French Revolution according to a scheme wide enough to include the whole of their intellectual bearings. In defiance of sound philosophy, and, I may say, in defiance of common understanding, historians obstinately persist in neglecting those great branches of physical knowledge, in which in every

civilized country the operations of the human mind may be most clearly seen, and therefore the mental habits most easily ascertained. The result is, that the French Revolution, unquestionably the most important, the most complicated, and the most glorious event in history, has been given over to authors, many of whom have displayed considerable ability, but all of whom have shown themselves destitute of that preliminary scientific education, in the absence of which it is impossible to seize the spirit of any period, or to take a comprehensive survey of its various parts. Thus, to mention only a single instance: we have seen that the extraordinary impulse given to the study of the external world was intimately connected with that democratic movement which overthrew the institutions of France. But this connexion historians have been unable to trace; because they were unacquainted with the progress of the various branches of natural philosophy and of natural history. Hence it is that they have exhibited their great subject maimed and mutilated, shorn of those fair proportions which it ought to possess. According to this scheme, the historian sinks into the annalist; so that, instead of solving a problem, he merely paints a picture. Without, therefore, disparaging the labours of those industrious men who have collected materials for a history of the French Revolution, we may assuredly say, that the history itself has never been written; since they who have attempted the task have not possessed such resources as would enable them to consider it as merely a single part of that far larger movement which was seen in every department of science, of philosophy, of religion, and of politics.

Whether or not I have effected anything of real value towards remedying this deficiency, is a question for competent judges to decide. Of this, at least, I feel certain, that whatever imperfections may be observed, the fault consists, not in the method proposed, but in the extreme difficulty of any single man putting into full operation all the parts of so vast a scheme. It is on this point,

and on this alone, that I feel the need of great indulgence. But, as to the plan itself, I have no misgivings; because I am deeply convinced that the time is fast approaching when the history of Man will be placed on its proper footing; when its study will be recognized as the noblest and most arduous of all pursuits; and when it will be clearly seen, that, to cultivate it with success, there is wanted a wide and comprehensive mind, richly furnished with the highest branches of human knowledge. When this is fully admitted, history will be written only by those whose habits fit them for the task; and it will be rescued from the hands of biographers, genealogists, collectors of anecdotes, chroniclers of courts, of princes, and of nobles,—those babblers of vain things, who lie in wait at every corner, and infest this the public highway of our national literature. That such compilers should trespass on a province so far above their own, and should think that by these means they can throw light on the affairs of men, is one of many proofs of the still backward condition of our knowledge, and of the indistinctness with which its boundaries have been mapped out. If I have done anything towards bringing these intrusions into discredit, and inspiring historians themselves with a sense of the dignity of their own calling, I shall have rendered in my time some little service, and I shall be well content to have it said, that in many cases I have failed in executing what I originally proposed. Indeed, that there are in this volume several instances of such failure, I willingly allow; and I can only plead the immensity of the subject, the shortness of a single life, and the imperfection of every single enterprise. I, therefore, wish this work to be estimated, not according to the finish of its separate parts, but according to the way in which those parts have been fused into a complete and symmetrical whole. This, in an undertaking of such novelty and magnitude, I have a right to expect. And I would, moreover, add, that if the reader has met with opinions adverse to his own, he should remember

that his views are, perchance, the same as those which I too once held, and which I have abandoned, because, after a wider range of study, I found them unsupported by solid proof, subversive of the interests of Man, and fatal to the progress of his knowledge. To examine the notions in which we have been educated, and to turn aside from those which will not bear the test, is a task so painful, that they who shrink from the suffering should pause before they reproach those by whom the suffering is undergone. What I have put forward may, no doubt, be erroneous; but it is, at all events, the result of an honest searching after truth, of unsparing labour, of patient and anxious reflection. Conclusions arrived at in this way, are not to be overturned by stating that they endanger some other conclusions; nor can they be even affected by allegations against their supposed tendency. The principles which I advocate, are based upon distinct arguments, supported by well-ascertained facts. The only points, therefore, to be ascertained, are, whether the arguments are fair, and whether the facts are certain. If these two conditions have been obeyed, the principles follow by an inevitable inference. Their demonstration is, in the present volume, necessarily incomplete; and the reader must suspend his final judgment until the close of this Introduction, when the subject in all its bearings will be laid before him. The remaining part of the Introduction will be occupied, as I have already intimated, with an investigation of the civilizations of Germany, America, Scotland, and Spain; each of which presents a different type of intellectual development, and has, therefore, followed a different direction in its religious, scientific, social, and political history. The causes of these differences I shall attempt to ascertain. The next step will be to generalize the causes themselves; and having thus referred them to certain principles common to all, we shall be possessed of what may be called the fundamental laws of European thought; the divergence of the different countries being regulated either by the direction those

laws take, or else by their comparative energy. To discover these fundamental laws will be the business of the Introduction; while, in the body of the work, I shall apply them to the history of England, and endeavour by their aid to work out the epochs through which we have successively passed, fix the basis of our present civilization, and indicate the path of our future progress.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

LONDON
PRINTED BY SPOTTISWOODE AND CO
NEW-STREET SQUARE